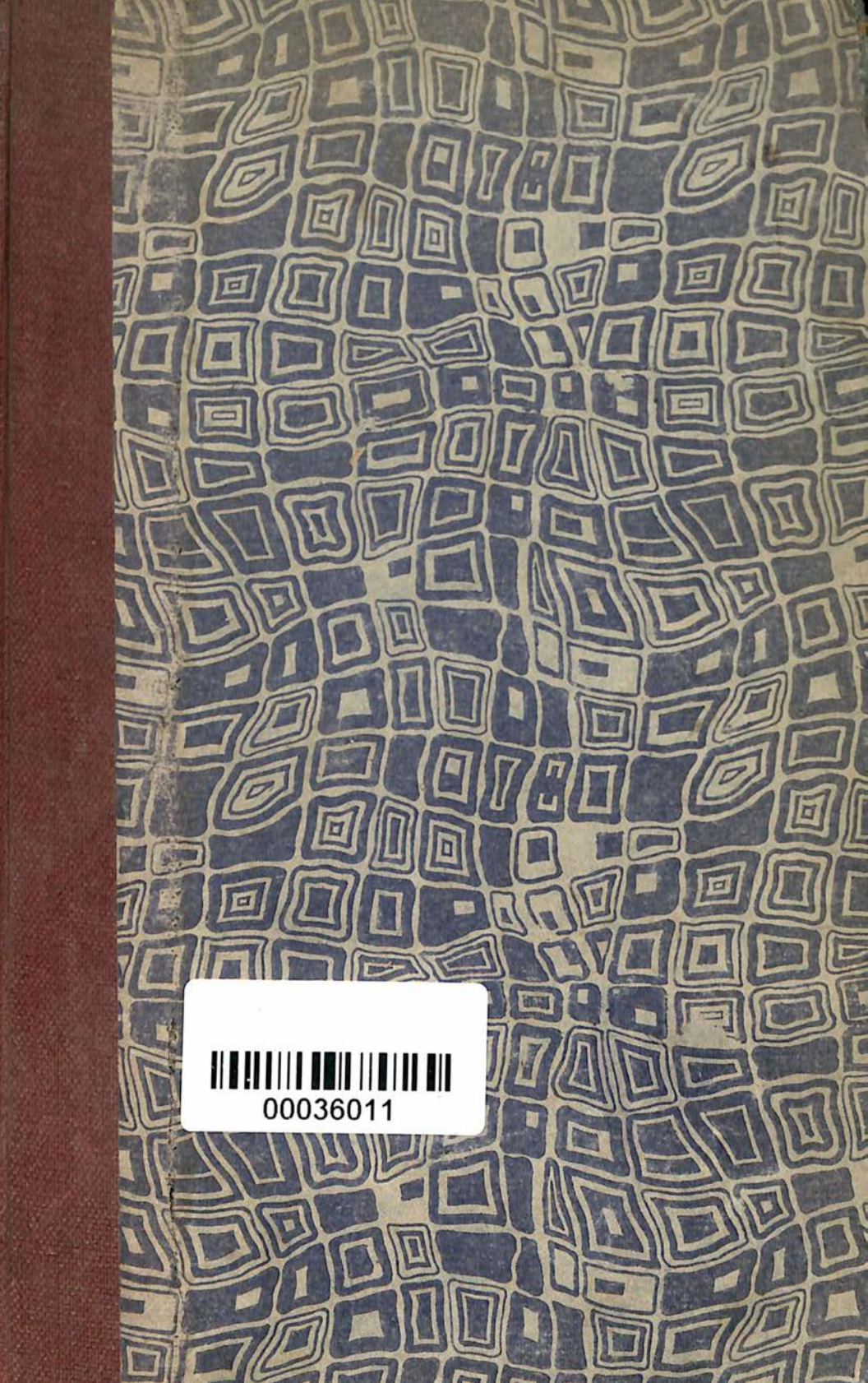
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# ENGLISH SOCIETY
# IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

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# ENGLISH SOCIETY

## IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

### ESSAYS IN ENGLISH MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

BY

PAUL VINOGRADOFF

M.A., Hon. D.C.L. (Oxford), Hon. LL.D. (Cambridge and Harvard), Dr. Hist. (Moscow), F.B.A.

CORPUS PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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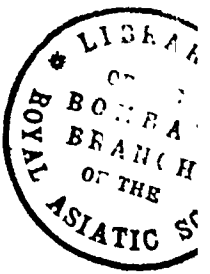


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TO THE MEMORY

OF

F. W. MAITLAND

# PREFACE

I HAVE treated in a former work[1] some of the questions of social history connected with the period of the formation of Common Law. In the present volume I should like to follow up these investigations into an earlier and more obscure period—into the eleventh century, which witnessed the definite settlement of the Danes, the overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon system, and the beginnings of Norman rule. Both the setting of problems and their treatment have to be different on this occasion from what they were in the book on Villainage. Instead of dealing with clearly formulated legal records and detailed extents of manorial possessions and services, we shall have to use chiefly the short, barren abstracts of Domesday Book, and stray notices as to legal customs and historical events. But, on the other hand, it is easier to form a view as to the relative influence and intercourse of the orders and classes of society, of the relations between the different functions of its life.

The central record of the study, the Domesday Survey, proved invaluable as a description, unique in history, of the state of a great country in the eleventh century, in the beginning of a new and momentous period in the life of Europe. However interesting and important early French Surveys, early German and Italian documents may be, they describe local and particular instances, while the Royal Inquest of 1086 stretches over all the social groups

[1] Villainage in England, 1892. Clarendon Press.

of a kingdom, and over the greater part of its territory. In a way, no better clue exists for the understanding of the machinery of mediaeval society at large, and for the appreciation of the relative importance of its constitutive elements. A thorough study of the record in its endless and exceedingly valuable details may be said to be a task set not merely to English historians and antiquarians, but to the students of the social development of feudal Europe in general.

And, for all its puzzling problems and difficulties, such a study presents a unique opportunity for concentrating materials and formulating explanations in regard to later and earlier periods of history. The antiquarian has constantly to go back to Domesday if he wants to trace to a definite starting-point local features or social institutions.

There is, of course, a 'beyond' even as to Domesday, but the safest way towards an apprehension of this 'beyond' lies through the Great Survey itself. The latter appears, in a sense, as the knot in which the threads of English social history converge from all sides, and we cannot wonder that the efforts of scholars should be directed above all things to loosening this knot in order to disentangle and follow up the threads. As a matter of fact, it is clear that no attempt to explain the rise of a landed aristocracy or the mediaeval agrarian system, or the influence of the Danish invasion, or the relative strength of the free and unfree elements of society can succeed unless the materials provided by the Domesday Survey are examined and accounted for.

On the other hand, it is not less important to analyse this material in the light provided by later and earlier facts. The Survey is primarily composed of abstracts from notes on early Norman and late Saxon conditions, and the clues to its terminology and statistics must be sought not only in indications provided by itself, but also in the evidence

from English, French, and Scandinavian sources in its immediate neighbourhood. In a sense, the Domesday Inquest became a powerful factor of history; it led to the definite registration of groups which might otherwise have remained in a rather floating state; settlements of controversies as to tenure and status were connected with it. But the principal aim of the Survey was not to modify but to record, and therefore it stands in the closest relation to the age which precedes it. Difficult critical problems certainly arise in any attempt to interpret Domesday by the help of feudal incidents, or of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish terms, but both methods of interpretation have to be constantly used if we want to get at the realities indicated by the dry abstracts of the Survey itself.

One great question I have thought best to leave aside—namely, the rise of English town life. The authorities of the eleventh century, and especially Domesday Book, supply us with capital evidence on this point, but the trend of such an inquiry leads to intricate problems which seem to require a separate and exhaustive treatment. I thought it sufficient for the day to discuss the principal types of development in country life to which the greater part of the Survey and of other eleventh-century documents are devoted.

The importance of the subject and the wealth of information supplied by the existing evidence may justify my attempt to take up a study in which so much has been done by scholars of great name, and especially by one, the greatest of all, who has been lately taken from us. In a recently issued volume[1] I have tried to state my views as to the results achieved by their inquiries. My present work will be exclusively devoted to an examination of the evidence itself in as far as it treats of the eleventh century or, though coming from later and earlier sources, has a

[1] The Growth of the Manor, 1905. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

bearing on the state of affairs in the course of the eleventh century. It is to the terminological and institutional side of the inquiry rather than to the statistical and topographical one that my studies have been principally directed. References have been given rather fully in the hope that a selection of texts from original authorities might prove valuable, even apart from the argument, and would facilitate the task of testing this argument as far as it goes.

I am greatly indebted to friends who have kindly read my proofs and offered many a valuable suggestion, to W. H. Stevenson, of St. John's College, Oxford, Professor C. Gross, of Harvard University, and F. Morgan, of Keble College, Oxford. I have also had, during my recent visit to the United States, the benefit of the advice of Professor Gay, of Harvard University, in regard to the first essay of this book; while Miss Toulmin Smith has taken great pains in revising the proofs of the second essay and of the Appendices. My secretary, Miss A. Sergeant, has rendered me most valuable assistance—among other things by compiling, under my direction, the tabular Appendices and the Index.

I am conscious of many shortcomings, but I hope that, whatever strictures may be made by critics, the work may yet be found to be a not superfluous contribution to a subject which is likely to supply generations of students with materials for inquiries.

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# INTRODUCTION

1. THE eleventh century seems a very distant time to us who are entering into the twentieth. It appears as a field for antiquarian speculations entirely devoid of practical interest. What can its study profit the lawyer, or even the historian, bent on tracing the progress of living institutions, on explaining the present by the past? And yet it does not require profound investigations in order to see that the eleventh century, like many other ancient epochs, still lays claim to attention, and that its study repays the labour of the scholar who turns to it. For a philologist, for instance, there could not be any question as to its importance: it is the time when the composition of the English language was definitely settled, when it was decided by history that it should become the characteristic mixture of Germanic and French elements which it has remained ever since. It may, in a sense, be said that English in its twofold composition dates from the eleventh century.

Problems of the eleventh century.

And so does English law and English society. From the eleventh century most of the great forces of English history —royalty, the landed aristocracy, the Church, local institutions—proceed on their course of development through many a momentous crisis, but without substantial break. Before the eleventh century we witness the stunted growth of a Teutonic state which might have resulted in something more akin to the formation of Denmark or Norway than to that of England as it has come to be. The eleventh century may be truly called the watershed in the development of English society.

From the point of view of social and legal history three great problems are set, and to a certain extent solved, at that time.

The first stage is reached in the amalgamation of the Old

English and of the French elements brought together by the Conquest; the Scandinavian factor is reduced to a secondary place in the life of the country at large; the conditions for the growth of Common Law are prepared by the political centralization following on the Conquest. Of the third of these processes we shall have to speak when we come to treat of the fate of provincial institutions. It may be convenient to remind the reader now briefly of the general features of the first and of the second process.

Old English element.

Very few words will suffice in regard to the relation between Old English and French institutions and customs, as this matter has been often discussed and cleared up in a more or less exhaustive way. Old English law was, of course, never abrogated and French law never introduced by a comprehensive enactment after the Conquest. English legal history does not know of a 'reception' of foreign law in the sense in which Roman law was received in Germany in the fifteenth century. The wergelds or compensations for homicide, the proof by the oath of a body of men swearing together, various customs as to marriage law and inheritance, &c., continued to exist and were frequently put into practice in royal, provincial, and local courts, more especially in those of the boroughs, where they have left deep traces in later times.[1]

The Chancery of Norman and Angevin kings followed most closely on important occasions precedents supplied by the charters of Edward the Confessor and of Canute. King Henry II sent out a writ in 1155 to all the shires in which the See of Canterbury held land, to apprise the communities of these shires that the new Archbishop Theobald was confirmed in the possession of all the estates and liberties which his predecessors had received from foreign kings. The writ was bilingual, Old English and Latin, and contained an enumeration of social ranks, offices, and rights which would

[1] The Borough Custumals, edited by the late Miss Bateson, are a mine of information as to survivals of Old English customs. See, e. g., the procedure as to oaths and compurgation in practice in London, Selden Society Series, xviii. 37 ff.

have been quite appropriate in the reign of Edward the Confessor.[1] The formula of the writ was evidently a standing one, and came to be repeated at the accession of each new archbishop: it does not vouch for the exact correspondence between the Anglo-Saxon terms employed and the social facts of Henry II's reign, but it illustrates in a forcible manner the continuity of legal tradition.

Turning to Domesday Book, we find that the whole complex of rights acquired by the French conquerors on English soil is determined in a sense by Old English law. The Norman lord usually got his title and claimed his rights on the strength, not of separate and express grants, but of a general assignment of all the titles and rights that had been possessed by his Saxon predecessors, of everything that had been held in a particular place by Godwin or Edric or Aslac T.R.E., that is, at the time of King Edward.[2] Hence we come across constant references and contests in regard to rights derived from occupation and ownership in Old English law. In a word, substantive Old English law passed from the time of the last Anglo-Saxon kings to that of the kings of the Norman dynasty, and continued in use in a variety of relations, especially in local custom.

French element.

And yet French law was imported wholesale and put into practice in every sphere of life. The classification of persons according to their status, legal procedure, police responsibility and punishment of criminals, military tenure, land-ownership and seisin are at once affected by views and rules

[1] Earle, Land Charters, 346: 'H. þurh godes gefu ænglelandes king gret ealle mine bissceopas and ealle mine eorlas and ealle mine scirereuan and ealle mine þeinas frencisce and englisce on þan sciran þe Teobalt ercebisceop and se hiret æt Cristes chyrchen on Cantuarabirg habbad land inne freondlice and ic keþe eow þet ic hebbe heom geunnen þet hi beon ælc þare lande wurþ þe hi eafdon ean (*sic*) Eadwardes Kinges dege and on Willelmes Kinges mines furþur ealdefader, and on Henrices Kinges mines ealdefader, and saca and socne, on stronde, and on streame, on wudan, and on feldan, tolles and theames, grithbriches, and hamsocne and forstalles, and infangenes thiafes, and fleamene frimtha, ofer heore agene men, binnan Burgan and butan, swa ful and swa ford swa mine agene Wicneres hit sechan scholden, and ofer swa fele þeinas swa ich heom to leten habban.' Collated with facsimile in Wolfgang Keller, Angelsächsische Palaeographie, Berlin, 1906, plate 13.

[2] Freeman, Norman Conquest, v. 17 ff.

which may be ultimately traced to Frankish law. The pioneers in this process of practical 'reception' are the feudal courts on the one hand, the king's courts on the other. In proportion as the feudal and the royal elements gain strength the law assumes more and more a French aspect, French in the sense of proceeding from germs brought over from the Continent and mainly borrowed from Frankish law, although the ultimate development of these germs was very unlike that of similar institutions in France. It may be sufficient to cite the introduction of wager of battle, which appears in full use at once after the Conquest.[1] Trial by jury presents even a more famous and important instance, and, although its legal evolution belongs chiefly to the reign of Henry II, the Frankish Inquest which formed its basis is already employed on the administrative and fiscal side in the reigns of the Norman kings, and certainly stands in close relationship to precedents derived from the practice of the Duchy of Normandy.[2]

Scandinavian element.

2. It is more difficult to estimate the influence of Scandinavian customs on England. They have been to a great extent hidden from view by their amalgamation with the body of Anglo-Saxon law. From the point of view of the French conquerors they were local varieties of the complex of legal rules which used to be included in the general designation of the Confessor's laws. And yet it is interesting to notice that there is a distinct stream of Scandinavian principles and practice running through this preconquestual legal lore. We can distinctly trace a time when there were two great bodies of law in concurrent use in England: Scandinavian customs in the Anglo-Danish half of the country, roughly speaking in England north-east of Watling Street, and more purely Saxon and Anglian customs and legislation in what may be termed, for want of a better word, the Anglo-Saxon half of England, south-west of Watling Street. It is more difficult to ascertain the particulars of the first case than those of the second, because

[1] Bigelow, Placita Anglo-Normanica, 19, 41, 42, 61, 69, &c.
[2] Brunner, Entstehung der Schwurgerichte.

the Danes and Norsemen were even less literary people than the Angles and Saxons, and their peculiarities are more often referred to than described.[1] Yet some characteristic features may be made out with sufficient clearness. They disclose on the one hand a great similarity in the general conceptions of justice and social order between Scandinavians and English, and, on the other, these general conceptions receive in many respects a peculiar treatment. It is worth while to look a little closer into these questions of the Scandinavian elements of preconquestual law, as their examination may prove useful later on, when we come to investigate the social differences between the Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Saxon provinces.[2]

Judicial organization.

Scandinavian influence is clearly traceable in some points of judicial organization and procedure. In several of the towns where the Danish settlements were especially strong, in Lincoln, Stamford, Cambridge, Chester, York, we find a peculiar Scandinavian legal institution, the *lagmen*, sometimes under that very name, and sometimes under the designation of *iudices*. In the Scandinavian countries the *lagmen*, the *lögsögumaðr*, are legal experts of high social standing, who have to lay down the law before the popular court, either in connexion with particular cases as they come up,

[1] Æthelred, vi. 37: 'on Dena lage be þam þe heora lagu sy.' Cf. Canute, ii. 15; 15, § 1.

[2] The principal contribution to this study has been made by Steenstrup in his volume on the 'Danelag'. Professor Alex. Bugge in his recent book on the Vikings has also called attention to several interesting facts. Both authors, especially the latter, exaggerate perhaps the amount of direct loans from the Scandinavians, and treat the subject to some extent in a strain of retrospective nationalism. Many traits which are considered as peculiar to the Danes and Norsemen appear in truth as a close parallel to older Teutonic customs. Some curious misunderstandings are produced by these nationalistic prepossessions, as e. g. when Professor Alex. Bugge contends that serfs were of higher rank than the *villain* in the south-west of England, because they happen to be mentioned first in some of the surveys of the shires in Domesday Book (Vikingerne, ii. 322). But the general trend of these inquiries goes in the right direction, and leads to interesting points of view. The study of Anglo-Danish civilization has been too much neglected, and therefore the copious material presented by Domesday in this respect has not yet received an adequate treatment.

or in a systematic series of statements or lectures.[1] It would be impossible to prove that the function of the lagmen in England was differentiated in the same way from the ordinary jurisdiction of a judge. But it is clear that the town judges in question do not hold their commission from the king, and are not elected members of a popular tribunal. Their office is a hereditary one, and there is no exact counterpart to it in the purely English portions of the country.

The standard number of lagmen seems to have been twelve, and this observation leads up to another Scandinavian institution of considerable interest, namely, to the twelve senior thanes of Æthelred's law enacted at Wantage in 997. This group of twelve thanes appears in two of the clauses formulated by the Witanagemot. In cl. 3 they have to come forward in the court of every wapentake and to swear on relics that they will not accuse wrongly any innocent man or conceal any guilty one.[2] In cl. 13 it is enacted that if the thanes come to a unanimous decision, it should stand; if they are divided, that opinion should be accepted for which eight have voted, while the members of the minority incur a heavy fine—each six half-marks or two pounds.[3] The full quorum meant in this second case is evidently one of twelve as in the first, although the enactment requires somewhat more than an absolute majority for the validity of a sentence—eight and not seven. The idea of fining those who took a different view is not strange from a barbaric point of view: those who are overruled are assumed to have pronounced a wrong judgement, and are fined accordingly.

Indictment procedure.

The most interesting feature of the Wantage enactment is, however, the provision about the oath of the twelve

[1] Steenstrup, Danelag, 195 ff.; cf. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé, 731 ff.

[2] Æthelred, iii. 3, § 1: 'And þæt man habbe gemót on ælcum wæpentake and gán út þa yldestan xii þegnas and se gerefa mid and suerian on þam haligdome, þe heom man on hand sylle, þæt hig nellan nænne saclæsan man forsecgean ne nænne sacne forhélan.'

[3] Ibid., 13, § 2: 'And þæt dóm stande, þar þegenas sammæle beon; gif hig sacan, standan þæt hig viii secgað, and þa þe ðær oferdrifene beoð, gilde heora ælc vi healfmarc.'

thanes. It has been pointed out that we actually catch a glimpse here of the indictment procedure regularized in 1166 by the Assize of Clarendon.[1] On the other hand, the partisans of a derivation of the grand jury from the Inquest of Normandy and Carolingian France have given a more narrow interpretation to the action of the twelve thanes: it has been taken to establish the personal status of accused persons in regard to the ordeal spoken of in cl. 4 and following. It was of great importance to settle whether a particular person was of good or bad repute, as the ordeal in the latter case was much heavier than in the first. Brunner thinks that only this preliminary settlement was entrusted to the twelve thanes, and that the indictment jury led by the twelve 'most lawful men' of the hundred as regulated by the Assize of Clarendon has nothing to do with the laws of Wantage, and is derived from Nor an-French precedents.[2] It seems to me that this is emphatically a case when the growth of an institution has to be traced to different roots. The continuity of the Frankish and Norman inquest procedure may be considered as fully established in regard to England by Palgrave and Brunner's studies. But this does not preclude that in preconquestual England itself there had existed legal customs which prepared the way for the indictment jury of the twelfth century. The leading men of the wapentake, to judge by the Wantage enactment, were called up to point out persons who had to be accused of crimes, and to settle the conditions under which they might undertake to purge themselves of the accusation. The tenor of cl. 3 is too general to admit of a restrictive interpretation bearing merely on the character of the ordeal: it speaks of innocence and guilt, and not of repute, and the quorum of the twelve thanes appears later on as responsible for the sentence. Nor is the remarkable coincidence with the twelve lawful men of the Clarendon Assize, on the one hand, with the twelve lagmen of the Danish boroughs, likely to be

[1] Steenstrup, Danelag, 206 ff.
[2] Brunner, Schwurgerichte, 28, 403 ff.

fortuitous.[1] To be sure, the verdict of the senior thanes was not final; it could be reversed by successful ordeal, but even so the verdict of the grand jury is lacking in finality: from the legal point of view in both cases we have only an indictment before us. In a vague way some elements of such a procedure on the strength of the opinion of the authoritative, the leading, men of a district may be said to have existed in the Anglo-Saxon shires as well. At any rate it is quite clear from records of late Anglo-Saxon pleas that the decisions were formulated in the county and probably in the hundred court by the leading thanes, and not by the community of the suitors.[2] But, of course, this only shows that jurisdiction was assuming in pre-conquestual England an aristocratic basis. The Anglo-Danish practice led to a definite differentiation of ranks, and to a concrete development of the institution of senior thanes and lagmen wielding an authoritative supervision over the criminal police of the district. The Anglo-Norman inquest provided the last link for the formation of an indictment jury empannelled for the purpose of formulating indictments, and capable of collecting information as to supposed guilt. If the Norman-French inquest had not supervened, the Scandinavian procedure might have easily taken the shape of the establishment of presumption by an aristocratic board. If, on the other hand, the Scandinavian element described in Æthelred's enactment had not found its way into English practice, the Frankish inquest would have hardly assumed the definite form of indictment on the strength of the opinion of authoritative knights.

Private law.

The decisions of the Witenagemot of Wantage seem

[1] Cf. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, i. 121.

[2] Thorpe, Diplom., p. 336 f. (before 1036): 'An scírgemót sæt æt Ægelnoðes stáne be Cnutes dæge cinges . . . and þær wæs Bryning scírgerefa . . . and ealle þa þegnas on Herefordscire. . . . Ða astód Ðurcil Hwíta up on þam gemóte and bæd *ealle þa þegnas* syllan his wífe þa landes clæne þe hire mage hire geúðe. And heo swa dydon and Ðurcil rád ða to Sce Æþelberhtes mynstre, be *ealles þæs folces leáfe and gewitnesse* and let settan on áne Cristes bóc.' Cf. p. 302 (before 1011), 'þegenas ægðer ge of East Cent ge of West Cent, eal seo duguð' . . .; p. 301 (about 1006), ealle ða ildostan þægnas on Dorsæton.'

altogether to have been an attempt to legalize the position of the Danes in their English settlements, and to sanction their legal arrangements. Besides the clauses already mentioned we find a very characteristic enactment that *witword* and *lahcop* and *landcop* and *lahslit* should stand.[1] This evidently applies to Danish customs quite as much as the disposition about the holding of wapentakes applied to Danish district courts. The *lahslit*[2] is the Danish counterpart of the Anglo-Saxon *bót*, *witword* is explained in Anglo-Saxon dictionaries as applying to testaments and bequests, but the word is a peculiar and well-authenticated Northern term made out to mean a legally allowed claim,[3] more especially the right to vindicate ownership or possession by one's affirmation under oath; and there does not seem to be any reason for seeking another sense for this peculiar expression in Anglo-Saxon documents.[4] Both *lahcop* and *landcop* appear in the enactment under discussion in a specifically Scandinavian form (*lag-kaup*, *landkaup*); the Old English would be *lahceap* and *landceap*, and this latter actually occurs in charters.[5] The buying of law implied by *lahcop* can hardly mean anything else but redintegration to one's legal status after the payment of a fine similar to the later amercement or *misericordia*. As for *landceap*, the term establishes the practice of alienation of land by purchase. It is corroborated by mentions elsewhere, and is interesting as marking a stage in the history of the transfer of land, originally hampered by the right of the kindred or *mægth*. This particular point is curiously illustrated by some notices about the transfer of land in the Anglo-Danish county of Northamptonshire, showing that the main features of purchase and tradition were the confirmation of the validity of the transaction by *festermen* (sureties), and occasionally by public courts.[6] This evidence does not

[1] Æthelred, iii. 3. Cf. Law of Northumbr. Priests, 67, 1.
[2] Edw. and Guthr., iii. 2; Canute, ii. 49, &c.
[3] Amira, Nordgermanisches Obligationenrecht, i. 91 ff.
[4] Bosworth and Toller, s. v. *witword*, explain it by testament.
[5] Liebermann, Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Glossar, s. v.
[6] See my article on 'Transfer of Land in Old English Law' in the Harvard Law Review, 1907.

only come from a province deeply permeated by Scandinavian influence, but it agrees in fundamental points with the legal customs which obtained in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland.

Criminal law.

One more feature of Scandinavian influence to which I should like to call attention is the characteristic treatment of some crimes from the point of view of moral reprobation. While older Anglo-Saxon law as well as other 'Leges barbarorum' considers crime mainly as a tort, and dwell on compensation, prevention of feud and atonement for breach of the peace, the idea of punishment for a moral wrong finds its way mainly through the influence of the Church, which considers crime primarily as sin. There is a second channel, however, provided by the conception of honour of military societies. To fly before the enemy, to forsake one's companion or chief, is estimated to be mean, dishonourable, unworthy of a warrior, and this factor of reprobation in connexion with a certain code of conduct appears clearly in the legislation and legal lore of the Anglo-Danish period.[1] One of the results of this new departure is the appearance of a group of misdeeds which are described as *nidingsværk*.[2] Quite apart from the material consequences of his doings, from the amount of havoc brought about by them, a man may be pilloried as a niding, a mean fellow, because the crime imputed to him is unworthy of a warrior. To kill an enemy in strife, to burn his house, are not the acts of a niding, although it may lead to very unpleasant reprisals and eventually to heavy compensation. But Swegen, Godwin's son, for the kidnapping of Earl Björn, was declared a niding.[3] The moral standard introduced in such cases testifies to an important progress in criminal law, but it is intimately connected with the life of a class—the military class of the Scandinavian invasions. The sentence on Swegen was pronounced by the assembly of the *here*, and we know from other sources that stringent rules of discipline, pro-

[1] Cf. Canute, ii. 77.

[2] Steenstrup, Danelag, 257 ff.

[3] A. S. Chron., A. D. 1049.

fessional honour and justice, were formulated and enforced by the military associations of Scandinavian warriors. The company of the Jomsvikings in Pomerania, from which the *Thingemannalid* of Canute is said to have sprung, was closely knitted by comradeship, and developed very strict rules of conduct. The same may be said of the *Thingemannalid* or *Vederlag* of the Anglo-Danish kings themselves.[1] Altogether the military association evidently played a great part in holding together and organizing the Scandinavian invaders and settlers in England. The ties of kinship, though very powerful and elaborate in their homes, were not well adapted for their organization abroad, as people of different kindreds and even races were very much thrown together in the campaigns in foreign parts. One other characteristic feature may be noticed in this connexion—namely, the rise of armed guilds in Anglo-Danish England, corresponding very closely to similar bodies in Scandinavian countries. The guild of the Cambridge thanes[2] finds its best counterpart in the guilds of St. Olaf in Norway, and other organizations of the same kind.[3]

On the whole, a study of conditions in the north-eastern provinces of England reveals everywhere traces of the legal and social influence of the Scandinavian race. The institutions more particularly at home in this territory are, as a rule, akin to those which obtained in the south and west, but often present sharper outlines and find their parallel not so much in the conditions of the manorialized south-west of the eleventh century as in the more primitive Anglo-Saxon institutions of the ninth and the tenth. Anyhow, in our further studies we shall have to be careful not to slur over the fundamental dualism of preconquestual England, and to attend to the variations produced by it in the aspect of legal custom and of economic arrangements.

[1] Cf. Larson, The King's Household before the Norman Conquest, 163 ff.

[2] Thorpe, Diplom., 610 ff.

[3] Skraa for et Olafsgilde i Gulathingslagen; Olafsgilde i Onarheim: Norges gamle love, v. 7, 11. Cf. Papenheim, Ein altnordisches Schutzgildenstatut; Dänische Schutzgilden.

Plan of work.

3. I have to add a few words about the general scheme of the present book. I should like to analyse the principal legal institutions of the age in their bearing on the constitution of society. Law is always closely intertwined with the business interests, the economic forces, the social intercourse of the age: the aim of law is to regulate them, and at the same time, the development of law is to a great extent dependent on these very business interests, economic forces, and social intercourse. In a broad sense legal history is an aspect of social history, and it is from this side that I desire to approach it. I shall try, firstly, to examine the decisive political factors of social life and to trace the influence of public law on society; secondly, to examine the economic factors of social life and to trace the influence of husbandry and of private law in as far as it regulates husbandry; thirdly, to examine the classes and groups produced by the combined working of political and economic causes, and to trace the main features of the laws as to personal status under which these classes live. In connexion with this general plan I shall divide my volume into two essays—one treating of society in its relation to government, the other treating of land-tenure and the classes settled on the land, as the principal elements of economic organization in the eleventh century.

As to the first essay, a few preliminary remarks may not be amiss. When we speak of government and political organization we are naturally led to think primarily of the institutions by which public authority is represented—of kingship, parliament, the courts of justice, the officials, local government, &c. But when it is not so much the political machinery itself as its action in social life that has to be studied, a different treatment of the subject may seem appropriate. Instead of the anatomy of the commonwealth we may attend to its physiology; instead of the structure of the political body its functions may be made the subject of observation. We shall have to speak of institutions to some extent, but let us chiefly look at the work they were doing, at the social problems they had to solve.

From this point of view a primitive government like that of England in the eleventh century has to face mainly three great questions which continue to play an important part nowadays, but are complicated by ever so many other issues. The three tasks this rudimentary government had to master were—the defence of the country, the maintenance of order and justice, and the providing of the means of existence for government by means of taxation. Military organization, jurisdiction, and taxation will have to be discussed in their relations to social life.

# FIRST ESSAY

# GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

## SECTION I: MILITARY ORGANIZATION

## CHAPTER I

### MERCENARIES AND NATIONAL LEVIES

Military systems.

1. PERHAPS the most general feature of political organization, a feature common to all its varieties, however widely they might differ in other respects, is the necessity of a public force of some kind. Tribes and cities, savage hordes, feudal society and modern states, in as much as they are united against outsiders, and claim independent existence, have to provide, in one way or another, for an armed host. But, of course, this host may be arranged on very different lines: it may be the people in arms, or be recruited from a class of professional warriors, or consist of bands of trained mercenaries. In any case the system according to which the commonwealth carries on its armaments cannot but exercise a potent influence on the whole constitution of society—it may lead to social equality, or to the predominance of the armed few, to the endowment of soldiers with land, or to the sway of a plutocracy supported by hired armies. The central centuries of the Middle Ages in England present us with at least three main varieties of military organization, comprising further subdivisions. There was the hereditary aristocracy of feudalism based on land endowment; there were bodies of professional soldiers acting as mercenaries and household troops; there were the national levies of *fyrd* and *here* gathered on the personal or on the territorial basis. All these distinct systems overlapped a good deal, and

may be said to have co-existed during the greater part of the period. But the epochs when each of them was predominant are easily distinguishable, and the contrast of the conceptions underlying them is so great that they may be considered separately from the institutional point of view.

Hired soldiers.

As is well known, mercenaries were often employed both before and after the Norman Conquest. We need not treat in detail of the hiring of Flemings and French soldiers, nor of the levies of mercenary troops on English soil, outside the ordinary course of feudal service.[1] Although these expedients played a considerable part in the military history of the times, their social importance is not great. They did not lead to the formation of new classes, and did not alter materially the development of existing classes, at any rate in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. But some features which throw light on the economic basis of military service, and its material value in these times, have to be noticed shortly in a work treating of the relations between government and society.

The hiring of soldiers was always, to a great extent, matter of special agreement; conditions and pay must have varied greatly. But in spite of these fluctuations, the frequent use of mercenaries tended towards the establishment of certain rules and common standards; it may be said that there was a certain medium price of the commodity in the market. We find 8*d.* a day to be the allowance of a fully armed knight in Henry II's time,[2] and this is maintained, on the strength of ancient custom, as the normal rate in the thirteenth century in the case of fully armed horsemen.[3] This explains why, under ancient assessment, scutage was computed at two marks per fee; this sum corresponds exactly to the wages of a knight for

[1] Stubbs, Constitutional History, i. 349, 470, 630; ii. 290; Miss Norgate, The Angevin Empire, i. 285, 402, 427; ii. 155, 162; Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages, i. 30 seq., 200. As it seems to me, Rogers greatly exaggerates the influence of the hiring of mercenaries on social and economic development.

[2] Pipe Roll, Hen. II, p. 53. [3] Testa de Nevill, p. 52 b.

the usual forty days.[1] Later on scutage gets increased to £2 a fee, but this is easily explained, partly by its being treated more as a convenient exaction than as an equivalent for actual service, partly by the gradual rise in prices, and, consequently, in wages. Extant evidence on the customary allowance of fully-equipped armed men before the Conquest applies, in connexion with the prevailing military system, to foot soldiers. According to the Berkshire custumal, one man was sent from five hides, and received 4*s.* from each for two months, which would be 4*d.* a day.[2] The provision for the host assembled by William Rufus at Hastings in 1094 would amount to 3*d.* a day, if a service of forty days was reckoned upon, or 2*d.* if the original outfit was made for two months.[3]

Another feature of interest in connexion with our data about the daily allowance for military service is the transition which they sometimes indicate between the inconvenient short terms of obligatory service and the subsidizing of armed forces by the king. One of the main objections against the feudal arrangement of the host was its liability to disperse after the performance of its forty days' service. Hired soldiers, although they cost more, were a better tool in the hands of a commander, not merely because they were likely to be under better control, but also because they were engaged, not for six weeks, but for longer periods, e. g. for the year. This is undoubtedly an important feature of contrast between the two systems. But there were intermediate links between the two which explain, to some extent, why the passage from the one to the other was so easy. In the case of the Welsh expeditions, for instance,

[1] Round, Feudal England, 271.

[2] Domesd. i. 56: 'Si rex mittebat alicubi exercitum de v hidis tantum unus miles ibat et ad eius victum vel stipendium de unaquaque hida dabantur ei iiii solidi ad ii menses.'

[3] Sax. Chron. a. 1094: 'Þ feoh syllan to þæs cynges behófe þe hi genumen hæfdon. Þet wæs ælc man healf punda.' Flor. Wigorn. a. 1094: '... xx millia pedonum in Normanniam iussit sibi in auxilium mitti. Quibus ... congregatis pecuniam quae data fuerat eis ad victum Rannulphus Passelambardus, praecepto regis, abstulit, scilicet, unicuique decem solidos. ...'

and for the defence of castles, a common expedient was to call up a man for a short period of compulsory service, say fifteen days, or eight days, and to keep him afterwards at the cost of the king.[1] By this method valuable 'cadres' of English men-at-arms were kept ready for the formation of contingents of hired soldiers.

As the cases quoted apply to military duties which were organized long before the French conquest—for instance, the frontier defence against the Welsh—it is to be surmised that many of the instances described in records of the feudal age may have gone back to preconquestual origins; they are at any rate clearly distinguished from ordinary Norman knight service, both in terminology—they are technically serjeanties—and by the unusual terms of service. There are, besides, direct indications of the hiring of mercenaries during the Old English period.[2]

Naval establishment.

The beginnings of the English naval establishment are particularly characterized, as in the case of other nations, by the employment of experienced sailors from abroad. The 'pirates' used to man King Alfred's galleys in his memorable attempt to meet the Vikings on their own element were mostly Frisians, if we may judge from the list of casualties in their first fight with the Danes.[3] In 1012 forty-five ships of Swegen's fleet broke off from the rest, and made a bargain with the Unready King, in his sore plight, to keep the country against its enemies, on condition that the crews should be fed and clothed.[4] The agreement was evidently made, not with single seamen, but with the

[1] Testa de Nevill, 54 b: 'Randulphus de Perton tenet et debet servire domino Regi ad custum suum in Wallia cum duobus equis per viii dies et postea ad stipendium domini R. et ultra mare ad stipendium domini Regis.'

[2] Dd. ii. 107 a: (Customs of Colchester) 'Preterea de unaquaque domo per annum vi denarios quae reddere potest *ad victum soldariorum regis vel ad expeditionem terrae vel maris*, et hoc non est ad firmam. Et hoc sit si rex soldarios habuerit vel expeditionem fecerit.'

[3] Sax. Chron. A. D. 897: 'Þær wearð of slægen . . . Wulfheard Friesa ⁊ Æbbe Friesa ⁊ Æðelhere Friesa . . . ealra monna Fresiscra ⁊ Engliscra lxii . . .'; cf. Plummer's note, ii. 111, 112.

[4] Sax. Chr. sub anno, i. p. 143.

entire seceding squadron, and later agreements were entered into on the same principles with Scandinavian ships. In Canute's reign a squadron of forty ships was kept up after the disbanding of his *here*, and this proved to be the beginning of a Danish standing fleet in the king's pay, which served under Canute and his successors.[1] Its crews of professional seamen, *lidsmen*, were clearly distinguished from those of the ships manned by national levies,[2] and exerted a great deal of political influence.[3] The men received eight marcs a year per oar, or about 3½*d.* per day.[4] The reckoning per oar was the common estimate of a ship's fighting crew in Scandinavian parts; it comprised all able-bodied seamen who eventually turned out as soldiers, but did not extend to attendants.[5] The allowance of 3½*d.* per day was a liberal one, as we may judge by comparing it with the provision made, some 150 years later, in Richard I's reign, when only boatswains were paid 4*d.* a day, while common soldiers received merely 2*d.*[6] The considerable depreciation of money during the interval between these dates renders the advantage in favour of Canute's, Harold Harefoot's, and Hardacanute's sailors even greater. On the other hand, it has to be said that the seamen of the Danish kings were considered quite as much land warriors, had a harder military task before them, and enjoyed correspondingly greater consideration, while by Richard I's time the services had become more specialized. However this may be, the Danish standing fleet dwindled with the decrease of Danish influence in the state, and under Edward the Confessor the agreement was gradually dissolved,

[1] Sax. Chr. a. 1018, i. p. 154.

[2] Sax. Chr. a. 1046, i. p. 168: 'Ða ge(wende) Godwine eorl west onbuton mid þes cynges ii scipum þam anan steorde Harold eorl ⁊ þam oðran Tostig his broðor ⁊ landes manna scipa xlii . . .' Cf. Sax. Chr. a. 1047: ('litsmanna scipa').

[3] They took a conspicuous part in the election of Harold Harefoot to the regency. Sax. Chr. E. a. 1036, i. p. 159. Cf. Steenstrup, Normannerne, iii. 414.

[4] Sax. Chr. E. a. 1039, i. p. 161; cf. Steenstrup, iii. 423.

[5] Steenstrup, Kong Valdemar's Jordbog, 199 ff.; Normannerne, iv. 159 ff.; Hildebrand, Sverige's Medeltid, i. 256 ff.; iii. 617 f.

[6] Round, Feudal England, l. c.

the remnant of the ships leaving England with their gains.[1]

A similar case is presented by the well-known standing guard of the English kings in the eleventh century. While after the Norman conquest no considerable corps of that kind was kept, and the kings were merely surrounded by personal followers in varying number, the huscarls of Canute, Edward, and Harold were a powerful standing division, which constituted the backbone of the army.[2] To judge from Northern analogies, they were mercenaries in the sense of having made a definite bargain with their sovereign, and their position was not unlike that of the Danish fleet while it existed. They were picked professionals, gathered and kept together as a standing military force, and living at the expense of the sovereign whom they were serving. Members of this guard were occasionally employed on administrative errands, as, for instance, the luckless two slain in Worcestershire while gathering the geld for Hardacanute,[3] but they were detached in such cases from their chief duties, for obvious reasons, as men enjoying special trust from the king, and likely to serve him well on occasions which demanded courage and authority. We hear sometimes of grants of land[4] to huscarls, and most of them were probably rewarded sooner or later in this way for their services; but again, it was not as landowners that they were important, and no definite conditions were attached to their tenure of lands. It merely supervened as a fitting sequel to a life in the king's household.[5] At the outset they

Thingemannalid.

[1] Sax. Chr. E. a. 1047, i. 171: '...man sette ut ix litsmanna scipa and fif belifan wiþ æftan'; a. 1050, i. 172: 'and þæs ylcan geares he sette ealle þa litsmen of mále.'

[2] Freeman, Norman Conquest, i. 497; Steenstrup, Normannerne, iii. 374 ff.; iv. 146 ff.; Larson, The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest, 157 ff.

[3] Sax. Chr. and Flor. Wigorn. a. 1041.

[4] See a list of the huscarls mentioned as landowners in Domesday, Larson, King's Household, 163, 164.

[5] The Lex Castrensis of Sveno which, whatever we may think of details, is certainly drawn up in conformity with ancient tradition, appears as a statute of the household. Script. rer. Danicar. iii. 4.

were recruited mainly among Scandinavians—Danes and Norsemen, and although in time the force came to include English as well as Danes, its organization was framed according to the Scandinavian pattern.[1] The Domesday Survey has preserved some traces of payments made by boroughs for the maintenance of huscarls; they are not large—ranging from one mark to two in the four Dorset boroughs.[2] The description of Malmesbury shows that a similar payment was made there for feeding 'buscarls', who seem to be seamen-warriors of the same kind as the lidsmen, and to correspond to the huscarls of the land-army.[3] An interesting trait of this Malmesbury notice is that the payment for the maintenance of the mercenaries is exacted when the citizens of the borough do not take part in the king's host. Where the Malmesbury record has *buzecarlos*, the Colchester one has *soldarios*. The first of these terms is generally assumed to refer to sailors—buzucarls,[4] men from 'busses', in the sense of boats of a special construction. This derivation rests chiefly on the supposed connexion with the Q.N. *buza* (buss), and if we accept it, the expression will have to be explained on the *pars pro toto* principle: mercenary soldiers would be called 'boatsmen' because many of them had served in the fleet. As,

[1] The organization of the Thingemannalid is well explained by Steenstrup, Normannerne, iv. § 25. Larson, King's Household, 166, does not distinguish with sufficient care between the *hird* or *thingemannalid* and the *here*.

[2] Dd. i. 75 a: (Dorchester) 'Erant clxxvii domus. Hae pro omni seruitio regis se defendebant et geldabant pro x hidis. Scilicet ad opus Huscarlium unam markam argenti exceptis consuetudinibus quae pertinent ad firmam noctis.' Bridport paid geld for five hides and gave 'ad opus Huscarlium' half a mark. Wareham was rated at ten hides, and on the same standing as Dorchester in regard to the huscarls, while Shaftesbury payed the double (two marks), being rated at twenty hides. There can hardly be a doubt that other places besides these contributed to the maintenance of huscarls, but their assessment is not mentioned in Domesday, probably because by most jurors it was not considered a customary one.

[3] Dd. i. 64 c: 'Quando rex ibat in expeditionem uel terra uel mari habebat de hoc burgo aut xx solidos ad pascendos suos buzecarlos.' I do not see why this interesting notice should be attributed to Wilton and not to Malmesbury. Domesday and Beyond, 156.

[4] Oxford Dictionary, s.v. *buscarl*, *buss*. Cf. Plummer, Notes to Sax. Chron. ii. 239.

however, neither the Malmesbury nor the Colchester entries nor the references of the Sax. Chron. aa. 1052 and 1066 point necessarily to seamen,[1] another derivation may be suggested, namely, from O.N. *boð*—order, command.[2] *Budscarls* would be 'men under command', an explanation which seems to give at least as good a sense as the received 'boatsmen'. In any case the buzecarls of the Chronicle appear more in the light of mercenaries forming the garrison of Hastings and Sandwich than of disbanded sailors. And this meaning of garrison troops would go far to explain the fact that only boroughs are charged directly with a special rate for the feeding of buzecarls and huscarls.

The attempt to organize standing mercenary troops on a large scale failed when the Danish settlement broke down as a leading political force. The mercenary bands of the Norman and Angevin periods were casual combinations of men, and never assumed an importance similar to that of the *Thingemannalid* or the Danish garrisons in the towns. The social basis for the mercenary system of the eleventh century was provided by three conditions which could not be kept up in the same way later on: the existence of a race of professional warriors, their unsettled, migratory habits of life, and a governmental policy of providing maintenance and cash to dangerous soldiers in the way of tribute or of pay. All these conditions were removed by the amalgamation between Norsemen and English, and by the French conquest. Society settled down on the basis of land tenure, and natural economy superseded for a time the 'cash' system which had ruled the relations

[1] Sax. Chr. a. 1052 (cf. Plummer, ii. 239): 'he gespeon him to ealle Kentingas ⁊ ealle þa butescarlas of Hæstingan . . . ⁊ læson æfre forð mid heom ealle þa butsecarlas he heo gemetton, ⁊ comon þa to Sandwic mid geotendan here.' Sax. Chr. 1066 (C.): '. . . Tostig . . . for . . . of Sandwic ⁊ name of þam butsekarlon sume mid him. Sume þances. Sume unþances.' 1066 (D.): '⁊ þa butsa carlas hine forsocan . . .' Is the mysterious '*busones* comitatus' of Bracton, f. 115, and of the Placitorum abbreviatio, p. 85, connected in any way with *buzecarls*? It would be hardly possible to trace any relation between the influential leaders of the county and 'boatsmen', but perhaps easier to recognize in the *buzzones* king's vassals supposed to lead the county. The term would be similar to the designation of the knights of the shire.

[2] Cf. Fritzner, Ordbog, s. v.

between the government of Canute or Edward the Confessor and its hired soldiers.

*Fyrd* and *Here.*

2. Mercenary and feudal troops had to be used because they were specially efficient according to the needs of the time, but neither the first nor the second were ever considered as the unique kind of military array. Even during the feudal period national levies[1] stood behind them, in spite of the predominance of the aristocratic class. And as for the centuries before the Conquest, it is the *fyrd* and the *here* that present the fundamental institutions of the Old English and of the Scandinavian army systems. In the eleventh century both terms begin to be employed for the same thing—an army summoned by the king, on the strength of the general principle of national allegiance, might be called *here*, even if it were composed of Englishmen, or *fyrd*, though it were levied in the Scandinavian provinces,[2] but, originally, the distinction between the *fyrd* as the English host, and the *here* as the enemy's army, the Danish host, is clearly established and consistently kept up.[3] Both the ultimate combination of the terms and their original difference carry weight, and are explained by historical conditions. After the definite settlement of the Danes, and their subjection to the rule of the king of Eng-

[1] On the fyrd see Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 209, 291, 633; Maitland, Domesday and Beyond, 159 ff.; Oman, History of the Art of War, 110, 357, 358.

[2] Sax. Chr. 1006: 'Þa het se cyng abannan út ealne ðeodscipe of Westseaxum ⁊ of Myrcean ⁊ hi lagon ute þa ealne þone herfest on fyrdinge ongean þone here . . . Ac for eallum þissum se here ferde swa he sylf wolde ⁊ se fyrdinge dyde þære landleode ælcne hearm. Þet him naðor ne dohte ne inn here ne uthere.' 1013: 'Swegen mid here & fyrde.' 1048 (E.): 'het se cyning bannan út here ægder ge be suðan Temese ge be norðan eall þ æfre betst wæs.' 1073 (E.): 'Willelm cyng lædde Engliscne here ⁊ Francisce ofer sæ.' 1074 (D.): 'Englisce fyrde ⁊ Francisce ofer sæ.'

[3] Sax. Chr. 921: '. . . fór Eadweard cyning mid West Sexna fierde to Colneceastre . . . ⁊ eal se here on East Englum him swor annesse . . . ⁊ se here þe to Grantan brycge hierde hine geces synderlice him to hlaforde ⁊ to mundboran.' a. 922: 'fór he . . . to Snotingaham ⁊ ge fór þa burg, ⁊ het hie gebetan ⁊ gesettan. ægðer ge mid Engliscum mannum, ge mid Deniscum; ⁊ him cierde eall þæt folc to þe on Mercna lande geseten wæs, ægðer ge Denisc ge Englisce.'

Beda, i. 16: *hostilis exercitus* is rendered in the A.S. version by *here.*

land, there was not much difference between the levies of Devonshire and those of Nottinghamshire or of Yorkshire. More people would probably be liable to be called up in the northern provinces than in the south of the island, but this was a matter of social organization and not of principle.

These institutions which became similar in the eleventh century are described in strong contrast to each other in earlier times. The *here* may be said to be properly an army which occasionally took to pacific pursuits, while the *fyrd* was a nation which had to rise occasionally for warlike activity. The character of the Danish raids, the sudden movement of the heathen squadrons and corps, the erection of temporary fortifications, the 'horsing' of the Vikings, are too well known to require any special comment. I will just recall to the memory of my readers the general impression left by the descriptions of the Chronicles, the helplessness of the cumbersome arrays of the shires when they had to oppose their swift and reckless enemies—they are mostly too late, they look for the invaders in the south when their adversaries appear in the north, they collect in the west when they ought to be in the east.[1] The reason is not far to seek; it lay, not so much in the ability of the Norse leaders or in the warlike superiority of the Vikings, as in the social character of the force opposed to them. On some occasions when the shires are called out, the summons to the *fyrd* is spoken of as the summoning of the whole population.[2] The general array is described distinctly as a gathering of the country people, in which the better thanes form only a minority.[3] It

[1] Sax. Chr. 894: 'Þa ne mehte seo fird hie ná hindan of faran, ær hie wæron inne on þæm ge weorce.' 895: 'swa sio fird hie geræcan he mehte . . .' 1010: 'þonne hi wæron be easton. þonne beold man fyrde be westan.'

[2] Sax. Chr. 1016: 'Ða gesomnode Eadmund cyng iiii siþe ealle Englaþeode. . . . v siðe ealle Englaþeode.'

[3] Sax. Chr. 1006; 1051; 1052 (C.); cf. 1051 (D.), 'þ land folc him ongean gaderodan ægðer ge of Sumersæton ge of Defenescire. ⁊ he (Harold) hig aflymde. ⁊ þær ofsloh mâ þonne xxx godera þegena butan oðrum folce.'

is needless to dwell on the difficulties of bringing together such a host. We come across notices telling that a king had to harry his own dominions, in order to punish the population for being remiss in obeying such summons.[1] When the *fyrd* had been gathered it had to be fed, and this again turned out to be no easy matter. Unless the defenders of the fatherland resorted to wholesale pillage of their own country, as they sometimes did,[2] the commissariat question was a difficult one to solve. We do not hear much about food provided by the government. The usual expedient was to oblige every soldier to take food and money with him, but this could not last very long, and sometimes divisions of the *fyrd* had to be sent home, or dispersed of their own accord, because provisions were failing.[3] Not much could be required in the way of equipment from men summoned in this way. Occasional ordinances show, however, that measures were taken to maintain a certain, very moderate, level in regard to the offensive and defensive weapons of the men of the *fyrd* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—a bow and arrows, or a spear, or a hatchet with a shield, were deemed to be necessary even for militiamen of the lowest degree.[4] The Bayeux tapestry affords an insight into the armament of the bulk of the English *fyrd* at the time of the great crisis of 1066:

[1] Sax. Chr. and Flor. Wigorn. a. 1016. Staffordshire, Shropshire and Leicestershire were ravaged by Edmund Ironside because they did not join him against the Danes.

[2] Sax. Chr. a. 1006. See p. 22, note 2.

[3] Sax. Chr. 921: '⁊ þa se firdstemn fór hám, þa fór oþer út, ⁊ gefór þa burg æt Huntandune . . . ⁊ þæt folc eal þæt þær to lafe wæs þara landleoda beag to Eadwearde cyninge, ⁊ sohton his friþ ⁊ his mundbyrde.' 1052 (E.): 'Sceolde man setton oðre eorlas ⁊ oðre hasæton to þam scipum. ða lengde hit man swa lange þ seo scipfyrd eall belaf. ⁊ gewendon ealle heom ham.' 1066 (C.): 'þa fór he (Harold) into Wiht ⁊ þær læg ealne þone sumor ⁊ þone hærfest ⁊ man hæfde land fyrde æghwar be sæ . . . Đa hit wæs to Nativitas sčae Mariæ þa wæs manna metsung agán ⁊ hig han man þar na leng gehealdan he mihte.'

[4] Ordinance of 14 Hen. III, Close Rolls membr. 5 d: '. . . qui vero habeat catalla ad valorem xl solidorum, habeat capellum ferreum, perpunctum et lanceam; qui vero habeat catalla ad valorem xx solidorum, habeat archum et sagittas, nisi manent in foresta nostra; si vero manent in foresta nostra et habeat catalla ad valorem xx solidorum, habeat hachiam vel lanceam.' Cf. Vincent, Lancashire Lay subsidies, 69.

many of the men mustered by Harold were armed with mere clubs.[1] These cumbersome levies consisted in part of very poor people, who were badly fitted out for warlike expeditions and encounters, and their main value in a fight lay in numbers. These were not small, as we may judge, for instance, from the levy of William Rufus in 1094, about which there was certainly exact information: 20,000 men, infantry, were collected for an over-sea expedition, and they were certainly picked men, better equipped and provided for than emergency levies for the defence of home shires would have been.

Full *fyrd*.

From what social classes were these militiamen drawn, and what was the reason of their low military standing? In exceptional cases the militia array may have included all able-bodied men of certain districts capable of wielding a weapon of any kind, without distinction of class. I suppose that a 'Landsturm' of this kind was called up for the protection of the hearths of the folk in a literal sense of the word. It may not be safe to take the expressions, 'the whole people,' or 'all the country folk', very strictly, but there is weighty though indirect indication of the general character of such levies in the fact that they appear under the leadership of the parochial priests. Such was the array of the northern shires against the Scots in the campaign which ended with the battle of the Standard,[2] and similar levies *en masse* must have been resorted to in earlier times against the Danes. A parallel is afforded on the Continent by the so-called 'retro bannus' (*arrière ban*), in which the parish communities (*communitates parochiarum*) were collected under their priests.[3] It is on such occasions

[1] Bayeux Tapestry, plates 71, 79 (Fowke's ed.).

[2] Rich. of Hexham, Chron. of Stephen, Henry II, and Rich. I (R. S.), iii. p. 161: 'Promisit etiam (Turstinus) eis quod suae diocesis presbyteros singulos, cum crucibus et parochianis suis, pariter cum illis in bellum procedere faceret, et quod ipse cum suis bello interesse, Deo disponente, cogitabat.' Ælred of Rievaulx, ib., p. 192: 'Sacerdotes sacris uestibus candidati, cum crucibus et reliquiis Sanctorum exercitum ambiebant.'

[3] Guilhermoz, Origines de la noblesse, 293 f.; P. Viollet, Histoire des institutions politiques, ii. 431.

that the men with pitchforks and flails of whom the Chronicles sometimes speak were brought up—evidently peasants who neither kept nor used weapons in ordinary times, but were gathered to meet a desperate plight.[1] However this may be, although the English language did not know of any special term to distinguish such gatherings from the regular *fyrd*, they cannot be considered as normal, or summoned according to usual regulations.

In its widest customary sense the *fyrd* was an array, not of the whole able-bodied male population, but of representatives of all the households of the country. In Henry III's time, at any rate, an Ordinance of Arms exacted the possession of proper equipment for militia service from every independent householder who could be rated for the possession of chattels worth over 20*s*. Inasmuch as the qualification was drawn from property in movables, the Ordinance did not apply to every man of free birth ; sons living with their parents and people devoid of independent means would not be affected by it.[2] Thus one of the most important mediaeval checks on governmental pressure becomes apparent: the royal administration was not able to set up a purely personal standard. It had to concentrate its efforts on the unit of the household, partly because it had to reckon, not merely with men, but with equipment, and partly because it would have been impossible to get at all the free male inhabitants of the kingdom : the days of the poll tax had not yet come. The other limitation—free condition—is indicated indirectly, as, according to feudal law, the chattels of

[1] Fantosme (Rolls Series), Chronicles of Stephen, &c., p. 294.

[2] Close Rolls, 14 Hen. III, membr. 5 d.: 'unusquisque habens feodum militis integrum habeat loricam ; qui vero habet feodum dimidii militis, habeat haubergellum ; unusquisque autem qui habet catalla ad valorem xv marcarum, sive sit manens in civitate vel extra civitatem sive in burgo vel extra burgum sive in alia villa, habeat loricam ; si vero habeat catalla ad valorem x marcarum habeat haubergellum ; qui vero habet catalla ad valorem xl solidorum, habeat capellum ferreum, perpunctum, et lanceam ; qui vero habet catalla ad valorem xx solidorum, habeat archum et sagittas, nisi maneat in foresta nostra ; si vero maneat in foresta nostra et habeat catalla ad valorem xx solidorum, habeat hachiam vel lanciam.' Cf. Rot. Hundr. ii. 748 (Dreyton), 749 (Brudecot).

serfs would be deemed to belong to their lords.[1] But the freedom demanded in this case has to be taken in the widest sense of personal freedom, and not in the higher tenurial sense, because, otherwise, the number of men liable to be called out for service in the militia would have been very small in some parts of the country. A free man holding in villainage would come under the Ordinance if he had an income or chattels of his own. In fact, the principle of the estimation could hardly have been different from that which obtained in the case of parliamentary and ecclesiastical subsidies assessed on the basis of movable property.[2]

I do not think that this way of treating the militia array is to be considered an innovation of the Angevin period. On the contrary, it may be said to revive and to carry out in a consistent manner a principle admitted all through by the older organization of the *fyrd*. The national levy was emphatically the host of freemen, and in serious cases, apart from the exceptional emergencies already mentioned, it must have included representatives of all the free households of the country. The *fyrd* hosts of the shire, of which we hear so often in the history of the Danish wars, cannot have consisted merely of the men selected on the principle of one soldier for every five hides, or for every medium-sized borough. The armed crowds spoken of in the Chronicles, and depicted on the Bayeux tapestry, do not look like trained regiments of picked men, nor does one see what the Berkshire fyrd or the Devon fyrd[3] as a troop of some 300 or 400 men could have done against the Vikings who were harrying their shires in 860 or in 997. In 991 there was a desperate battle at Maldon between the

[1] Villainage in England, 372, 475.

[2] E. g. the taxation of the fortieth in 1235 (Sel. Chart., 8th ed., p. 360). In the writ for the collection of a fifteenth in 1225 there is a distinct exemption in regard to the arms of villains, 'as to which they have sworn,' an evident reference to the arms which they were bound to keep by the Assize. Sel. Chart. 356: 'Exceptis etiam quantum ad villanos armis ad quae iurati sunt.' Cf. Sel. Ch. 371.

[3] Sax. Chr. a. 860: 'Com mycel scip here up. ⁊ abræcon Wintanceastre. ⁊ wiþ þone here fuhton Osric Ealdorman mid Hamtunescire. ⁊ Æþelwulf ealdorman mid Barrucscire.' Cf. a. 997.

fyrd of Essex and the *here* led by Olaf Tryggvason. The latter represented the crews of 390 ships, that is, not less than 15,600 men, on the average of 40 men per ship. The picked men of ealderman Byrhtnoð may have numbered on the five hides' standard some 530 men. The Norsemen must have left part of their men on the ships, but nevertheless, the disparity would have been too overwhelming, unless the Essex fyrd mustered *en masse* on this occasion. If the expression 'all the countrȳ folk' cannot always mean the entire male population, it surely means more than the array of the holders of five hides and of representatives of borough units. The summons for home defence was directed in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, to all the free ceorls of the district, and in the yet earlier times of offensive warfare the same may have been the rule in regard to all expeditions. The laws as to attendance at the *fyrd* do not make any other difference between freemen than as to the mode and amount of punishment in case of non-appearance. The simple freeman is fined 30*s.*, and the landowner, that is, the owner of boc-land, or of land of corresponding quality, loses his estate.[1] The common freeman in this case was incontestably the ceorl, and later on the compulsory service in the militia had to be extended to villains, inasmuch as they were descended from ceorls; no other rule would fit the case of the southern counties as they are described in Domesday. The main idea of the ceorl's obligation is tersely expressed, just before the Conquest, in the famous dictum—he is fyrd-worthy, moot-worthy, and fold-worthy.[2] We must confine our attention at present to the first of these qualifications.

Picked men.

As a matter of fact, however, the attendance at the *fyrd* became very early a burden of land-holding. If in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was not every person, but every independent householder, who could be assessed

[1] Ine, 51. The penalties are somewhat altered in Æthelr. 28: 'And if any one without leave return from the "fyrd" in which the King himself is, let it be at the peril of himself and all his estate; and he who else returns from the "fyrd", let him be liable in cxx shillings.'

[2] C. D. 853; Earle, Land Charters, p. 343 (grant of privileges by Edward the Confessor to Ramsey Abbey).

for service in the militia, because some independent property was necessary to carry out its injunctions, even so in the ruder conditions of the Old English age the duty of serving in the host necessarily fell chiefly to the lot of those who held land, and occupied a definite place in society. Landless men could not be sought out and looked after; in the natural order of things they had to range themselves behind the holders of land—the landowners or the men settled and rated under their authority.[1] And this administrative aspect of the situation was corroborated by the economic one; a man without a firm hold on a unit of husbandry, represented by a tenement, could not meet the expenses and requirements of the *fyrd* in regard to equipment, food, and necessary loss of time and labour. It was not merely as a fighting man that he had to appear on the scene, but as a self-supporting householder, and the *fyrd* had to be considered as much from the point of view of the drain on his resources as from that of personal prowess and possible bodily danger. In accordance with this, we find that the duty to serve in the *fyrd* is spoken of as one of the normal incidents of land-tenure.[2] The reservation as to the *trinoda necessitas* almost invariably accompanies any disposition in regard to landownership. And the original idea seems to have been that every hide should send one fully equipped soldier to the *fyrd*. The hundreds were taken to be equivalent to wapentakes, because they presented the common form of district organization for army purposes. All through the Germanic world the hundred appears as the group of 100 holdings, meant roughly to provide for the maintenance of a company of 100 soldiers.[3] But this standard could not be kept up. On the one hand, holdings were broken up in different ways, yardlands and oxgangs getting to be

[1] Hence the enactments about the settling of men by their mægths. Æthelstan, ii. 2.

[2] Dd. i. 173 a: 'Quattuor liberi homines tenebant (ad Bisanture) de episcopo T.R.E. reddentes omnem socam et sacam et circset et sepultura et expeditiones et nauigia et placita ad predictum hundredum: et hunc faciunt similiter qui tenent.'

[3] Amira in Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, ii. 105; Brunner, Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, i. 133, 155.

the regular allotment of many households, while sometimes the free tenants were possessed of plots of irregular size and varying quantities. On the other hand, there arose many larger estates as combinations of several hides. And, what is even more important, it became impossible to perform the ordinary *fyrd* service, in frequent expeditions and in proper equipment, on the basis of a tenement of one hide, without help from outside. The coat of mail and the horse acquired more and more value from a military point of view—one as a means of defence in the hard struggles with the Danes, the other as a means of quick locomotion. Well-forged helmets and swords were scarce and very expensive.[1] Altogether, the difference between a well-armed warrior and a militiaman with indifferent equipment grew more and more important. This led ultimately to the formation of a professional force of knights and sergeants-at-arms, but it led also to changes in the scheme of the *fyrd* expeditions. The same reasons which produced the Lombard Assize of Arms of King Ahistulf, and the graduated service of Charlemagne's armies,[2] secured the

[1] Swords are the objects of bequests along with land and costly trinkets, e. g. Æðelstan Æðeling's will, Earle, 224 ff. The average prices of weapons in Austrasia about 800 are marked in Lex Rip., 36, § 11, and they are very high.

[2] Ahistulf, 2 (Mon. Germ. Lgg., iv. 196): 'De illos homines qui possunt loricam habere et minime habent, vel minores homines qui possunt habere caballum et scutum et lanceam et minime habent, vel illi homines qui non possunt habere nec habent unde congregare, debeant habere scutum et coccura. Et stetit ut ille homo, qui habet septem casas massarias habeat loricam suam cum reliqua conciatura sua, debeat habere et cavallos; et si super habuerit per isto numero debeat habere caballos et reliqua armatura. Item placuit, ut illi homines, qui non habeant casas massarias et habeant quadraginta iugis terrae habeant cavallum, et scutum, et lanceam; item de minoribus hominibus principi placuit ut si possunt habere scutum, habeant coccora cum sagittas et arcum.' Capitularia (ed. Boretius), i. p. 123, N. 44, c. 6: 'De armatura in exercitu, sicut antea in alio capitulare commendavimus, ita servetur, ut insuper omnis homo de duodecim mansis bruneam habeat; qui vero bruniam habens et eam secum non tullerit, omne beneficium cum brunia pariter perdat.' I, p. 134, N. 48, c. 2: 'Quicunque liber mansos quinque de proprietate habere videtur, similiter in hostem veniat; et qui quattuor mansos habet, similiter faciat; qui tres habere videtur, similiter agat. Ubicumque autem inventi fuerint duo, quorum unusquisque duos mansos habere videtur, unus alium praeparare faciat; et qui melius ex ipsis

transformation of the *fyrd* from a general force of free tribesmen into an array of specially selected warriors. Some of the customs followed in this respect have been preserved by Domesday Book and one or two Saxon charters. The Berkshire arrangement is the clearest,[1] but there can be no doubt that it coincided in its main lines with similar arrangements in other counties. It was based on the principle that only one man per five hides is bound to go to the war in case of a royal expedition, and that a sum of 4*s.* per hide has to be provided for him for two months' service. The Malmesbury and Exeter entries[2] confirm the statement by alluding to the normal service of one soldier per honour of five hides.

In regard to the sea-fyrd, we get the additional information that although the crew of a longship was provided on the principle of one ship per 300 hides, which would require, on the average, one fully equipped oarsman per five hides, the ship being reckoned at sixty oars, the proportion of men with coats of mail was smaller, only one being

potuerit, in hostem veniat. Et ubi inventi fuerint duo, quorum unus habeat duos mansos et alter habeat unum mansum, similiter se sociare faciant et unus alterum praeparet; et qui melius potuerit, in hostem veniat. Ubicumque autem tres fuerint inventi, quorum unusquisque mansum unum habeat, duo tercium praeparare faciant; ex quibus qui melius potest, in hostem veniat. Illi vero qui dimidium mansum habent, quinque sextum praeparare faciant. Et qui sic pauper inventus fuerit qui nec mancipia nec propriam possessionem terrarum habeat, tamen in praecio valente — solidos, quinque sextum praeparent; ... Et unicuique ex ipsis qui in hoste pergunt fiant coniectati solidi quinque a suprascriptis pauperioribus qui nullam possessionem habere videntur in terra. Ex pro hac consideratione nullus suum seniorem dimittat.'

[1] Dd. i. 56 c: 'Si rex mittebat alicubi exercitum de v hidis tantum unus miles ibat et ad eius victum vel stipendium de unaque hida dabantur ei iiii solidi ad ii menses. Hos vero denarios regi non mittebantur sed militibus dabantur. Siquis in expeditionem summonitus non ibat totam terram suam erga regem forisfaciebat. Quod siquis remanendi habens alium pro se mittere permitteret et tamen qui mittendus erat remaneret, pro l solidis quietus erat dominus eius.'

[2] Dd. i. 64 b: '(Malmesberie, Wiltshire) 'Quando rex ibat in expeditionem vel terra vel mari habebit de hoc burgo aut xx solidos ad pascendos suos buzecarlos. Aut unum hominem ducebit secum pro honore v hidarum.' Ib. 100: (In Civitate Exonia) 'Quando expeditio ibat per terram aut per mare serviebat haec civitas quantum v hidae terrae.'

required from eight hides.[1] These enactments are very important, and require some comment in several particulars.

Social aspect of the *fyrd*.

To begin with, if what has been said above in regard to home defence was right, the king's expedition, which is sometimes spoken of as the expedition *par excellence*, cannot have meant every case of the calling out of the *fyrd*. The *retro-bannus* has to be distinguished from the *bannus*, special summons for home defence must have been kept distinct, in one way or another, from the convocation of the *fyrd* for external service, and as such external foreign service, not only expeditions over the sea, but also mobilizations involving service in distant parts of the country must have been reckoned. The Carolingian monarchs treated the obligations connected with the call of the host very differently according to the place to which the army had to go; men from Aquitaine or Brittany were not sent out to Saxony on the same conditions as Austrasian Franks.[2] Some rules of the same kind must have been observed in England, and in regard to service in the marches of Wales or of Scotland, it is known that local levies were summoned in a special manner.[3] The difference in the summons was, however, to a large extent a matter of administrative practice and political consideration. Should the king choose to use the expedition as a means of extortion, either in harassing small tenants, or in exacting unusual

[1] Sax. Chr. a. 1008: 'Her bebead se cyng þ man sceolde ofer eall Angel cynn scipu feastlice wircean. þ is þonne [of] þrym hund hidum ⁊ x. hidon ænne sceg̃ ⁊ of viii hidum helm ⁊ byrnan.'

[2] Capitularia Regum Francorum, ed. Boretius, i. 134.

[3] Special conditions for expeditions 'in Walliam' are often mentioned in the feodaries of Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire; e. g. Feudal Aids, ii. 412, 413 (Hereford): 'Goderiches-castell. Subsidium x*s*. (et inde nichil quia in Wallia extra comitatum predictum . . .).' Testa de Nevill, 53 b (Salop): 'Rogerius de la More tenet villam de Mora per seriantiam scilicet quod debet esse constabularius peditum in exercitu domini Regis in Wallia,' &c. 66 a, 70 a (Hereford): 'Franci et Wallenses de Urchenesfeld . . . debent invenire xlix servientes in servicio domini Regis in Wallia per xv dies ad proprium custum.' Lib. Rub. 272: 'et de istis v militibus prenominatis non debet domino Regi nisi unum militem in Norfolcia apud Garlefli *contra Dacos*, ut antiqui testantur.'

equipment, and in drawing money by means of the *fyrd*, there were no clear legal means of preventing him.

The second point to be noticed is the fact that the array of picked men was turned out by the shire and its hundreds, and not as a mere consequence of feudal dependency. This feature will have to be considered again later on, but I would like to call attention to it now because it is material to the constitution of the *fyrd*. The great landowners holding estates rated at multiples of five hides might follow their own method in providing the contingent incumbent on them, and make subinfeudation the means of holding these contingents in readiness. But in the Old English *fyrd* system the apportionment of the service according to five-hide units was not feudal in itself.[1] Small landowners would have to club together in order to fit out the representative of the unit, exactly as in the Lombard and Carolingian instances, and there are traces of such combinations of several participants for 'defending' estates from the *fyrd*, especially in the case of coheirs.[2]

The outfit money cannot be considered in the Berkshire entry as a substitute for actual service—4*s*. a hide have to be provided anyhow, whatever the holding of the man who actually went may have been. Perhaps he held three hides out of the five, and therefore he had evidently to find himself three-fifths of his expenses. On the other hand, the man acquitting the *fyrd* obligation may have been possessed of half a hide only, and in this case his neighbours evidently had to provide 18*s*. for his maintenance. As for the personal duty,

[1] Dd. i. 87 *c*: 'Istae consuetudines pertinent ad Tantone. Burgheristh etc. . . . profectio in exercitum cum hominibus episcopi.' Heming, Cart. i. 77: '. . . episcopus (Wlstanus) diraciocinavit iiii hidas . . . et domos in civitate de suo feudo esse, ita quod abbas sibi debet inde servire, sicut alii sui feudati. Et diraciocinavit socam et sacam de Hamtona ad suum hundred Oswealdeslauue, quod ibi debent placitare, et geldum et expeditionem, et cetera legis servitia, de illis xv hidis secum debet persolvere, et ciricsceat, et sepulturam, ad suam villam Croppethorn debent reddere.'

[2] Dd. i. 354 *a*: (Covenham) 'Chetel et Turuer fratres fuerunt et post mortem patris sui terram diviserunt. Ita tamen ut Chetel faciens servitium regis haberet adiutorium Turuer fratris sui.'

there must have been special agreements or customary rules of rotation.

It remains to be said that the five-hide unit appears very large when compared with Carolingian practice, where four, or even three 'Hufen' usually went to make up the picked soldier's unit. It is difficult to say exactly what the reason for such a contrast may have been. Four *Hufen* are not much more than one hide, and yet they were deemed sufficient on the Continent, for a number of years, to support the army in the course of most frequent, protracted and arduous expeditions. Several grounds may be suggested, but it is difficult to make a choice between them, and perhaps no choice ought to be made, as, very likely, both the reasons to be mentioned acted concurrently. There is a difference in the epoch to begin with—the outfit of 1066 was more elaborate and costly than that of 800. Although horses were already employed in Charlemagne's armies, especially in his *scarae* or picked troops, the decisive turn towards horsemanship was taken in the Danish wars, when the 'horsed' Vikings had to be caught up and pursued by riding divisions, and the five-hide unit probably included provision for one or two horses. The more intensive system of cultivation and more active economic intercourse may also have contributed to put the Frankish five *Hufen* more on a par with the English five hides. Anyhow, there the unit is, and its formation affords a most important landmark in English history. It is a sure sign that the social foundation of the old army establishment—the status of the small free householder, provided on the average with a hide—was entirely inadequate to meet the altered requirements of the art of war and of military organization. A unit five times as large grew up as the natural basis for the man-at-arms in the national array of the tenth and eleventh centuries. One might say—using political expressions with some caution—that the more ancient democratic arrangement had to be replaced by an aristocratic one, although the tradition of the earlier system continued to assert itself in great emergencies.

I have been speaking all along of the *fyrd*, as we are better acquainted with the particulars of its social organization. But by the side of it stood the *here*, the Scandinavian host; of the doings of this latter we hear more than enough, but we are not so well versed in the details of its internal organization. The main features are, however, made clear enough, partly by scraps of English evidence, and partly by comparison with the institutions of Scandinavian countries. The *here*.

There can be no doubt that the *here* lost very gradually its character of a host of rovers; it was exceptionally mobile, living by violence and loot, holding on more to its skiffs and fortified camps than to the fields and estates of the country around. Even when women and children appear as natural impediments of the *here*, they are easily concentrated in the camps from which the raids start.[1] True that the eleventh century discloses the *here* already in a comparatively settled state. If we did not know from the Chronicles how little time had elapsed since the great disturbances after the death of Canute and Tostig's rebellion, we might think while reading Domesday that the Danes and Norsemen were fixed to the soil quite as firmly as the Saxons and Angles. And yet Domesday shows on every page a state of things in the half-Scandinavian shires which stands in sharp contrast with the condition of the rest of the kingdom. I shall have to call attention again and again to this contrast, but now, in connexion with the *here*, it is necessary to notice that the predominance of small freemen, which was a thing of the past in the Saxon south, is the rule in such Danish shires as Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, or in Norfolk. It is clearly seen to give way slowly before the southern system in Nottinghamshire, Derby, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire, and has been disturbed only by the material consequences of a war of extermination in Yorkshire. The agrarian and legal meaning of

[1] Sax. Chr. a. 894, p. 86.: 'Þæt geweorc abræcon, ⁊ ge namon eal þæt þær binnan wæs, ge on feo, ge on wifum, ge eac on bearnum.' Cf. p. 88; cf. a. 896, p. 89.

this fact cannot be approached as yet, but in regard to the military problem it may be said that the aspect of a *here* recruited from the Danelaw provinces by Harold and Edward the Confessor must have resembled much more a Saxon *fyrd* of the seventh and eighth centuries than one of the eleventh century. The five-hide units had not yet been formed in the Danelaw; its shires were yet bristling with small fighting freemen, and it is only by the fresh history of the *here* that the standing and occupations of these people can be explained. Men holding oxgangs, or tofts, or a couple of assessment acres, which could not have represented large tenements in any case, appear emphatically free, can often go where they please with their land, and are connected with superior authorities by the slightest forms of subjection known to the feudal world. It is evident that they were full members of the *here*, a quality which, from being a privilege, was getting to be a grievous burden. It is evident also that most of them could not have supported their households, even in the most precarious manner, without resorting to manual labour, and it is not likely that they could have kept up their privileged position, for economic reasons, even if the Norman Conquest had not supervened. Anyhow, there is no trace of the five-hide rule of service in the north, and in view of the peculiar constitution of society in those parts, it would have been difficult to frame or to enforce it.

Yet some rules of rotation in regard to service in the *fyrd* must have obtained there too, as it is not likely that the northern people should have submitted to a much heavier share in the military organization of the king's expeditions after their definite settlement. What these rules were we are unable to say.

Scandinavian customs.

It may not be superfluous to notice here some of the customs referring to military organization in Scandinavian countries. Although it would be impossible to argue from the details of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish arrangements in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries to the particulars of English customs of the eleventh century, yet

the repetition of similar features in the case of all the three principal branches of the Scandinavian race strongly suggests that the main foundations of military institutions go back to very ancient customary rules. I will call attention to Danish practices as presenting an especially suggestive parallel.[1]

There is the same fundamental distinction between home defence and warlike expeditions as that noticeable in England: priests and serfs are emancipated from the last, but not from the first. Home defence was understood in the narrow significance of fighting for one's own land, one's provincial fatherland, not for the country at large. The common militiamen ought to have been armed at least with the ordinary weapons—spear, iron cap, and shield—but, as a matter of fact, the lowest stratum of the home defence array was formed of men with clubs. The *leding*, corresponding to the regular Old English *fyrd* of the eleventh century, was organized on a territorial system, and its normal conditions were settled for service at sea, although the land expeditions, for example those for the defence of the Danewirke, the great wall, against the Germans and Slavs were evidently arranged on similar principles. Naval service was based on a division of the country into districts bound to man and arm one ship each, and the tenants of land were combined for the purpose of sending armed men to this, in such a way that each tenant, or group of tenants, possessed of land of the value of one 'mark gold' sent one warrior oarsman every three years. The ordinary longship was built to carry from forty to sixty oarsmen. The men called up by rotation to the *leding* had to take provisions for sixteen weeks with them, and to collect this outfit all the householders forming the *hafnae*, the section assessed at one mark, had to contribute. A certain number of warriors, equipped with coat of mail and some horses, were appointed to each ship according to customary rules. On the whole, the obligations of the *leding* are based on

[1] See Steenstrup, Kong Valdemar's Jordbog, ch. x, pp. 185 ff.; cf. Erslev, Valdemarernes Storhedstid, 185 f.

the main assumption that the bulk of the population is composed of free men who are able to combine, in order to put forth a considerable national army. Feudal relations are not excluded by the *leding*, but they are subordinated to it. According to a computation drawn up for the time of King Valdemar I (about 1200 A. D.), Denmark is said to have been able to send out 1,400 longships to sea, with a total of 160,000 sailors, of whom 1,400 were fully equipped knights, and 1,400 archers. This enumeration applies evidently to the supposed number of householders entered in the *hafnae* sections, but not to the sailors actually mustered. These would amount, roughly, to one-third of the whole population registered in the *hafnae*, reckoning at about forty men per longship. At this rate the number would still be a very handsome one—between fifty and sixty thousand. It seems as if, in the case of Norway, the crews of the ordinary *leding* fleet of 309 ships made up about 14,000 men, but that a full complement of some 40,000 could be mustered in case of great emergency.[1] Without pretending to solve the many difficulties connected with these data, or to start special investigations in regard to them, we may rest content in noticing the general result, that the countries which, century after century, had sent out crowds of warriors to the west, were still able to muster powerful squadrons on the principle of a territorial repartition of military obligation among free householders. Nor is it less significant that all the main expedients employed in the case of the *fyrd* were represented in Scandinavian practice, with the fundamental difference that what had become an antiquated militia system in England was still the groundwork of military organization in Denmark in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[2]

[1] Kaiser, Efterladte Skrifter, ii. 222 f.

[2] As to similar Swedish institutions see K. Hildebrand, Sveriges Medeltid, ii. 613 ff.

# CHAPTER II

## FEUDAL SERVICE

Systems of fiefs.

1. THE principal feature of feudal society is, of course, the system of interdependent fiefs burdened with various military duties. Instead of shifting agreements between contracting parties—a sovereign as employer and soldiers paid or maintained by him—there arises a hereditary relation between lord and man on the basis of tenure. The system is not an artificial contrivance, but a spontaneous growth: it ensures stability to the military requirements of the chiefs of society, and it provides maintenance to soldiers in the shape of a landed estate, the most usual and convenient form of economic organization in those days of natural husbandry. Nothing less materialistic and tangible would have done at a time when social intercourse and political views were restricted to a very narrow horizon; nothing less obligatory and regular could have satisfied the needs of a society assailed on all sides by invaders, pirates, rioters. The duty of military service was not only a necessary element for the constitution of a host, it was recognized and employed as a tie between the separate units of the political world. The various obligations springing from the tenure of the knight, attendance in the lord's host, wardship, marriage, relief, &c., were comprised under the characteristic term of 'foreign service', *forinsecum*, distinguished as such from all other varieties of tenurial dependence.[1]

[1] Bracton's Note Book, pl. 288: 'Isabella que fuit uxor Stephani de Ebroycis v. Ricardum de la Bere.... Et Ricardus uenit et dicit quod ... de forinsecis seruiciis aquietabunt que ad eandem pertinent, unde dicit quod terra illa debet seruicium militare, scilicet quartam partem feodi i militis, ita quod liberi homines qui tenent de eodem feodo semper

There was not much to choose, on many occasions, between socage tenure and fee-farm, and there were many controversies about the actual treatment of the one or the other tenement as a frank-fee or a socage holding, but it was always held in Anglo-Norman common law that 'foreign' service stamps the tenement as a military fee, or a serjeanty akin to it, and that all other incidents ought to follow this main distinction. The root of the doctrine lay in the fact that, historically, socage tenure proceeded from an older stratum of law than the feudal one, from a stratum in which relations between individuals depended on the rules obtaining in wider social groups, the kindred, the hundred, the tribe, while military tenure formed an individualistic unit joined to the rest of society by the contractual tie of foreign service.[1] The socager was bound to perform military service when called up to the *fyrd*, while the knight served his forty days on the strength of a 'real' obligation laid on his estate; the minor heir of a socager came under the guardianship of his kinsmen according to general considerations of affinity in blood and of economic solidarity; the guardian of a tenant by foreign service was his lord, interested in the adequate

fecerunt seruicium forinsecum pro eodem Stephano ita quod dederunt ad scutagium de Muntgumeri ad scutagium dim. marc.

'Et Isabella dicit quod terra illa est socagium et debet reddere per annum j marc. pro omni seruicio, et ipse cognoscit cartam et in carta continetur quod idem Ricardus debet aquietare terram illam de forinseco seruicio petit iudicium si custodia ipsa pertineat ad predictum Ricardum. Post cognouit attornatus Isabelle quod Stephanus uir suus semper recepit forinsecum seruicium de liberis hominibus suis et inde fecit ei predictum redditum j marc. Et quia cognoscit quod liberi homines faciunt ad hunc seruicium forinsecum, et preterea continetur in carta quod terra debet forinsecum, consideratum est quod terra illa non est socagium, unde predicta Isabella ullam custodiam clamare poterit, et ideo Ricardus inde quietus et Isabella in misericordia.' Cf. 236, 361, 978, 1076.

[1] Bracton's Note Book, pl. 275: 'Radulphus de Gingos v. Warinum de Monte Kaneso ... Et Warinus uenit et defendit uim etc. et dicit quod pro defectu eius non destringitur, nec ipse facit sectam pro eo, quia nec ipse nec antecessores sui unquam fecerunt sectam in curia Episcopi, immo idem Randulphus et antecessores sui semper fecerunt forinsecum seruicium pro tenemento illo ipsi Episcopo pro eo et antecessoribus suis, et preterea warde castri de Stortfordia ii sol. et ideo non debet facere sectam pro eo.' Cf. pl. 659 (secta et scutagia).

performance of this service, and admitted to resume for a time control over, and profits in, a tenement over which he wielded 'direct domain'.

Customs of knight-service.

The law of military fees is in substance French law brought over to England by the conquerors. The admensuration of service, the rules as to inheritance, investiture, marriage, wardship, were elaborated in the provinces of North-Western France before they came to be applied in the England of the Norman and Angevin kings, and bore fruit hundredfold in the field of English common law. We shall often have to attend to the results of this incorporation of French feudal law on its civil side. But their legal importations were not the effect of a 'reception' of legal principles and authorities. They came with a reorganization of actual military institutions. And as we are concerned now with knights' service, which presents, as it were, its backbone, let us note that it was introduced as an efficient factor on the very morrow of the Conquest, as soon as the victors of Senlac came to divide the spoils of the vanquished and to arrange the conditions of their permanent settlement on the soil of Great Britain. Again and again we hear of the continuous tradition of titles to knights' fees, and of the different usages connected with them from the age of William the Conqueror.[1] It is not merely the case of establishing pedigrees and proving descent, but of tracing and formulating feudal custom, defining rights, settling the amount of contributions and the size of contingents. The appeal to

[1] Kentish Inquisitio post mortem, Arch. Cant. ii. p. 306 [Esc. No. 82, 36 Hen. III, 1251–2]: 'the said land of Tryenstone (Trienstone, in the parish of Burmarsh, Hasted, iii. 424) immediately after the conquest of England, was given to a certain knight named Tryan, who held it as long as he lived, and, after his decease, Hugh Tryan, his son and heir, retained it, and after the said Hugh, Robert Tryan, son and heir of the said Hugh, retained it. So that the said Trian, Hugh and Robert, held the said land without challenge, from the Lord William the King, the Bastard, to the time of King John, who took the said land, together with other lands of the Normans, into his own hands, as his escheats, and expelled the said Robert, the last holder, from his kingdom of England.' Cf. Liber Rubeus, 400 (Norfolk. Carta Willelmi de Colecherche).

continuous tradition was not vague rhetoric expressive of the feelings and wishes of parties rather than of their judicial claims and arguments; military tenure was created and perpetuated by ceremonial acts more than by written documents, and it received its definite shape from actual occurrences more than from stipulated clauses.[1]

We know from the comparison of the returns of 1166 as to the number of knights' fees held from the different baronies, that there were three kinds of knight service at that time: that from the old fees (*antiquum feoffamentum*), created in the reigns of the three Norman Kings, that of the new fees (*de novo, novum feoffamentum*), instituted after Henry I's reign, and that of the knights, not enfeoffed with particular estates, but maintained on the domain of the barony. The first and third category were drawn together in respect of the feudal obligations of the barony; they represented the original service due from it, its 'servicium debitum'. The second category arose from the policy of subinfeudation carried on by the barons on their own account, and had nothing to do with the original 'due service', but Henry II asserted a right to exact military service or its substitute, scutage, and the other eventual privileges of an overlord in regard to these fees constituted in excess of 'due service', as well as in regard to the original fees. We need not dwell longer on these cardinal facts, as they are very clearly set forth in the evidence, and have been sufficiently recognized of late.

Nor can it be doubted that the original repartition of military duties was not the product of a well-balanced scheme, of a summing up of the capacities of different estates to support more or less knights. It was the result of a rather haphazard distribution of estates by the king according to his personal views, and perhaps according to rough bargains with his chief followers.[2] The Saxon

[1] Round, Feudal England, 258. Cf. 296.
[2] Ibid. 248.

Chronicle tells us of the arbitrary manner in which estates were confiscated and granted away in 1067,[1] and there is no reason for supposing a more regular procedure on other occasions. Guidance was provided by the principle that the Norman stepped into the shoes of a Saxon 'antecessor', and therefore the proprietary conditions of preconquestual England reacted to a great extent on those of the new settlement, but the combinations of estates were modified and recast on all sides, and the process of endowment of tenants-in-chief was certainly not guided by any careful investigation of the resources placed at their disposal. The case seems to have been similar to that of the division of Ireland into baronies under Henry II, when definite contingents were assigned to the barons who took part in the Conquest, without any reference to estimates of revenue or area.[2]

Baronies.

The only trace of a regular and conscious plan which Mr. Round is able to make out in the distribution of the fees is their grouping according to combinations of five knights and ten knights. It happens seldom that the number of knights assigned to a barony does not represent some multiple of five, and we find the same to be the case in the Duchy of Normandy. This calls for an explanation, and a plausible one seems to be provided by the military organization of the feudal array in Northern France and England: it is subdivided into 'constabulariae' of ten knights each.[3] Naturally enough, there was a tendency, in forming baronies, to assign to them the duty of maintaining and equipping such combinations, or simple fractions of them.

If the method of rating was to that extent imperfect and superficial in regard to the barons with whom the king dealt directly in introducing the new military organization, it seems idle to try to trace any system or rule in the repartition of duties between the subdivisions of a barony.

[1] Sax. Chr. 1067 (E.): 'he geaf ælces mannes land þa he ongean com.' Cf. Matt. Paris, i. 13, quoted by Round, F. E. 298.

[2] Madox, Baronia Anglicana, 29.

[3] Round, F. E. 257-9.

Recent investigators have been led to adopt this view, and to reject all theories as to a normal knight's fee. This point is, however, so important that we cannot refrain from subjecting it to a renewed examination. After all, it does not necessarily follow from the loose adjustment of military service to baronies that there were no average types of single knight's fees. It was possible to enfeoff magnates without looking very closely to the military capabilities of their possessions, but difficult for the baron to go beyond certain limits in carving out fees for his knights. Just because the knight's fee was the lowest unit it seems probable, *a priori*, that there were definite views as to its approximate value. And it would be exceedingly material to know what estate was considered as the minimum outfit for a fully equipped knight. In view of the prevailing importance of knight service and of the growth of a military aristocracy in connexion with it, typical estimates of knights' fees would allow us to draw certain boundaries between classes of society, and to explain indirectly some of the processes which led to their formation. But, of course, all statements in this respect must be based not on *a priori* speculations, but on matter of fact evidence.

Irregular knights' fees.

We possess a good deal of evidence as to knights' fees in the shape of the Testa de Nevill lists, of Kirkby's Inquest, of the various returns published as Feudal Aids by the Record Commission, of the Inquisitions post mortem, &c., and, at first sight, this evidence is most disappointing. Irregularities and contradictory data meet the eye everywhere, and our keenest inquirers have given up the search in despair.[1] How can one try to ascertain the size of knights' fees when, for example, the three abbots of Peterborough, Abingdon, and Ramsey are assessed at sixty, forty, and four knights' fees respectively? Surely their possessions did not differ in such a ratio, or anything like it? And then, we often hear of the number of hides that go to a fee, but these vary almost for every place; there may be 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 14, 18, 24, 48 hides to a knight's fee.

[1] Pollock and Maitland, Hist. of Eng. Law, i. 252 ff. Round, F. E. i. 293 ff.

Nevertheless we may trace, as it seems to me, some guiding principles in the midst of this confusing variety, if we do not insist on absolute regularity and are content with looking for standards and prevailing types.

In instituting our search it will be advisable to leave on one side the frequent cases when mere fractions of fees appear before us, and it is impossible to reconstitute the units broken up into these fractions.[1] The parcelling of fees was the complicated result of divers causes. To some extent it was produced by casual dismemberment in the process of hereditary succession—namely, in the case of absence of heirs male and devolution to coheiresses.[2] Even more common was dismemberment by subinfeudation. If the baron had to create knights' fees in order to meet the obligations of military service incumbent on the barony, the single knight, or the holder of a few knights' fees might find it convenient to strengthen his military outfit by enfeoffing dependent tenants holding fractions of fees, and bound to co-operate with him in the performance of his service. In the marches of Wales and of Scotland the direct connexion between feoffment and military duties was made especially evident by the frequent calls to resist invasions and to join in punitive expeditions.[3] Then again

[1] Testa de Nevill, 249: '. . . —Robertus de Suppethorp tenet wardam scilicet unam hidam et di' de dicto honore et respondet pro xv$^{ma}$ parte feodi. Ravenesdene: Iohes le Sauvage & Witts Engayne tenent unam hidam & di' pro xxxvii parte unius militis . . . —Nichs Pypart tenet unam virgatam terre pro xxxviii$^{a}$ parte feod' . . . —Galfr' de Eyringeham tenet unam virgatam terre pro xxxviii parte unius militis . . . —Witts F'nceys & Hugo Picot tenent ii virgatas terre pro xxvi$^{a}$ parte unius militis—Rad' fil. Willmi & Nigellus de Radevell' tenent iii virgatas terre pro xxxiiii parte unius militis . . .'

[2] Lib. Rub. 443 (Northumberland: Carta Radulfi de Gaugy): 'Sciatis, quod de meo feodo nullum feodavi de novo feffamento, sed postnata soror, scilicet uxor Hugonis de Ellintone, feodavit Radulfum Barard de vi$^{a}$ parte militis, et Gilebertum de Hectone de xiii parte militis.'

[3] L. R. 439, 440 (Northumberland, Carta Stephani de Bulemer): '. . . habeo hos milites feffatos de veteri feffamento: . . . Et de novo feffamento hos habeo feffatos quoniam in Marchis vestris maneo, et saepissime probis hominibus indigeo: Thomam fil' Rogeri, de feodo dimidii militis—Thomam, filium meum, de feodo j militis et de hoc feodo Thomae, filii mei, Radulfus filius Willelmi tenet de eo dimidium feodum militis—Robertum Poher, de iiii$^{a}$ parte militis.'

one has to reckon with the fact that ordinary donations and sales often assumed the shape of subinfeudation in the period preceding the statute 'Quia Emptores'. When we hear of a man holding one hundredth part of a knight's fee it need not mean much else but that he was possessed of some six acres of land for which he had to render homage and fealty, to pay scutage according to proportion, and eventually to submit to the exercise of certain rights of wardship and marriage.[1] Altogether it would be an idle undertaking to attempt to trace the motives underlying the exceedingly complicated cases of subinfeudation.[2] One thing is clear, however, to any one who has looked at them more or less carefully, namely, that it was by no means the plan to divide the whole area of England into fees, or, to put it in a different way, to parcel up each barony into a certain number of subordinate fees, a process which would have put an end to the existence of the barony itself.[3] As a rule, a large margin was left to the baron, and sometimes, especially in ecclesiastical baronies, only a small portion of the land was carved out as military tenures. It is advisable to consider the simpler cases when fees are mentioned as unbroken units, or when their fractions are expressly combined into units. What values or agrarian quantities do they correspond to, and is any system to be traced in the assignation of these quantities or values?

Two baffling expedients must be noticed from the outset. Knights may be quartered on the demesne of a barony instead of being endowed separately, as we know from the charters of 1166.[4] The characteristic provision

[1] Testa de Nevill, 307 a (Feoda Com' Albemarle): 'Iohes de Claxeby tenet centesimam partem unius feodi in Claxeby.' Cf. 249 b (Tillebroc); 250 a (Eton).

[2] Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc. xi. p. 150: 'Item Elena de Befford tenet unam dimidiam hydam terre in Hame lecto de Trussebyry de dono Iohannis de Solariis. Et idem Iohannes de Solariis de Waltero de Solariis. Et idem Walterus de Constancia de Leye. Et ipsa de domino Willielmo de la Mare. Et idem Willielmus de Comite Glouc' per servicium decime partis unius militis. Et ipse Comes de Rege.'

[3] Round, F. E. 234.

[4] Lib. Rub. 368 (Cambridge: Carta Stephani de Scalariis); 401

is added that each baron maintaining knights in domain should be bound to hold coats of mail and arms in readiness for them, and probably there occurred cases when equipment was provided, not only to such of the knights as were settled on the baronial domain, but also to those who were less well-off among the military tenants.[1] The second circumstance which prevents us sometimes from forming an estimate in regard to the economic basis of knights' fees is the imposition of service on a whole district or a complex of estates, with the remark that all the holdings of the territory in question should contribute to the maintenance of knights, in proportion to their size.[2] On such occasions the duty is spread, as it were, over a whole area, and it is impossible to ascertain what was the minimum or the average necessary to support one knight.

But in the vast majority of cases we get definite apportionment of knights' fees to certain estates, or equations between military fees and units of value or holdings. These, of course, are the cases which are to be studied with special attention.

A certain presumption in favour of the view that there was a tendency to consider knights' fees and even baronies as approximately equal units may be drawn from the fact that the reliefs to be paid on change of ownership were

Units of income.

(Norfolk: Carta Huberti de Rid); 425 (Yorkshire: Carta Willelmi de Percy).

[1] Lib. Rub. 283 (Hereford in Wallia: Carta Hugonis de Lascy): 'Ricardus Brito et illi qui post ipsum sunt nominati tenent de domino Hugone sive servitio aliquo quod eis statutum sit. Nullus istorum plus tenet quam c solidatas terrae, praeter Bartholomaeus, qui tenet vi libratas. Quidam de istis sunt mecum residentes et invenio eis necessaria. Et quidam sunt in domibus meis in Wallia et invenio eis necessaria.'

This is a remarkable instance of military men (sergeants) settled on the Welsh border without definitely admeasured duties, and receiving the necessary maintenance from their lord.

[2] Lib. Rub. 329 (Carta Galfridi Ridel): 'Sciatis quod Ricardus Basset, pater meus, tenuit anno et die quo Rex Henricus avus vester fuit vivus et mortuus ix$^{xx}$ carucatas terrae et iiii et i virgatam, pro feodo xv militum. Sed nullus militum de veteri illo feffamento feffatus fuit nominatim pro feodo militis. Sed unaquaeque carucata terrae ad faciendum milites xv par est alii ad omnia servitia facienda, et in exercitibus, et in custodiis et ubique.' Cf. ibid. 371.

fixed at constant sums. The relief of a baron was put at £100 in the earlier reigns, but gradually reduced to 100 marks, while the knight's fee was charged at 100 shillings.[1] As the baronies, at any rate, were very unequal in value and importance, the interest of these figures lies in the relative importance of the knight's fee and the barony as expressed by their contrast. The barony was deemed, in a general way, to be worth more than thirteen, or even twenty times as much as an ordinary knight's fee. The language of the documents sometimes indicates clearly that the knight's fee was considered a unit of value from which estimates of income could be deducted, or to which they could be superadded.[2] It has been supposed that the 100 shillings relief corresponds naturally to a fee of the value of £20 a year, and there are in fact traces of such an estimate of the fee.[3] This estimate appears appropriate in Edward I's time, and we actually find attempts to render it general.[4] But before this time instances of an income of £20 from the fee are rare.[5] In Henry III's time the official

[1] Madox, Hist. of Exch. I, 216 ff., 220.

[2] Lib. Rub. 372 (Hunts: Carta Nigelli de Levetot): 'Canonici Huntedoniae tenent feodum i militis et dimidii, et ultra x solidatas terrae, unde perfurnitur servitium Willelmi filii Olifardi qui tenet feodum i militis, v solidatis terrae minus.—Walterus de Beaumes, feodum i militis et iii^am partem i militis, et v solidatas terrae unde perfurnitur servitium Willelmi de Cloptone, qui tenet feodum i militis, v solidatis terrae minus.' Cf. ibid. 387.

[3] Lib. Rub. 229 (Somerset: Carta Roberti filii Radulfi): 'Sciat vestra dignitas quod ego de feodo, pro servitio i militis teneo xx libratas terrae quae fuerunt Reginaldi filii Hugonis apud Sumersete.' Cf. ibid. 245, 356, 404 (Suffolk: Carta Militum Honoris de Clare); ibid. 405: 'Willelmus de Hastinges tenet xx libratas terrae et i militem feodatum, de quibus non facit servitium nisi i militis.' Testa de Nevill, 316a (Lincoln): 'Hugh de Nevill tenet xx libratas terrae in Kyrington et Aburg de domino Rege in capite pro uno feodo de veteri feoffamento.' Cf. ibid. 318a; Round, F. E. 293; Stubbs, Const. Hist. i. 215; Pollock and Maitland, Hist. Eng. Law, i. 257.

[4] There is at the Record Office an unpublished fragment of a Hundredal inquisition in Middlesex, of Edward I's reign, to ascertain who held estates of £20 a year fit to furnish knight service. Another inquisition, of which more traces are preserved, arranged the estates on a scale of several degrees. See App. I.

[5] By way of exception even larger fees appear. Lib. Rub. 359: 'Leonardus de Venoz tenet xlviii m(arcatas) in Hamme, et xxx m(arcatas) in Exing(es), et xxii m(arcatas) in Westhalle, per i militem—Ricardus

estimate amounted only to £15.[1] The inquisitions of Henry III's reign applied, of course, not only to actual tenants of knights' fees, but to all those who were considered capable of undertaking the burdens and honour of knighthood. But for the purpose of ascertaining what the common 'census' of a knight was, it is quite as relevant as if it had contained lists of actual knights. In Henry III's early years the standard was still lower, or rather was expressed in lesser figures. We find, namely, in the Close Roll of 1230 an Ordinance of Arms enacting that every knight or person possessed of chattels of the value of 15 marks has to keep a coat of mail (*lorica*), while tenants of half a knight's fee, and owners of chattels of the worth of 10 marks are bound to have a 'haubergel'. The chattels mentioned are evidently intended to correspond to the *marcatae* and *solidatae* of income in other enactments.[2] In Henry II's

filius Aucheri tenet in Langefarh viii libratas terrae per iiii$^{am}$ partem feodi i militis.' Ibid. 209 (Hampshire): 'Rogerus de Sascy tenet I libratas terrae in Derttone et Sumborne per feodum i militis.' But so do fees of very small value. Bracton's Note Book, pl. 1182: 'Agnes de Wahulla tenuit de Dom. Rege in capite in Wahulla iiii carucatas terre cum pert. que valent per annum xlii libras, in Brocbergo iii carucatas terre cum pert. que valent per annum xii libras, et in Langefordia quam Robertus Anquillun tenuit in dotem ii carucatas terre cum pert. que valent per annum xl libras. Servicium predictorum maneriorum nesciunt separare, quia tota baronia de Wahulla integra respondet Dom. Regi pro xxx militibus.' However, for a medium, we may say that £20 a year represents the normal estimate of a fee in Edward I's reign.

[1] App. II: 'qui tenent xv libratas terrae.' Cf. Lib. Rub. ii. 582: 'Dominica quondam eiusdem honoris (Boloniae) Traynge in Hertfordscira, valet lx l. Benediss in Essexa, xlv l., hos tenet Abbas de Favresham. Iclintone in Cantebrigescira. Inde tenet Rogerus de Lucy, xv libratas terrae; Fratres de Muntmorelun, vi libratas et i marcatam; Moniales de Iclintone, l solidatas; Radulfus Brito, l solidatas... Gameningeye, valet xxx l. Inde tenent heredes Rogeri filii Reinfridi, x libratas; Ricardus Avenel, x libratas; haeredes Gervasii de Cornhulle, x libratas.'

[2] Close Roll, 14 Hen. III, m. 5 d., p. 398. It seems strange to speak of the value of chattels where otherwise estimates of income appear. But it must be remembered that the Assize and Ordinances of Arms merely provided for the keeping of arms, and not directly for service. In the case of a merchant or a socman it was sufficient to ascertain that he was possessed of chattels to an amount which enabled him to buy a coat of mail or a 'haubergel', while in the case of the knight, an estate and an income were necessary as the basis both of equipment and of service. The ordinance of Henry III establishing

well-known Assize of Arms of 1181 we find the same appreciation, the upper degrees being expressed by two distinct forms of knightly equipment: the coat of mail of a full knight is required from possessors of 16 marks' worth of property, and the lighter armament with a haubergel has to be provided by those possessed of 10 marks income. Thus if we take the standard of value in movable property or of income, it is not a unit of 20 librates, but two units of 16 marcates and 10 marcates respectively[1] that we shall have to accept as representing a larger and a lesser fee, a more complete and a lighter knightly equipment. Before taking leave of the Assize of Arms I would like to notice that it evidently contains a more adequate expression of custom than the Ordinance of Henry III's time. The latter attributes, namely, the haubergel equipment to holders of half-fees; but this can only be an attempt to stretch the military requirements as far as possible and, indeed, further than the estimates taken as a basis warranted. Why should possessors of movables of the value of 10 marks be considered equivalent to tenants of half-fees, the whole fee being estimated at 15 marks value? And was the haubergel outfit really equivalent to only one-half of the full knight's armament? It seems evident that the original intention was by no means to reduce the value by a half, but to ensure the equipment of heavy and of lighter men-at-arms, standing to each other in the ratio of 16 to 10 marks. Whether this valuation should be reduced even more for

the £15 standard for knights' fees, and the parallel between actual fees and assessed chattels make it almost certain that the 15 or 16 marks corresponded to a knight's average income.

[1] Assize of Arms (1181), cl. 2: 'Quicumque vero liber laicus habuerit in catallo vel in redditu ad valentiam de xvi marcis, habeat loricam et cassidem et clypeum et lanceam; quicumque vero liber laicus habuerit in catallo vel redditu x marcas habeat aubergel et capellet ferri et lanceam.' Cf. Rot. Curiae Regis, 6 Ric. I, p. 56 (Linc.): 'Alan de Bosco petiit v. Iohannem de Bosco x libratas terre in Ledeham et in Fulebroc ex dono Comitis Alanis Britanniae et ex dono Comitis Conan unam cartam illorum protulit que testatur quod ipsi dederunt Alano fil. Galfrid' (avunculo ipsius Alanis de Bosco) predictam terram pro servicio et homagio suo et heredibus suis per servitium i militis pro omni servicio, cuius ipse Alan rectus heres est et protulit confirmacionem domini Regis Henrici patris,' &c.

the period between William the Conqueror and Henry I we are not able to say, but at any rate it can in no way be exceeded.

Although attempts at valuations in money were thus in actual use, it is much more common to find knights' fees estimated in territorial units. In the thinly populated north-west we may come across a vague reference to so many vills constituting a fee.[1] In most cases a certain number of hides or carucates are reckoned to a fee.[2] There are some cases where fees are assigned to such small divisions of the territory that it is impossible for us to make out nowadays by what means the necessary knight equipment and service could be kept up. I mean, of course, cases where there is nothing to show that the deficiency in quantity was counterbalanced by some exceptional features, in point of quality, which rendered the estate valuable. It may be supposed that there were some special conditions in the tenure of the fee; for example, help from the lord in regard to equipment.[3] In other cases the small estates are distinctly considered as an

Territorial units.

[1] Lib. Rub. 493 (Cumberland): 'Nomina illorum qui tenent per servitium militare et per servitium cornagii in hoc comitatu (A. D. 1210–12). Robertus de Vallibus ii feoda de vi villis quas tenet in dominico, et de x aliis quae tenentur de eo.—Nicholaus de Stuteville, lvi s. de Cornagio de ii villis in dominico, et iii in homagiis.'

[2] The intimate connexion between knights' fees and local hides may be illustrated by an example from a Cartulary of Ely, Tib. B. ii. 189 d. cl. 9.

[3] Something of this kind may be indicated by the following return, in which the endowment of knights in separate estates is mentioned in close connexion with the maintenance of knights on the demesne, the total number of carucates being an extremely small one when compared with the service imposed. Lib. Rub. 385: Carta Lamberti de Scoteni (Lincolnshire): 'Sciatis quod ego, vestri gratia, teneo de vobis xvi carucatas terrae et duas bovatas per servitium x militum. In hiis xvi carucatis terrae habeo v milites feodatos ex antiquitate:—Ricardus de Haia tenet feodum i militis; et servitium illud vobis et mihi, postquam coronatus fuisti, detinuit hucusque, nisi quod solum duas marcas habui. Et Eudo de Cranesbi tenet feodum i militis. Thomas filius Willelmi, i militem, Rogerus de Millers, ii milites. Et ex dominio meo vobis mando quod debeo servitium v militum; et ex illo dominio dedi Roberto de Portemort tres partes i militis. Ideo vos deprecor quod mihi placitum vestrum de Ricardo de Haia mandetis, qui mihi servitium illius feodi detinet, nec potero habere nisi per praeceptum vestrum. Et totum servitium istud est in praedictis xvi carucatis terrae.'

unusual feature in the descriptions, and treated as units of repartition burdened with an obligation which ought to have been imposed on larger units.[1] However this may be, very small fees of a couple of hides or less are not frequent, although they do occur, more especially in the south.[2] It may be added that very large fees of forty-eight carucates and the like are also exceptional, and occur almost all in the north and east.[3] The probable reason for this phenomenon will have to be looked for by-and-by.

The great majority of extant notices of the contents of knights' fees fall into groups, the repartition of which is not only the result of statistical abstracts, but corresponds to types indicated in the sources themselves. One main distinction is evident at first glance; there are great fees (*magna feoda*) or ordinary fees, and small fees (*parva feoda*, *minuta feoda*).[4]

Small fees.

The small fees are also generally called fees of the honour of Mortain (Mortaigne, Moriton), and most of them are derived from the fief of the Count of Mortain, the brother of the Conqueror,[5] or from fiefs which have grown out of it,[6]

[1] Shaftesbury, list of knights' fees; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ii. 477: 'at Apshulle ys on hide of londe and on gerde, and answarez for one knystesmetehome.'

[2] Testa de Nevill, 309 (Lincolnshire): 'Willelmus le Angevyn tenet duas carucatas et duas bovatas terre per servitium unius militis in Holebeck and Quappelade.' Cf. ibid. 312 b, 318 b. Cf. Kentish Inq. p. m. viii [Esc. No. 17, 31 Hen. III, 1247], Arch. Cant. ii. p. 296.

[3] Madox, Baronia Anglicana, 182; Testa de Nevill, 310, 313 b, 316 a, 317 a.

[4] Lib. Rub. i. 64 (from Pipe Roll, 33 Henry II), Dorset and Somerset: 'Willelmus de Chahaygnes ix l. pro ix militibus, sed recognitum est quod sunt de parvis feodis.' Cf. ibid. 101, 125, 167, 169, 545.

[5] Madox, Hist. of Exch. 439 e. Lib. Rub. i. 43 (Pipe Roll, 14 Hen. II); 71 (from Scutage, 2 R. I): 'Staffordsira, Episcopus Couentrensis, vii l. x s. de quibus xix s. ii d. sunt de diversis Comitatibus Moreton(iae) —xv milites. Ibid. 82 (from Scutagium, 6 R. I. ad 20 s.): 'Norhamtescira—vicecomes (reddit compotum) . . . de xxxi s. ii d. de scutagio honoris de feodis de Moretonia.' Ibid. 92 (from Scut., 6 R. I): 'Sudsexa—Robertus Peverel, viii s. iiii d. de duabus partibus i feodi Moretoniae.' Also ibid., 155, 533, 550, 612. Testa de Nevill, 169 (parva feoda in Dorset).

[6] Testa de Nevill, 223 (Honor de Aquila); 223, 224 (de domino Rege in capite); Rot. Hundr. ii. 335 (Bucks): 'Swanebourne Inferior, Heredes Godardi tenent medietatem feodi i militis de parvo feodo de Morteyn de domino Iohanne Passelewe et ipse in capite de

but it is not always the case. Some of them are drawn from other honours, e. g. from the fief of Arsyk, cut out of the possessions of Odo of Bayeux, and those of the barony of Stafford.[1] Conversely by way of exception there were some large fees of the honour of Mortain.[2] The frequent mentions of scutages and reliefs due by such 'parva feoda' in contrast with the ordinary ones show that a very material inequality was assumed between the two types. For example, when the ordinary fee paid a pound for scutage, the small fee paid a mark, that is, two-thirds, and the reliefs differed in the same proportion.[3] In many cases the proportion is not quite so simple: 16*s.* 4*d.* for the Mortain fiefs corresponds to two marks (26*s.* 8*d*) for great fees, 200*d.* to 320*d.* Thus the endowment of a Mortain knight was taken to equal five-eighths of the endowment of an ordinary knight,[4] and this seems to have been the most exact estimate,

domino Rege de feodo Cheyndreth de Langeleye et tota illa terra est de honore de Berchampstead praeter ii virg. terre que tenentur de Monialibus de Bradeleye.' Cf. Vict. Hist. of Hertfordshire, i. 280.

[1] Testa de Nevill, 112 b: '(Oxon and Berk'. De baronia Arsic.) De feodis Herveiei de Stafford de parvis feodis de Mortein. De eodem de terra Hugonis de Tiwa de uno parvo feodo in Dunnestiwa et Edburbir xvii s. x d.' Rot. Hundr. ii. 861 a: 'Middelaston, De feodo baroniae de Stafford... idem ... dat scutagium quando currit feod. dimid. minoris scuti.' Cf. Dugdale, Baronage, 156; Calendar. Geneal. 389, 428.

[2] Testa de Nevill, 31 a: '(Northants, De feod' comitis Leyc' & feod' Willelmi de Kaynes.) De Willelmo de Faukener vii l. vi s. pro vii magnis feodis de feod' de Morteyn & ii parvis & di' de suo proprio et iii parvis de feod' de Kaynes . . .'

[3] Testa de Nevill, 54 b (Salop and Staff.): 'Herveius Bagot tenet L feoda militum de quibus tria faciunt duo.' Ibid. 201; Lib. Rub. 219, 220 (Dorset), 'Carta Willelmi filii Iohannis—Ego... teneo de Rege in capite de veteri feffamento de honore Moretoniae vii milites, unde iii milites faciunt servitium ii militum'; also Carta Ricardi filii Willelmi. Year Books, Ed. II (Seld. Soc.) i. 60: 'Stapeldon v. Stapeldon, ... She (Margaret) says that Robert Puddynge, the heir's father, held of her late husband, Joce, a messuage and a carucate of land in Treveglos by homage and fealty and the service of half a knight's fee of the fee of Mortain (to wit, one mark towards a scutage of forty shillings, and so in proportion).' Madox, Baronia Anglicana, 184 note (d); Hist. of Exch. 452. The references in the Year Books vary a good deal, and are perhaps not very accurate, as the point did not interest the reporters; e. g. Year Book, Ed. II, vol. ii. 187-8 (1310), '*Westcote*: vous avowez sur nous parceo qe nous tenoms de vous un fee de chyvaler par escuage de xl s., etc. Sire, nous vous dioms qe nous tenoms mesme les tenemenz par le petit fee de Mortein sc. xxx s. a l'escu quant l'escu court a xl s.' Cf. Rot. Curiae Regis, 6 Ric. I, p. 70.

[4] Testa de Nevill, 201 a (Cornwall): 'Auxilium 19 Hen. III ...

although, not unnaturally, some local variations did occur.[1] Now these figures strike us at once by their exact correspondence to the two grades of knightly equipment mentioned in the Assize and Ordinances of Arms: the holders of the fees of the 'smaller shield' evidently correspond to the men-at-arms who have to appear in lighter armour[2] and are rated at £10 or 10 marks when the fully equipped knights are rated at 15 (or 16) pounds or marks.[3] Thus the contrast is by no means a casual one, but is based on the quality of the service. It is perfectly natural that a horseman serving in light armour should be required to pay a lesser scutage than a fellow of his who had to appear in a heavier and more costly equipment. His day must have been valued only at 5*d.* instead of 8*d.* And, further, it is clear that the difference in equipment and service was meant to correspond to a difference in the size and value of the estates on which the service was imposed. In regard to duties there is an emphatic distinction between large fees and small fees, and we hear of additional grants of land intended to make a small fee as complete as a large one.[4]

reddunt compotem de lix l. iiii s. iiii d. de lxxi feodis Andr' de Cardina' de feodis Morton,... r. c. de xvi l. xii s. iiii d. de xx feodis Morton honoris Matice' de Lucy et Roberti filii Walteri in Mynely & Lantyen, ... r. c. de xvi s. viii d. de uno minuto feodo Henrici de Heriz in Ebbeford cum pert.' Pipe Roll, 14 Hen. II, p. 142.

[1] Lib. Rub. i. 52; Kentish Inq. p. m. xxxv, Arch. Cant. iii. 260; cf. Greenstreet, Feodary of 37 Hen. III, Kent, Arch. Cant. xii. 214.

[2] Testa de Nevill, 165 a (Dorset): 'Ricardus le Franc. tenet unam hidam in Upwinburne quam Walterus Mobert dedit Aliciae matri predicti Ricardi le Franc. in liberum maritagium quam Willelmus Rex dedit Waltero Mobert in incremento feodi sui haubergelli.'

[3] In Normandy the ordinary estimate assumes that two vavassories corresponded to a knight's fee. In England an attempt is made in Henry III's ordinance to introduce a similar principle in regard to the obligations of the *feoda minuta.* But this policy does not seem to have been successful.

[4] Bracton's Note Book, Case 772: 'Willelmus de Albaniaco v. Ricardum de Wateruilla quod faciat ei consuetudines et recta seruicia que ei facere debet de libero tenemento quod de eo tenet in Naburn' Dauton', et unde peciit ab eo quod faceret ei seruicium v. feodorum integre per recordum alibi, etc.' Et Ricardus uenit et cognoscit quod tenere debet de eo v feoda, set tria feoda in Com. Oxon. in Broctona et Niwetona sunt de paruis feodis de Morting'. Et inde posuit se super magnam assisam ... Et post uenit Willelmus per attornatum

Are there any express indications as to the normal size of a fee, and as to the reduced size of a small knight's fee? There are certainly traces of a view according to which five hides ought to go to the fee in the hidated districts, that is, in the south of England.[1] By the side of these equations must be placed numerous cases where the proportion approximates to this estimate without fitting exactly, cases of allotments of 4–7 hides.[2] Other combinations are much less frequent. As for small fees, two or three hides seem to be the average estimate.[3] The relative

Size of fees in provincial custom.

suum et cognoscit quod terre de Broctona et Neutona non debent nisi tria parua feoda de Moretoign', et dominica Ricardi de com. Ebor. debent facere residuum ad perficiendum plenarium feodum de hoc quod pertinet ad feodum de Mortoing'.... Et inquiratur per xii de com. Ebor. si predictus Ricardus debeat duo feoda in comitatu illo et preterea implementum quod deest ad tria feoda parua de Moretoing' ad faciendum tria magna feoda.'

[1] Lib. Rub. 237; ibid. 292 (Carta Rogeri de Berchelai): 'Sciat dominus Rex quod ... habeo ii milites et dimidium feffatos de veteri feffamento, unde:—Michael tenet i hidam. Willelmus filius Baldewini, ii hidas. Elias de Boiville, i hidam et dimidiam. Hugo de Planta, dimidiam hidam. Et de istis integrum militem habetis.' Bristol and Gloucester Transactions, xi. 139 ff.; cf. Bracton's Note Book, 1612; Glastonbury Inquest, p. 2: 'Kingtona, iii virgates, per militiam quantum pertinet ad servitium militis tenentis v hidas.' Cf. ibid., Lega, p. 6. The following case, Lib. Rub. 293 (Roger of Berchelai), may serve to explain how it comes that by the side of regular allotments we find so many swerving from them either in the sense of an increase of duties or in the direction of their diminution: 'Ad dimidium (militem) faciendum tenet:—Radulfus de Ywelege, dimidiam hidam. Femina Radulfi Cantilene, dimidiam hidam. Rogerus de Alba Mara, i virgatam. Simon de Cornelege, i virgatam. Femina Ricardi Ganselli, iii virgatas. Prior de Stanleie, i virgatam.—Et hic habetis dimidium militem.—Ad alterum militem faciendum Walterus de Hollecumbe tenet iii hidas et dimidiam. Gerardus, iii hidas et dimidiam. Reginaldus de Alba Mara, iii hidas. Et ita tenent isti tres x hidas, unde nolunt mihi facere servitium nisi de iii virgatis, scilicet, unusquisque de i virgata. Et ita habetis ii milites et dimidium feodatos.... Si uobis in antea de dominio meo placet audire ... In manerio meo de Oberlege, habeo feodum duorum militum. Apud Stanlege, feodum i militis cum i hida de Chederintone. In Niwentone habeo feodum i militis. In Durellis i hidam. In Oslewarda, dimidiam hidam. In Doddintone, iii hidas et dimidiam. In Slimbergge, iii hidas quas ego vestro assensu dedi Mauricio filio Roberti, unde nullum habeo servitium. Kingeswodam tenent Albi Monachi, ex dono Willelmi de Berchamstede unde vobis integrum militem facio, quamvis ipsi nullum servitium michi facere volunt.'

[2] Shaftesbury fees: Dugdale, Mon. Angl. ii. 477; Abbreviatio Placitorum 50 (Bucks), 63 (Wilts.).

[3] Small fees in Somerset, e.g. *Suell*: Exon. Dd. 248, 'Comes (de Moritonio) habet i mansionem quae vocatur Seuuella quam tenuit Aluuardus

value of these very rough estimates will appear when we compare the figures for the southern counties with those of the Danelaw and of the north of England. We get into an entirely different scale of numbers. Fees of five carucates are exceedingly rare.[1] A rather common estimate in the Danelaw seems to be 13 or 14 carucates to the fee, but the numbers often range from 7 to 16.[2] In the north 24 is not uncommon,[3] and we actually get in some few cases to 48.[4] Yorkshire presents in many respects interesting peculiarities. It contained a good many estates which had belonged to the Count of Mortain, but they were not parcelled out into small fees. The Mortain fee, in the special sense in which it is used in the south, does not exist here. As for the ordinary fees, their composition differs very much in the same wapentakes, but the several honours follow systems of their own, and keep them up rather

et reddit gildum pro iii hidis'; cf. Testa de Nevill, 160 b, Swelle, unum feodum (de Moret): *Redlinch*: Exon. Dd. 256, 'Comes (de Moretonio) habet i mansionem quae vocatur Reliz ... reddit gildum pro iiii hidis.' Cf. T. de N. 161 b (Hd. de Briweton): 'In Redlis feodum ii militum de parvo feodo.' *Merriott*: Exon. Dd. 252, 'Comes (de M.) habet i mansionem quae vocatur Meriet ... et reddit gildum pro vii hidas ... Inde tenuit Leuuinus v hidas et Bristuardus ii hidas et modo tenet eam Dodemannus de comite et habet inde iii hidas et dimidiam et ii carucas in dominio.' Cf. T. de N. 163 a (Hd. de Northairy): 'Nicholas de Meriet tenet Meriet in capite de domino Rege per servicium ii militum de conquestu Angliae scilicet unum feodum de honore Glovernie et aliud de honore Morton.' *Compton Durville*: Exon. Dd. 245, 'Comes (de M.) habet i mansionem quae vocatur Comtuna ... reddidit gildum pro iii hidis.' Cf. T. de N. 169 a: '(compotes de parvis feodis) ... xvi s. viii d. de uno feodo in Cumpton quod est in manu domini Regis.'

[1] Lib. Rub. 390 (Lincolnshire: Carta Ricardi de Haia): 'Isti sunt milites Ricardi de Haia, et serviunt ad servitium Regis per carucatas. Et v carucatae faciunt i militem, et milites tenent eas, quidam plus quidam minus.'

[2] Testa de Nevill, 302 a (Morton); 307–9; 313, 320, 334. Lib. Rub. 431 (Yorkshire: Carta de Feodo Sciptone): 'Osbertus Archidiaconus tenet xi carucatas terre unde xiiii carucatae faciunt feodum militis. Petrus de Martun xii carucatas unde xiiii faciunt feodum militis,' &c.

Testa de Nevill, 301 a (Lincs): 'Hugo de Boby tenet v carucatas terrae in Boby unde vii carucate faciunt feodum unius militis.' Kirkby's Inquest, Yorkshire, 32 ff., fees of 10 carucates (Earl of Lincoln); 14 carucates (Albemarle); 16 carucates (Percy).

[3] On the lands of the Archbishop of York and in Lancashire this was the rule.

[4] Testa de Nevill, 317 a (Lincoln: Thurgremby). Cf. Madox, Baronia Anglica, p. 182–3 note (w) (Ebor., Laurentius de Holbech).

strictly. The Honour of Skypton in Craven, for example, forms its fees of 14 carucates each; in the fief of Albemarle both this and the 16 carucates standard occur side by side, while in the Earl of Lincoln's possessions 10 carucates go to the fee.[1] How is the striking difference in the composition of the knights' fees to be explained? It corresponds so clearly to the ancient division of the kingdom into the Anglo-Saxon part of the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia, and the districts occupied by the Scandinavian invaders, that one is naturally brought to consider this contrast from the point of view of the differences of social structure and political history of these two parts. On one side we have the strongly manorialized south, with estates of large landowners already formed before the Conquest; on the other we find a heterogeneous mass of tenures in which the small freemen still play a great part. Even when this free character is somewhat obscured, as in Yorkshire, by the tremendous devastation of the struggle in the eleventh century, it is yet clear that before the Conquest it could hardly have presented a very different aspect from the neighbouring Lincolnshire. The fundamental difference between the compact estates of the south and the numerous free holdings of the Danelaw could not but exert an influence on the introduction of the feudal military system. In the north it had to stretch over larger areas as a rule, not only in the literal sense of occupying larger tracts of country, but also in that of drawing its supplies from larger congregations of tenants and larger combinations of holdings, because the single tenants and holdings were subjected to much more superficial exploitation. At the same time the system took more the shape of a regular repartition of service between the component units—the carucates of

[1] Kirkby's Yorkshire Inquest, 32 ff. Northumberland fees. Feudal Aids, iv. p. 56 (1346): 'de iiii s. pro x$^{ma}$ parte i f. m. pro una carucata terre in Ingow quam quondam Walterus Swetehop tenuit, ut de parcella baronie predicte (de Hunfravill).' Cf. ibid. p. 60: 'Saltdyk, iiii s. pro x$^{ma}$ parte i f. m.... pro una carucata terre ... ut de parcella baronie predicte (de Morley).' Cf. ibid. p. 66: 'Belford ... de iii s. iv d.... pro xii$^{ma}$ parte i f. m. ... ut de una carucata terre ... ut parcella baronie predicte (de Musco Campo).'

every honour—than that of a selection of particular estates for the purpose of defending the land in respect of military service.

The character of knight service in the Danelaw, and the difficulties it had to encounter, may be well illustrated by some entries taken from the Lincolnshire feodary of the Honour of Richmond. The fees have actually to be taken over in some cases by entire communities of sokemen,[1] and the feudal service thus loses its characteristic aspect of a personal contract of vassalage. Altogether, the very varied conditions of tenure in this county, as well as in those of East Anglia, are reflected in the feodaries by exceedingly irregular formations of the knight's fee. It is clear that the feudal system did not come as a natural growth in these places: it appeared prematurely as a consequence of the French Conquest.

In the south matters are exactly the reverse. Not only are the different villages comparatively rounded off under separate landlords, but this system exists there already for some time, and the Norman barons follow without much difficulty the traces of their Saxon predecessors. The fee forms, or at least is intended to form, the appendage of a definite place, rather than the service contributions laid on the several tenants of the considerable district included in a barony.

Dorset may be taken as an example of the typical southern arrangement prevailing in most counties. The 5-hides groups and approximating combinations[2] forming the basis of knights' fees occur often. The larger townships composed of 10 hides and more are either subdivided into several fees as multiples of five,[3] or, in the case of eccle-

[1] Honour of Richmond (Rec. Off.). See App. III. We find a similar repartition of military service among sokemen in some of the fiefs of Peterborough Abbey.

[2] It must be borne in mind that the hides spoken of are mostly taken in the fiscal sense, and are therefore very uncertain as to their agrarian value. Therefore in many cases the Domesday estimates of plough-land and teams ought to be consulted in order to form an idea of the real value of the fees.

[3] E.g. (Chardstock, Dorset), Dd. 77 b: '(Cerdestoche) Episcopus (Sarisberiensis) tenet et ii milites de eo ... T. R. E. geldabat pro xii

siastical manors, they fall into two portions, one being reserved for the use of the see or monastery and entered as frank almoigne, the other consisting of the military tenures 'defending' the entire fief in regard to military service, and cut out more or less on the 5 hide pattern.[1] In contrast with these appear the small groups supporting the light cavalry, the Mortain fees of two or three hides.[2] When these light horsemen are quartered on a 5 or 6 hide vill it is generally divided between two knights.[3] In some cases, when the 5 hide standard seems to fail, we find that in the Domesday Survey land for five ploughs is mentioned, and the not unnatural inference is that the hidation was a beneficial one.[4]

hidis.' Feudal Aids, ii. 8: (Cerdestok) 'Episcopus Sarisburiensis duo feoda.' *Wraxall* (Dorset): Dd. 82d (Brocheshale, 14 hides altogether); F. A. ii. 3 (Wroxhale, 2 fees).

[1] E.g. Beaminster, Dd. 77b: (Beiminstre) 'Episcopus (Sarisb.) tenet ... T. R. E. geldabat pro xvi hidis et una uirgata terrae ... De eadem terra tenet de episcopo Algar ii hidas. H. de Cartrai ii hidas una uirgata minus. Sinod v hidas. Brictuin i hidam et dimidiam ... Dominium episcopi ualet xvi lib. Hominum uero vii lib.' Cf. F. A. ii. 7: 'Hundredum de Bemenistre ... dicunt quod villam de Bemenistre que non est guldabilis ... Canonici Sarisburie eam tenent—De feodis militum que tenentur in capite de domino rege dicunt quod episcopus Sarisburiensis tenet in capite de domino rege in dicto hundredo novem feoda et di. de quibus (p. 8) Willelmus de Welle un. f. in Axnolre (in Beaminster, v. F. A. Index), Pikiete, Langeford et Dewelepole.' Similarly Netherbury (Dorset), Dd. 77b (Niderberie), Feudal Aids, ii. 7 (Nitherbury), with Worth, p. 8 (Worth, part of Netherbury, v. F. A. Index); Sherborne (Dorset), Dd. 77a (Scireburne), F. A. ii. 4, 5 (Hundredum de Shirburn).

[2] E.g. Charmouth, Dd. 80a: (Cernemude) 'Robertus tenet de Co(mite Moritoniense) ... Algar tenuit T. R. E. et geldabat pro iii hidis. Terra est iii carucis.' Testa de Nevill, 160a: '(Cernemuwe) unum feodum de eodem (feodo Roberti de Bello Campo)'; Little Herringstone, Dd. 79b ('Cerne. Comes Moriton. iii h.'—Eyton identifies with Little Herringstone in Charminster parish); Feudal Aids, ii. 18; Testa de Nevill, 169b ('Haringston, xvi s. viii d. de uno feodo Morton'); Hook, Dd. 79d ('Lahoc. Comes Moriton ii hid.'); F. A. ii. 2 ('La Hoke. Johannes de Syfrewast ... pro feodo un. m. de feodis comitis Mortonie').

[3] E.g. in Somerset, five hides in Dd., two knights in Testa de Nevill, in Hatch (Exon. Dd. 251, Hachia; T. de N. 160a, Hache), Beer (Exon. Dd. 251, Bera; T. de N. 160a, Weston and Bere), Charlton Horethorne (Exon. Dd. 254, Ceorlaton; T. de N. 160a, Cherleton), Crowcombe (Exon. Dd. 246, Crawecoma; T. de N. 160a, Crawecumb).

[4] E.g. Langton Herring (Dorset), Dd. 75c: (Langetone) 'geldabat pro i hida et dim. Terra est ii carucis.' 83d: (ib.) 'geldabat pro i hida et dim. Terra est iii carucis.' Feudal Aids, ii. 6: (Langetun)

Staffordshire presents an interesting variation of this system, in so far as its townships are small and fall more naturally into hamlets of two or three hides rather than into the larger combinations of five, ten hides, &c. The small Mortain fees are especially at home there, but as for the large ones, they are mostly formed by combinations of several villages.[1]

Some of the counties of the Danelaw itself, like Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, have already assumed more or less the same organization as those of the southern districts; while, on the contrary, counties included in the hidated region of England, but showing strong traces of Danish population and social institutions, like Cambridgeshire, are characterized by mixed and irregular formations.[2]

Sergeanties.

2. Speaking of the feudal military system, we must not forget that knight service was its chief but by no means its only expression. By the side of the knights' fees we find the tenures in sergeanty, which very often are an exact copy of the former, and differ from them only in the quality of the warrior who has to appear from them in the host. Upton, in Northamptonshire, had to send a sergeant to serve the king in his wars for forty days at his own cost; Sybercroft, in the same county, to find one man with bow and arrows, also for forty days at his own cost.[3] In other cases the service of spearmen and men with axes is stipulated.[4] Interesting entries refer to sergeanties by the

'Philip Harang tenet medietatem de Langetun . . . pro di. f. m.—Rogerus de Novant tenet aliam medietatem de Langetun pro di. f. m.'

[1] Small Mortain fees in Staffordshire, Dd. 249 d: (Levehale) 'Robertus de Statford iii hidas et Briend et Drogo de eo.' Cf. Testa de Nevill, 46 b: '(Leuerdehal) Baronia de Stafford de feodo de Morteil (*sic*) Henricus de Verdon et participes sui unum feodum'; Dd. 249 a (Titesoure), cf. T. de N. 46 b (Titnesovere); Dd. 248 d (Selte), cf. T. de N. 46 (Saut); Dd. 248 d (Waletone), cf. T. de N. 46 (Waleton). Magna feoda: e.g. Testa de Nevill, 46 b: 'Baronia Rogeri de Somery (De Magnis feodis), Rogerus, unum feodum in Swineford & Clent & in Mere.'

[2] Ely Cartulary, Tib. B. ii.

[3] Kirkby's Inquest, Notts. Feudal Aids, iv. 9, 11.

[4] Testa de Nevill, 55 b: 'Nesta de Baskervill tenet per seriantiam et debet de servicio unum servientem cum lancia in exercitu domini Regis in Wallia.' Ibid. 318 a: 'Lincolnshire. Wapent. de Hawardow;

service of acting as constables to foot soldiers—providing enfeoffed officers in the case of national levies.[1] The numerous tenures by castle-ward have also to be mentioned in this connexion.[2] But as has been said already, the sergeanties are by no means so uniformly cut to one pattern as the knights' fees. The term of service, as well as the customary obligations and the size of the estates, varies a great deal. In regard to the first, it is quite common to find short terms[3] or rather vague conventions, in which the service is bound up with some particular kind of expedition, the defence of the Welsh Marches or of the sea border for example.[4]

It has to be noticed that no clear line can be drawn between military sergeanties and services which seem to us to be of a private character. Hunters and foresters are constantly mentioned as holding estates or smaller plots by the service of assisting the lord in his hunting expeditions, or watching over his forests, parks, and warrens.[5] Riding sergeants, accompanying the lord or bearing his errands under certain conditions, are also of common occurrence, and must have formed an important part of the population of those days.[6] Cooks, chamberlains, servants of different

eadem Gracia (de Insula) aliam terram suam de domino Rege in capite pro invenire unum servientem in Wales ad preceptum domini Regis cum i hache de veteri feoffamento.'

[1] Testa de Nevill, 53 b: 'Rogerus de la More tenet villam de Mora per seriantiam scilicet quod debet esse constabularius peditum in exercitu domini Regis in Wallia.' Cf. ibid. 58 a.

[2] Testa de Nevill, 58 b: 'Seriantia Rogeri filii Ade de Leytun pro qua debuit commorari in castro de Salop' tempore guerre per xv dies cum una balista ad custum proprium.'

[3] Testa de Nevill, 52 b: 'Henricus de Auditheleg tenet infra predictum manerium (Novum Castrum) villatas de Tunstal etc. per seriantiam seruientis peditis cum arcu et sagittis infra predictum castrum per viii dies tempore guerre ad custum proprium.'

[4] Testa de Nevill, 56 a: 'Robertus de Girras tenet Burcton membrum manerii de Claverleg de dono Henrici Regis patris domini Regis Iohannis per servicium inveniendi unum servientem peditem in exercitu Wall' quod solet reddere xxxii sol.—Wrenoc filius Meurici tenet viii libras terre de ballia domini Regis Johannis per x l. in escambio de Witinton quod Fulco filius Warini tenet et debet esse de servicio "latimarius" inter Angliam et Walliam.'

[5] Kirkby's Inquest, Northampton Feudal Aids, iv. 1 (Pistesle); Testa de Nevill, 52 b (Kenefar, &c.).

[6] Testa de Nevill, 52 b, 55 b.

kinds, appear also enfeoffed of plots of land.[1] I lay stress on the fact because it discloses one of the roots of the feudal system—personal service, of which the military following is only one species.

As to the size of sergeanties, they range from great manors held by some grand sergeanty—as that of some officer [2]—to minute holdings of a fraction of the hide.[3] The services required were so varied that there could be no fixed or even typical estimate for feoffments. It may be noted that there was a kind of standard for the squire's service in Normandy. It was deemed a kind of military tenure, a 'vavassorie', and estimated at half a knight's fee.[4] But although similar attempts at estimation occur every now and then, they did not prevail or lead to the establishment of a rule.[5]

Drengage. One important variety of sergeanty is to be found in a tenure which often occurs in northern counties, namely in 'drengage'.[6] It is distinguished from military service

[1] E.g. F. A. ii. p. 36 (1303): 'Henricus coquus tenet dimidium feodum parvum ... de episcopo Sarisberiense.' Cf. Testa de Nevill, 115 a.

[2] Bracton's Note Book, c. 1231: 'inuenit inde Dom. Regi uersus Walliam duos homines per xv dies et redeundo inde duos homines per xv dies ... unde dicit quod tenementum illud non est socagium sed tenetur per magnam serianciam ... Seriancia illa non est parva sicut de sagittis et sparvariis et huius modi.'

[3] E.g. Testa de Nevill, 348 a (Lincs.): 'Walterus de Bauent tenet ii Covatas in Winceby per servicium falconarie.' Cf. 348 b, 'De seriantiis arentatis' (Lincs.); ibid. 114 b, 'Seriantiae arentate' (Oxon. et Berks.).'

[4] Robert de Torigni, Chronicles of Reign of Stephen, iv. 349 ('Vavassores cum scuto et lancea').

[5] It seems that in some counties the service of a knight in light armour, instead of being reckoned as a Mortain fee, was regarded as sergeanty, and probably appreciated at half the service of an ordinary knight. Testa de Nevill, 55 b (Shropshire): 'Johannes filius Roberti de Estleg tenet Estleg antiquitus ex conquestu et debet de servicio unum servientem equitem cum uno haubergello ad eundum cum domino Rege quando vadit in exercitu in Wallia.' Cf. ibid. 54 a.

[6] Compotus of 1346, Northumberland, Feudal Aids, iv. 61. Lib. Rub. 572 (Lancashire): 'De hiis qui tenent Theynagium et Drangagium. Ricardus de Molineus, i carucatam et dimidiam in excambio de Toxtale per xx s.'; 573, 'Drangagium, Homines de Hameltone, iii carucatas per xxiiii s. Rogerus de Monte Begonis, xiii bovatas in Caskenemore per ix s. et ii d. ob. et dimidium iudicem. Willelmus de Neville, xiii bovatas ibidem per xs. et ix d. ob. et dimidium iudicem.'

by its peculiar incidents.[1] We get its most detailed description in the Durham Boldon Book, where it appears as a kind of general service, including attendance on the lord in his hunting, overseer's duties in regard to less favoured classes of the population, military help in case of need without a distinct formulation of military service. The obligation of *utware* is sometimes mentioned among the duties of the Durham drengs, and under it have to be included all the 'foreign' duties of a tenant—payment of taxes to the king, as well as the acquitting of tenements from the burden of the king's expedition.[2] As in many similar cases, carriage duties, boon-works, and sometimes 'boon-erth' or 'gafolerth', were superadded to these 'squire's services' of the dreng, which do not, however, include week-work.[3]

The tenure goes back certainly to the times before the Conquest. It is mentioned once or twice in accounts of the proceedings which took place directly after the Norman invasion, as an institution characteristic of the old English arrangement, and gradually displaced by Norman military tenure. I need hardly recall to the mind of my readers the well-known account of the conversion of the drengs of the see of Canterbury into knights by Archbishop Lanfranc,[4] or the altercation about the status of a dreng.[5]

Indeed, the origin of the class and of the term may be safely sought in the Danish expression *dreng*, corresponding to the Latin *puer* and possibly to the frequently occurring O.E. *cild*. All these names may well be applied to sergeants,

[1] Boldon Book, Lapsley in the Durham Victoria County History. Cf. Maitland in E. H. R. v. 625 ff.

[2] Oxenhale: 'W . . . fecit *utware* quando positum fuerit in episcopatu' (Boldon Book, p. 583 a): the expression is more suited to taxation than to military service, but it must have included both. Cf. Growth of the Manor, 284, and Dr. Liebermann's Glossary to Anglo-Saxon Laws, v. 'utware.'

[3] Mr. Lapsley is hardly right in saying that week-work was imposed on the drengs of all the manors but one. V. C. H. i. 286.

[4] Stubbs, Const. Hist., i. 284; Elton, Tenures of Kent.

[5] Bigelow, Placita Anglo-Normannica, p. 2.

personal dependants, who sometimes received an outfit in the way of an estate.[1]

The continuous existence of drengage in the north is an interesting feature, not only in itself, but also because it shows that there was no absolute break between the conditions preceding and those following the Conquest. Drengage is a Scandinavian institution bridging over the introduction of Norman rule, and not materially altered by the influence of French feudal law. There is a famous page of Domesday Book treating of that tenure in Lancashire just before the Conquest.[2] We hear of numerous freemen ('liberi homines') who held small estates termed manors, and concentrated around the great royal manors of Derby, Newton, Walintune, Blackburne, Lailand, and Salford. These freemen have to attend the shiremoot, the hundred-moot, and

[1] The meaning of 'fighting man' suggested by Bosworth and Toller for the term *dreng* is certainly a derived one. The passages quoted from O. E. poetry date from the time after the Danish invasions. Yet this use of the word is characteristic of the part played by these sergeants, who may aptly be compared to the German, *Dienstmänner* or *ministeriales*. Lapsley, in Durham County History, i. 290.

[2] Dd. i. 269 c, d, 270 a: (Inter Ripam et Mersham) 'Manerium de Derbei . . . Duo taini tenebant vi bouatas terrae pro ii maneriis in Holand. . . . Ex his (supra dictis hidis) iii hidae erant libere quarum censum perdonauit (rex E.) teinis qui eas tenebant. Istae reddebant iiii l. et xiiii s. et viii denarios. Omnes isti taini habuerunt consuetudinem reddere ii oras denariorum de unaquaque carucata terrae et faciebant per consuetudinem domos regis et quae ibi pertinebant sicut uillani et piscarias et in silua haias et stabilituras, et qui ad haec non ibat quando debebat ii solidis emendabat et postea ad opus ueniebat et operabatur donec perfectum erat. Unusquisque eorum uno die in Augusto mittebat messores suos secare segetes regis. Si non per ii solidos emendabat. . . . In Neweton . . . aliam terram xv homines quos drenchs uocabant pro xv maneriis tenebant, sed huius manerii bereuuich erant et inter omnes xxx s. reddebant. Huius Hundredi (Neweton) homines liberi preter duos erant in eadem consuetudine qua homines Derberiae et plus illis ii diebus in Augusto metebant in culturis Regis. Illi duo habebant v carucatas terrae et forisfacturam sanguinis et feminae uiolentiam passae et pasnagium suorum hominum. Alias habebat rex . . . Modo sunt ibi vi drenghs. . . . Rex E. tenuit Walintune . . . Ad ipsum manerium pertinebant xxxiiii drengh et totidem maneria habebant . . . Rex E. tenuit Lailand . . . Ad hoc manerium pertinebant xii carucatae terrae quas tenebant xii homines liberi pro totidem Maneriis . . . Homines huius manerii de Salford non operabantur per consuetudinem ad aulam regis neque metebant in Augusto—tantummodo i haiam in silua faciebant et habebant sanguinis forisfacturam et feminae passae uiolentiam. De aliis consuetudinibus aliorum superiorum maneriorum erant consortes.'

other placita which must have been the moots of the aforesaid great manors.

Besides the generic expression 'liberi homines', these tenants are described in the case of Derby and Salford as thanes, in that of Walintunè and Newton as drengs, in that of Lailand as *homines*, but there was very little difference in the condition of all these subdivisions of the class. They were all charged for the farm of the king, and most had to build houses for the king on his progresses, 'as if they were villains', to raise hedges and warrens, to send their men to help in the reaping the king's corn. The relief in case of succeeding to one's father was 40*s*., and it was intended to save the land and their chattels from confiscation. This characteristic condition shows that the possession both of the land and of the movables of these men was thought to be derived from the king's grant. This is further illustrated by the fact that these tenants had to pay 40*s*. if they wanted to 'recede' from the king's land. The drengs and thanes of Lancashire were emphatically the king's men. There is no peculiarly military trait about their tenure: they are merely free servants of the king endowed with lands. But we have to remember that the position of such a free servant, if endowed with land, in regard to the duty of serving in the host was a particular one. Although liable to be called up to the *fyrd* like any other person, his responsibility for not appearing was quite different; he was liable to lose his land, where a common freeman would simply incur a fine.[1] In a frontier district like Lancashire this meant a great deal, and although rents and agricultural services were required from the manors in time of peace, in case of a local expedition they had to provide soldiers. It is very important to know that the fees of the sergeants or ministers were still quite common in the north all through the feudal period. In the Domesday entries the arrangements appear almost entirely as a thing of the past, although of a very

[1] 'Gesiðcund man landagende . . . ðolie þes landes.' Ine, 51.

recent past[1]; but later documents show thanage and drengage to be still flourishing in Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Durham. The fact that there is an appreciable difference between the thanes and drengs[2] of the district described in Domesday is a noteworthy one; the two designations differ in this case, at any rate, not in regard to substance but in their ethnographical origin; thanes are of English origin, drengs of Scandinavian, but in both cases we have to do with the armed sergeants of the king who held land endowments from him. The size of their holdings, or manors as they are termed, is not very large. In some cases it is equated with a hide, in others it is somewhat larger, in others again a good deal less;[3] but we must remember that the hide in these parts was reckoned at 6 carucates of land. Still the tenants in question cannot be considered as anything but small squires, burdened with agricultural and personal services of a rather humble kind. They must have possessed horses, but their equipment could not have been very elaborate. When the time comes to instal knights they appear in much less numbers.

Thanes and sergeanties.

3. The case of the drengs makes one ask whether a good many of the so-called sergeanties of feudal times do not ascend to similar *ministerial* tenures of the age before the Conquest. There is a curious report in Bracton's Note Book of a litigation in regard to a fee dependent on the Abbess of Barking.[4] The court had some trouble in

[1] Milites of Roger of Poitou have taken their place as lords of the dependent manors, and the original settlement was evidently much disturbed, as very small numbers of cultivators appear, instead of the former considerable population.

[2] The expression *dreng* may possibly have been applied to people of a rather lower position than that sometimes held by free servants. In the details of the description of Derby *thane* alternates with *radman*, but the general position of the thanes of Derby and the drengs of Newton is practically identical.

[3] Dd. i. 269e: 'Tres taini tenebant Alretune pro iii maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida .... Quattuor radmans tenebant Cildeuuelle pro iiii maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida, etc.'

[4] Bracton's Note Book, 758: 'Agnes que fuit uxor Henrici de Dakeham petit uersus Abbatissam de Berkinge quod reddat ei custodiam terre ipsius Henrici de Daleham et in Berkinge que ad ipsam pertinet

classifying the tenure; it was not, strictly speaking, a military tenure, and yet it had certain features of such a one. It was said to be traceable in the customary incidents to about seventy years before the Conquest. The chief incident was the service of a riding attendant of the Abbess. Yet it was considered to be military in essence, and the corresponding incidents were held to follow from it.

This example is well fitted to impress on our mind the view that the staff of ministers and servants endowed with land was a social feature of the Anglo-Saxon as well as of the feudal epoch, and that the customary status of the latter has many of its roots in preconquestual conditions. If we turn to Domesday in our search of the *sergeants* we find a great variety of groups corresponding to this general designation. To begin with, there are some counties where a separate rubric is made for the estates

eo quod predictus Henricus tenuit in soccagio predictam terram, et unde dicit quod predictus Henricus ita tenuit quondam terram suam de predicta Abbatissa in Dakeham, scilicet, quod reddidit ei per annum ad festum, etc., vi sol. et vi den. et solet itinerare cum eadem Abbatissa ad maneria sua in propria persona uel mittere cum ea quendam hominem Franciscum vel Anglicum, dum tamen non esset uillanus ipsius Abbatisse. . . . Et Abbatissa uenit et defendit uim et iniuriam et dicit quod ipse tenuit de ea per seruicium militare, ita scil. quod ante fundationem Abbacie de Berking septinginta annis preteritis quamdiu manerium illud fuit in manu Dom. Regis et aliorum dominorum feodi solent tenentes de eodem manerio bene circiter triginta qui tenent tam libere sicut idem Henricus et solent ire in exercitum cum dominis suis dum tamen summonicionem haberent sero, et eciam post fundacionem Abbacie donec manerium illud datum fuit in liberam elemosinam, et postea seruicium tale fecerunt Abbatisse quod semper solent ire cum Abbatissis uel cum senescallis suis quo ipse uoluerunt ad maneria sua et alibi dum tamen sero haberent summonicionem, et dicit quod siue reddat plus uel minus de redditu semper dant pro releuio et nomine releuii c sol. de tenementis suis post mortem decedencium. Dicit eciam quod uxores hominum tenencium de eodem manerio recuperant et habent nomine dotis semper terciam partem sicut de libero feodo et non medietatem sicut de soccagio . . . Dicit eciam (Agnes) quod terra et tenementum ipsius Henrici non debet c sol. de releuio nec aliquid forinsecum seruicium, nisi tantum ad summam annui redditus, et quod predictum tenementum nullum debet aliud releuium, et quod predictus Henricus non fuit in custodia Ricardi de Stapelfordia per ipsam Abbatissam set per ipsum Willelmum de Ayete, nec quod equitare debeat extra maneria uel mittere Franciscum uel Anglicum cum uno equo precii dim. marce secundum quod predictum est nisi infra maneria ipsius Abbatisse. Et inde ponit se super patriam. Et Abbatissa petit iudicium si debeat ei respondere de tali seisina.'

of the king's sergeants. Such is Wiltshire,[1] for instance, where these estates are carefully distinguished from those of thanes. On reading through the entries we find that the people mentioned as tenants are actual officers of the king's court, household, and military retinue—a porter, several chamberlains, an overseer of granaries, an *arbalistarius*. The men who held the lands T. R. E. are named thanes or known as such.[2] The estates described are mostly small, of 1, 1½, 2 hides, although, exceptionally, larger ones occur, for example, Thornwell, which paid geld for 7½ hides T. R. E. In Oxfordshire the lands of Richard Engaym and other officers (*ministri*) of the king also form a separate rubric.[3] Here we find a treasurer (*arcarius*) and a goldsmith (*aurifaber*) mentioned expressly, and there can be no doubt that many of the tenants were officers of the civil or military household, while their Anglo-Saxon predecessors may have been either in the same position, or thanes, that is, as far as we can make out at present, personal followers of the king with no special duties assigned to them.

The close connexion between sergeanties and the office of thanes may be further illustrated by an entry from the Exon Domesday, where a porter (Will. Hostiarius) is said to hold thaneland in Devonshire.[4] I need hardly say that similar household offices are often mentioned singly, without being ranged under a general rubric.[5]

[1] Dd. i. 74c: (Wilts.) 'Terra seruientium regis . . . Ricardus Sturmid tenet i hidam et unam uirgatam terrae et dimidiam in Iwis. Terra est iii car. In dominio est una car. et iiii serui et iii uillani et iiii coscez cum ii car.' etc.

[2] Ibid. 74d: 'Albericus Camerarius tenet Deurel. Duo taini tenuerunt T.R.E.—Gundinus granetarius tenet Witecliue . . . etc.'

[3] Dd. i. 160c, d: (Oxfordshire) 'Terra Ricardi et aliorum ministorum Regis.'

[4] Dd. iv. 439: 'Terra seruientium Regis in Deuenesira. Willelmus hostiarius habet i mansionem quae uocatur Tauelanda (*sic*) quam tenuit Godricus ea die qua rex E. fuit uiuus et mortuus et reddidit geldum pro i uirga, hanc possunt arare iii carrucae . . . Hec mansio reddidit dominice mansioni regis quod uocatur Tauetona de consuetudine aut i bovem aut xxx denarios per annum.' Cf. Dd. i. 61b: (Berks., Chenetberie Hd.)

[5] Cf. Dd. i. 162d: (Gloucs.) 'In eodem Hundredo (Dudestan)

4. By the side of household officers appears the numerous group entered in Domesday as *radchenestri*, or radmen. They are usually kept quite distinct from the rustics within the manor.[1] The size of these holdings is not large, one hide or two, with some few exceptions.[2] They carry on the agricultural work on their plots with the help of the members of their households and some labourers or slaves; the number of agricultural holdings dependent on them is very small when compared with the extent of their own husbandry.[3] As agricultural tenants they are sometimes required to perform work on the estates of their lords,[4] and yet they are emphatically described as freemen. At the same time they do not possess full power to dispose of their land, and are indissolubly attached to the manor

Rad-knights

iuxta ciuitatem habuit Vluuard dimidiam hidam de rege E. quietam et ibi ii car. et iiii serui. Hanc dedit W. comes cuidam coquo suo.'

[1] Dd. i. 59a (Gosei); 172b (Chideminstre); 258a: (Shropshire) 'Sibetune. Suen tenuit et liber homo fuit. Ibi ii hidae geldantes. Terra est iii car. In dominio est una et iiii servi et ii radmans cum i car. Ibi silua c porcis incrassandum,' etc. Less distinct are Dd. i. 166c (Horselei; Biselege); 265a (Estone; Pichetone; Hotone; Botestoch, etc.).

[2] Dd. i. 180c: (Hereford) 'Feccheham . . . unus radman tenet dimidiam hidam et ii partes dimidiae hidae et unam croftam et habet i carucam.'

[3] Dd. i. 163b: (Tewkesbury, Gloucs.) 'In Teodechesberie . . . ix Radchenistres habentes xxvi car. et v. coliberti, etc. Hi Radchenistres arabant et herciabant ad curiam domini.' Cf. burgenses, ibid. 'reddentes v solidos et iiii denarios et seruientes ad curiam.' 163c: 'Ibi (Teodekesberie) iii Radchenistres T.R.E. pertinebant. Unus eorum tenebat in Estone vi hidas. Modo tenet Girardus. Alter tenebat in Waltone iii hidas. Modo tenet Radulfus. Tercius tenebat in Fitentone ii hidas. Modo tenet Bernardus. In his xi hidis sunt x carucae in dominio et iiii uillani et i bordarius et ix serui cum una caruca.'

[4] Dd. i. 166b: (Deerhurst, Gloucs.) 'Derheste. Ibi sunt lix hidae. In capite M. erant T.R.E. v hidae . . . Ad hoc M. pertinent hae Berewicae Herdennic (v hid.), Bortune (viii hid.), Teodeham (vii. hid.), Sudtune (v. hid.). Inter totum xxv hidae . . . De terra huius M. tenebant Radchenestres idest liberi homines T. R. E. qui omnes ad opus domini arabant et herciabant et falcabant et metebant. Ad Almundestan Brictric i hidam . . . Ad Telinge Godric ii hidas. Ad Wicfeld Eduui i hidam. Ad Toteham Eduui i hidam . . . Ad Botingtune ii hidae. Ad Bortune ii hidae. Has tenuit Wluui. Ad Chinemertune dimidiam hidam. Leuuinus tenuit. . . . Ad Giningtune Eluui i hidam et unam uirgatam. Ad Tereige Leuuinus dimidiam hidam. Ad Trinleie Edricus ii uirgatas et dimidiam, etc. . . . In his terris sunt in dominio xi carucae et dimidia et xiiii uillani et xxvii bordarii cum vii carucis. Ibi xiiii serui et xx acrae prati.'

unless they are separated from it by the lord himself.[1] Domesday does not dwell specially on the riding services, but there are indirect allusions to these[2], and the radmen frequently mentioned in the survey of Worcestershire[3] are evidently of the same kind as the sergeants described in Wulfstan's well-known letter as subjected to the *lex equitandi*.[4] These riding sergeants, frequently entered under the distinctive name of radknights, or radmen, in the western counties, were hardly confined to these, and may have also occurred in the east, where they were probably concealed under the more general designation of freemen or *servientes*.

It seems natural to explain the names of the group from the O. E. *rád*, and both the compound radknight, and the connexion with Oswald's *lex equitandi*, and the prevalence of the term in the western counties, make it most probable that we can rest content with the usual explanation of the terms in the sense of riding sergeants.[5] Another explana-

[1] Dd. i. 38 a: (Mapulderham, Hants) 'Malpedresham. T. R. E. pro xx hides, modo pro xiii . . . Duo rachenistre tenuerunt nec alicubi recedere potuerunt.' Ibid. 164 d: (Gloucs.) 'Huesberie . . . Ad M. pertinent vi Radchenistres habentes viii hidas et viii carucas. Non poterant a M. separari.' Ibid. 179 c: (Hereford) 'Maurdine... Terram W. filii Normanni tenuerunt iii Radchenistres nec poterant de hoc M. separari.' 180 c: (Hereford) 'Merlie . . . Ipse comes dedit Radulfo de bernai ii radmans et misit eos extra hoc M. cum terra quam tenebant. Hi habent ii carucas.'

[2] Dd. i. 173 b (Nortune). The riding servant of the sheriff of Gloucestershire, bound to serve all through England, must have been a radman, Dd. i. 162 d (In Cirecestre).

[3] Dd. i. 173 b: (Worcs. Blochelei) 'iiii radmans habentes vi hidas.' 173 c: (Norwiche cum uno membro Tidbertun) 'i radman habens iii uirgatas.' Cf. 174 b (Aluieuecherche). Cf. the radknights of Leofminster (Herefordshire), Dd. i. 180 a.

[4] C. D. 1287: 'Quare quo modo fidos mihi subditos telluribus quae mihi traditae sunt potestati per spatium temporis trium hominum, id est duorum post se haeredum, condonarem, placuit . . . ut fratribus meis successoribus, scilicet episcopis, per cyrographi cautionem apertius enuclearem . . . Hoc pacto eis terras sanctae ecclesiae sub me tenere concessi: hoc est ut omnis equitandi lex ab eis impleatur quae ad equites pertinet; et ut pleniter persoluant omnia quae ad ius ipsius aecclesiae iuste competunt, scilicet ea quae Anglice dicuntur ciricsceott et toll id est theloneum et tace, id est swinsceade, et caetera iura aecclesiae.'

[5] Villainage in England, 320, 323, 407. Maitland, Domesday and Beyond, 57, 305.

tion from the O.N. *rádmadr*, a steward, an overseer, literally a ruler, has been suggested,[1] but there does not seem to be much ground for a Scandinavian derivation in the particular district where they are mostly met with; and, besides, the suggested Scandinavian etymology would hardly fit the case of the 'radknights'.

An interesting question arises in regard to their military duties. Domesday does not mention them, as it generally omits to speak of the ordinary military obligations. It gives more information about their rents and agricultural services. Evidently the tenure was primarily meant to support officers, bailiffs, and messengers, who had to keep up the intercourse between the scattered parts of a great lord's possessions.

But it included personal attendance on horseback, and through the necessary keeping up of horses and of men armed for travelling in that unquiet period it presented the best formation for the discharge of the military duties incumbent on the lord's estate. There is no direct proof of specific military service imposed on the radmen, but it is characteristic that the subsequent sergeanties naturally fit into the place formerly occupied by radknights and similar *servientes*.[2] In laying stress on this connexion, we must not forget that the strict formulation of the military duties belongs in any case to the feudal period, and that the utmost that can be said about the preceding age is that a class of manorial officers had already formed itself, which was supported by land endowments and presented a convenient material for the discharge of the military obligations of great estates, in regard to the lord as well as to the king.[3]

[1] A. Bugge, Vikingerne, ii. 320.

[2] Robert de Torigny (Chronicles of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I), iv. 349. In Shropshire we find in the feudal period 'muntatores', riding sergeants in a similar position to that of the earlier radknights. E. g. Lib. Rub. 272. On the estates of St. Peter of Gloucester we hear of a 'servitium esquieriae' in the same sense. Cart. of St. Peter (Rolls Series), ii. 208, 209.

[3] Cf. the treatment of this question by Maitland, Domesday and Beyond, and Round, Victoria History of Worcestershire, i. 250.

Geneats.

The direct antecedent of the group of riding sergeants has to be sought, it seems, within the earlier Anglo-Saxon evidence in the class of so-called *geneats*, the fellows and followers of a landed proprietor. Its obligations are described at some length in one of the first sections of the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*.[1] The duties a geneat has to perform are very varied, and agricultural work is expressly mentioned among them, as well as the payment of rent in money and in kind, like that to which the radknights were subject. But the most characteristic service of the class is to ride errands and to drive loads.[2] The geneats were riding bailiffs and officers before all, and when we reflect on the agrarian constitution of those days we shall not wonder at the importance of this class. In this age of natural economy its emoluments were apt to take the shape of an assignation of land, and the geneat mostly became a tenant. On the other hand, his service was of especial value at a time when the intercourse between different places was so difficult to maintain, on account of bad roads, long distances, and dangers attending travelling.

Francigenae.

5. More directly connected with military callings were evidently the Frenchmen (*Francigenae*) frequently spoken of in Domesday.[3] They occur mostly in cases when small

[1] Rectitudines Singularum Personarum, Liebermann, i. 445: (Geneates riht.) 'Geneatriht is mistlic be ðam ðe on lande stænt. On sumon he sceal landgafol sýllan and gærs-swýn on geare and ridan and auerian and lade lædan, wyrcan and hlaford feormian and ripan and mawan, deorhege heawan and sæte haldan . býtlian . and burh hegegian nige faran to tune feccan, cýricsceat sýllan and ælmes feoh, heafodwearde healdan and horswearde, ærendian fyr swa nýr swa hwýder swa him mon totæcð.'

[2] Cart. Sax. no. 928: '(Consuetudines de Tidenham) . . . Of dyddan hamme gebyreð micel weorcrædæn. Se geneat sceal wyrcan swa on lande . swa of lande . swa hweðer swa him man byt . and ridan . and auerian . and lade lædan . drafe drifan . and fela oðra ðinga don.' Cf. Thorpe, Diplom. 142.

[3] Dd. i. 69 b: (Wilts.) 'Ecesatingetone. T.R.E. geldabat pro vii hidis. Terra est iiii car. . . Ibi xii bordarii et vi cotarii et ii francigenae tenent ii hidas et unam uirgatam terre et habent ii carucas . . . Modo dominium Edwardi (Sarisber.) vi lib. et dim . Francigenae, xl sol.' 173 a: (Worcs.) 'Abeleng . . . vii uillani et i bordarius et i francigena cum vi carucis.' 241 b, (Birdingbury, Warwick.) 'Berdingeberie . . . Ibi sunt iii francones homines cum iiii uillanis et iii

tenants are mentioned,[1] not unnaturally, as the bigger French tenants are mostly entered by name. One might expect to hear of them more often, but it is to be remembered that only those are brought to our notice who have settled down as tenants,[2] while a large number must have remained attached to the households of the king and of great lords, and have got their maintenance from them.[3] We find them described distinctly as 'servientes', and there is no doubt that they were used chiefly as a military retinue. The dangerous position of the French lords during the first generations after the Conquest made the

'bordariis habentes iii car. . . . Ipsi homines francones tenuerunt libere T. R. E.' Cf. 241 d: (Wormleighton, Warwick.) 'In Wimenestone . . . xv uillani et iiii bordarii et ii franc' inter omnes habent vii car.' Cf. Mersetone (Marston) 242 a; 264 b: (Cheshire) 'Hurdingberie. Comes Eduuinus tenuit. Ibi v hidae geldantes Terra est x car. In dominio est una, et i servus, et iii uillani et iii francigenae et unus radman cum iiii car.' 360 d: (Lincolnshire) Westbitham. Ibid. ii. 43 b: (Essex) 'Rageneiam tenet Suen in dominio pro uno manerio et pro v hidis . . . De hoc manerio tenent iiii franci ii hidas et iiii carucas et iiii bordarios et ualet lx sol.' Cf. ii. 415 a (Suffolk, Cratafelda).

[1] Dd. i. 3 c.: (Gillingham, Kent) 'Gelingeham—De hoc manerio tenet quidam francigena terram ad i carucam et ibi habet ii bord.—Quod tenet francigena (ualet) 40 sol.' In the corresponding entries of adjoining manors milites and thanes are mentioned with larger holdings. Cf. Dd. i. 135 c, d (villa S. Albani; Nortune); 138 c (Herefordingberie), francigenae by the side of villains.

[2] Dd. i. 175 a: (Garstune; Piplintune, &c.); 252 a: (Shrewsbury) 'Haec civitas (Sciropesberie) T. R. E. geldabat pro c hidis. Dicunt anglici burgenses de Sciropesberie multum grave sibi esse quod ipsi reddunt totum geldum sicuti reddebatur T. R. E. quamuis castellum comitis occupauerit li masuras et l aliae masurae sint uastae et xliii francigenae burgenses teneant masuras geldantes T.R.E. et abbatiae quam facit ibi comes dederit ipse xxxix burgenses olim similiter cum aliis geldantes. Inter totum sunt cc masurae vii minus quae non geldant.' Inq. Com. Cant. (Bertone. Cants.) '. . . Et de his vii hidis tenet Wido de Reimbudcourt iii hidas et dimidiam de rege. Et Hunfridus de Ansleuilla tenet sub eo vi car. ibi est terra . . . In hac terra sunt iii milites francigene. Hanc terram tenuerunt xxiiii sochemanni.' Cf. Dd. i. 200 a (Bertone).

[3] Dd. i. 138 c: (Ware, Hertfordshire) 'Waras. xxiiii hidas. Terra est xxxviii car. In dominio xiii hidae et ibi sunt iii car. et aliae iii possunt esse. Ibi xxxviii uillani cum presbytero et preposito uillae et cum iii francigenis et ii anglicis hominibus habent xxvi carucas et dimidiam et ibi sunt xxvii bordarii et xii cotarii et ix serui. Sub francigenis et anglicis sunt xxxii homines inter uillanos et bordarios.' 253 a: (Shropshire) 'Linteshelle, x hidae. In dominio sunt ii car. et x uillani et v bordarii et iii francigenae *seruientes* cum viii carucis inter omnes.'

keeping of such foreign domestic soldiers necessary. Besides the French, Flemings are mentioned. The well-known story of Eustache de Boulogne's adventures and mishaps in the reign of Edward the Confessor,[1] and other facts, show that the immigration of French soldiers, and their attempts to get a regular footing in England, began before the Conquest; and before this the French, Danes, and other Scandinavians must have played a similar part. Without attempting to follow the doings of these adventurers in detail, it is important for us to notice that these movements of immigration led, among other things, to the formation of small holdings, corresponding, not to the later knights' fees, but to sergeanties.[2]

Milites.

6. The most important questions in regard to the history of military settlements and of feudal service arise in connexion with the tenure of the knights, the military tenure *par excellence*. Was it introduced by the Conquest, or did it exist already before the Conquest in its main outlines? Was the equipment, the amount of service, and the size of the fees more or less prepared by Anglo-Saxon evolution? Or were they determined by the influence of French military institutions? Is the professional military class to be traced to Anglo-Saxon and Danish antecedents, or has it developed out of a conquering minority of French origin? These questions have been debated and solved in different ways, and we have to make up our mind in regard to their most likely solution.

The technical terms for a knight and a knight's fee in feudal documents are *miles* and *feodum militis*. The second of these does not actually occur in records of the Conqueror's time, but the history of the fees themselves has to be traced to it, in the light of the evidence about the ancient feoffments of William the Bastard. As for the first

[1] Dd. i. 244 a: (Warwickshire) 'Estone ... Ibi sunt ix flandrenses et xvi uillani cum presbytero et x bordarii habentes xii carucas.'

[2] Sax. Chr., Plummer, i. 172–3.

[3] Dd. i. 138 d: (Weston, Hertfordshire) 'Westone ... Ibi xxxiii uillani cum presbyteris duobus et i milite duobus francigenis habent xvi carucas ...'

term, it is mentioned almost on every page of Domesday.[1] Let us take a couple of instances from Sussex. The Count of Ow held the manor of Hou, and out of the villains' land of this manor he had enfeoffed nine *milites* to the aggregate amount of $2\frac{1}{2}$ fiscal hides of 8 virgates to the hide. These $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides corresponded to $3\frac{1}{2}$ teams in demesne and 7 teams belonging to 12 villains and 3 bordarii. The lord's part was worth £14 and the land of the milites £7. 7*s*.[2] Of the nine *milites* one held half a hide, that is 4 virgates, one $4\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, one $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, and the other six 2 virgates each. Francwelle, in the same fee, presents a similar arrangement,[3] with the difference that the whole manor had been given over to six *milites*. One of them, Norman, a Frenchman or a Scandinavian, had held alone T. R. E. It was rated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and contained land for two ploughs. Norman was still among the tenants, but he held only half a hide, while three of his comrades had 2 virgates each, and two 1 virgate each, making up the $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, at the rate of 8 virgates per hide. All the six owned between them 1 plough and 8 villains, and 1 cottager with 4 ploughs. The value of the manor had increased from 40*s*. T. R. E. to 46*s*. at the time of the survey. The figures in these two cases are instructive; we see a considerable number of military tenants enfeoffed, with very small plots: if we start from the fiscal assessment, the fifteen tenements would give an average of $2\frac{1}{7}$ virgates per knight, while the number of virgates chiefly represented among the holdings would be two, or one quarter hide, according to the standard of 8 virgates to a hide. The figures as to ploughlands, teams, and income

[1] Homines=milites. Dd. i. 3 d (Wingheham); 5 a (Gecham); 6 a (Eisse); 17 a (Filleicham).

[2] Dd. i. 18 a: (Hooe, Sussex) 'Comes de Ow tenet in dominio manerium quod uocatur Hou ... De terra uillanorum huius manerii tenet Reinbertus dimidiam hidam, Robertus ii uirgatas et dimidiam, Osbern ii uirgatas, Alured ii uirgatas, Giraldus ii uirgatas, Ingelrannus ii uirgatas, Witbertus iiii uirgatas et dimidiam, Werelc ii uirgatas, Robertus altus ii uirgatas. Inter omnes habent in dominio iii car. et dimidiam et xii uillanos et iii bordarios cum vii carucis. Totum manerium T. R. E. ualebat xxv lib. et post vi lib. modo dominium comitis xiiii lib. militum ejus vii lib. et vii sol.' Cf. Nerewelle, ibid.

[3] Dd. i. 18 b. Cf. 23 a, Silletone (Sussex); 26 b, Dicelinges.

work out into even smaller quantities. There are only $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs in demesne, against 11 ploughs of the villains for the 15 tenements, and in the Frankwell case six military tenants have to share 2 ploughlands and 46*s.* income between them. One of the explanations for this strange state of affairs lies in the fact that most of these knights may have been enfeoffed in several townships, though it is difficult to make it out with exactness, as only personal names are usually given, and these such as constantly recur at that time. Still, the identity of some of the military vassals of the Count of Ow has been traced with great probability in some cases.[1] But it would be impossible to set our minds at rest with this observation. Although in some instances the small holdings of the *milites* present scattered possessions of rather important sub-tenants of the great feudatory lord,[2] in many other cases we can hardly escape from the conclusion that actual residence in a place was meant when the tenements are described, and that some at least of the *milites* mentioned in Domesday must have been endowed with very small holdings. This is especially apparent in cases when the *milites* in question are entered as tenants belonging to a manor, without being honoured with a specific reference to their names,[3] but there can hardly be a doubt that the same must have been the case

[1] Cf. Sussex, Victoria County History, i. 377 ff.

[2] This is very clear, e.g. in the case of the Peterborough knights e.g. Lib. Nig. Mon. S. Petri de Burgo (Camden Soc.), pp. 168, 169: 'Descriptio militum de Abbatia de Burgo. Asketillus de Sancto Medardo tenet de Abbatia de Burch, in Hamtonascira x hidas, et iii partes i virgae. Et in Lincolnescira iii carrucatas, et inde servit se vi milite. Et de feudo huius militis dedit Rex Willelmus senior Eudoni Dapifero in Estona i hidam et dimidiam, et mandavit de Normannia in Angliam Episcopo Constantiarum et R(otberto) de Oilli per breves suos ut inde darent ei excambium ad valens in quocumque uellet de iii uicinis comitatibus; sed Abbas noluit . . . Ricardus Enganie ii hidae in Hamtonascira, et servit pro i milite. Sed socemanni faciunt quartam partem militis, et ipse iii partes unius militis . . . Viel Enganie en Torp iii virgae et en Haragrava dimidia hida, et en Pihtesle hida et dimidia, et i uirga, et servicium pro i milite . . .' etc.

[3] Dd. i. 3 d: (Wingham, Kent) 'Wingheham . . . De hoc M. tenet Willelmus de Arcis i solin in Fletes et ibi habet in dominio i car. et iiii uillanos et unum militem cum i car.' Cf. 6 a (Eisse); 9 d (Popeselle); 10 a (Cildresham); 12 a, b (Tanet).

with some of the named knights. Thus we are forced to admit that at the time of the survey the group designated as *milites* consisted of very mixed elements, and that by the side of important people, possessed of substantial holdings,[1] it contained a great number of minor adventurers who were glad to get some plot to support them.[2] These, certainly, did not represent the honour of five hides known to Anglo-Saxon custom, or the great or small knight's fee of later feudalism. Indeed, when the service of a knight (*miles*) is spoken of in Domesday it generally appears as a kind of addition to money rents, and corresponds to rather insignificant sums[3].

There are several circumstances which go far to explain this phenomenon. To begin with, in many cases the knights in question were still in the stage of the personal following of a great man, living in his household and receiving outfit and presents from him. Even knights of great prowess and standing might in such cases be crowded on one or the other estate, and act, e.g., as the temporary garrison of a castle.[4] It does not require a great effort of imagination to suppose that some of the *milites*

[1] Dd. i. 27 b: (Westmeston, Sussex) 'Wesmestun ... De hac terra tenet unus miles iii hidas et iii uirgatas et ibi habet in dominio unam carucam et ii uillani et v bordarii'; 61 a: (Berks.) 'Offetune. Willelmus (filius Ausculfi) tenet et quidam miles de eo. Horling tenuit de Rege Edwardo. Tunc se defendit pro v hides. modo pro iiii hidis et dimidia.' Cf. 61 b (Soleham); 88 c (Werocosale, Somerset).

[2] Dd. i. 5 b (Kent, Edesham). 67 a: (Wilts., Brecheorde) 'De eadem terra tenet unus miles i hidam ... Terra militis (ualet) xx solid.' Cf. ibid., Newentone; 65 d, Elendune.

[3] Dd. i. 3 a: (Kent, Sondresse) '... pro uno solin et dim. se defendit ... In totis ... T. R. E. ualebat xii lib. Quando recepit xvi lib. et modo xviii lib. Tamen reddit xxiii lib. et unum militem in seruitio Archiepiscopi.' 67 d: (Wilts., Darneford) 'T. R. E. geldabat pro iiii hidis. Terra est iii car. Eduuardus tenet de abbatissa ecclesiae (Wiltuniensis). Tres angli tenuerunt T. R. E. et non poterant ab ecclesia separari. Duo ex eis reddebant v. sol. et tercius seruiebat sicut tainus ... ualuit c sol. modo ix lib.' Cf. 173 a (Abeleng, Worcs.); also Dd. i. 10 c (Cumbe, Kent); 32 a: (Ditone, Surrey) 'Wadardus tenet de episcopo (Baiocense) Leuegar tenuit de Heraldo et seruiebat ei sed quo uoluisset cum terra ire potuisset. T. R. E. ualebat iiii lib. et post xl sol. Modo iiii lib. Ille qui tenet de Wadardo reddit ei 1 sol. et seruitium unius militis.'

[4] Sax. Chr. 1087, Plummer, i. p. 224.

who appear as small tenants in Domesday drew part of their maintenance and salary from their lord's domain,[1] and that their plots afforded them only a supplementary source of income.

Another observation which suggests itself to any diligent student of the Great Survey is that the *milites* in question are intermingled in such a way with *Francigenae* and *servientes* that they evidently include a great number of people who would have been called vavassors in Normandy and sergeants in the later nomenclature of English feudalism.[2] The definite references of the record substantiate what would otherwise be, necessarily, a guess. It is clear that the very numerous entries about the *milites* of the Conqueror's time cannot apply, and were not meant to apply, only to fully-equipped horsemen capable of performing knight's service for forty days. Where would the archers, the spearmen, and hatchetmen belong? Of the first two kinds the invading army had many, and as for the last they are sufficiently represented in the feudal lists of sergeants and in the Ordinances of Arms. Thus we come to the conclusion that the class of the *milites*, as well as that of the *francigenae* not further specified by name, must have consisted, to a large extent, of armed sergeants by the side of knights and riding squires.

This conclusion is fully borne out by another group of observations, namely by the evidence as to the connexion between the military class of the Conquest and Saxon antecedents. Although crowds of French adventurers had availed themselves of the grand occasion of bettering their circumstances by the conquest of England, yet even the

[1] Lib. Niger de Burgo (Camden Soc.), p. 175: 'Hugo Olifard de Stokes iii uirgas et iii partem i uirgae, et servit pro milite in exercitu et in warda, et in ostensione, cum corredio abbatis—Abbas Turoldus dedit Viviano dimidiam hidam in Circafeld unde Rex misit in foresta medietatem. Eidem dedit in Undele sextam partem i hidae, et in Wermintona quartam partem i hidae in sergentaria, unde debet esse miles in exercitu cum ii equis, et suis armis, et abbas inveniet ei alia necessaria.'

[2] Dd. ii. 86 b: (Essex) 'Fennam tenet i miles de G(altero diacono) quod tenuit liber homo pro manerio et pro ii hidis. Semper ii bordarii et i seruus et i caruca et ualet 1 sol.' Cf. ii. 99 b (Invasiones in Essexa, Stanbruge); 364 a (Inghath, Suffolk); 439 a (Eascefelda, Suff.).

military element of the kingdom was not exclusively represented by Frenchmen. The English soldiers (*milites*) are quite a standing feature of the survey,[1] and their numbers could be easily increased by a study of the personal names of the milites not specifically grouped as English. A great many Danes and Norsemen were of course included among these latter, although every now and then their distinct nationality would be recognized.[2]

Thanes and military service.

7. Now the enrolment of English and Scandinavians among the military class of the Conquest is not merely a result of the admission of persons of English birth to the benefits and duties of a French institution. We find that the military class as it existed after the Conquest draws largely on the material and legal conditions which preceded the catastrophe, and that many of the institutional roots of Norman knight service have to be sought in the arrangements of Old English thanage[3].

It may be said that the knights on the domain, exemplified by Odo of Bayeux's tenants in Folkestone or the garrison of Rochester, have their direct predecessors in the military household of Anglo-Saxon magnates—their *huscarls* or hired men.[4] In the same way, the Norman knights are

[1] Dd. i. 62 b: (Berks.) 'Brintone ... In dominio est una caruca et dimidia et v uillani et iii bordarii et unus miles anglicus cum iii car... val. iiii lib. x sol....'; cf. 138 b (Belingehou, etc.); 241 d (Cestreton); ibid. i. 83 a: (Dorset) 'Odetun ... Bricsi tenuit miles regis Edwardi et geldabat pro xii hidis ...'; i. 130 a: (Middlesex) 'Gistelesworde. pro lxx hides ... Francigena et quidam anglicus iiii hidas et sunt milites probati. Sub eis manent inter uillanos et bordarios xii, et vi uillani domini qui tenent ii hidas et dimidiam uirgatam.'

[2] E.g. Oslac, Finn, Thór, &c.

[3] I do not intend to treat of the thane class at the present moment. What is immediately before us is merely the part played by the thanes in the military organization of the country.

[4] Plummer, ii. 219; Flor. Wig. a. 1041—harrying of Worcester by Hardacnut for the murder of two huscarls; levies of the eorls—'omnesque suos huscarlos, cum magna exercitu ... misit.' Sax. Chr. (E) 1036, Plummer, i. 161: 'Ælfgifu Hardacnutes modor sæte on Winceastre mid þæs cynges huscarlum hyra suna.' Huscarls (individuals), C. D. iv. 202, 204, 221; cf. 291. Sax. Chr. (D) 1065, Plummer, i. 191: 'ge gaderedon þa þegenas hi ealle on Eoforwicscire and on Norðhymbra lande togædere and geutlagedan heora eorl Tosti and ofslogan his hired menn ealle þe hig mihten to cumen ægþær ge Englisce ge Denisce.'

quartered in most cases on the same estates as were formerly held by thanes, and evidently occupy their very places.[1] Indeed, thanes are sometimes carried over, as it were, from T. R. E. to T. R. W.[2] and occupy at both periods a position corresponding to that of the *milites*. Sometimes the only difference seems to have been that the former were of English or Scandinavian, the latter of French, extraction.[3] In East Anglia chiefly, but sometimes in other districts too, in the north and in the west, the *milites* of the Conquest take the place of preconquestual *liberi homines*, but the latter designation turns out to be nearly equivalent to the Old English *thane*, and was probably chiefly used for free warriors of Scandinavian origin.[4]

Two characteristic traits show to what extent the position of the thanes and of the *milites* after the Conquest was similar. The first often occupy portions of estates specially

[1] Dd. i. 71 c: (Wilts., Segrete) 'Duo taini tenuerunt T. R. E. et geldabat pro v hidis... Valuit xl sol. modo l solid. Duo milites tenent de Durando (de Glowecestre).' Cf. 77 c (Dorset, Adford); 103 c (Devon, Tavistock); 133 d (Herts, Peleham); 152 a (Bucks, Lochintone); 240 d (Warwick., Luditone).

[2] Dd. i. 70 b: (Wilts., Chieeslaue) 'In eadem uilla tenet unus tainus de Ernulfo ii uirgatas terrae et dimidiam. Hic T. R. E. poterat ire ad quem uellet dominum et T. R. W. sponte se uertit ad Ernulfum. Valebat haec terra xv sol. Modo xl den. quos reddit Ernulfus de firma.' Cf. 89 b (Somerset, Cerdre); 63 c (Berks.), 'Terra Odonis et aliorum tainorum'); 66 c (Wilts., Dobreham), 'Qui tenuerunt T. R. E. non poterant ab ecclesia separari ... Terra tainorum ualet vii lib. et xv solid.' Cf. ibid. Devrel.

[3] Dd. i. 103 c (Devon, Tavistock); 111 a (Devon, Ratreu), 'De hac terra tenent ii milites unam uirgatam terrae et dimidiam et unus Anglicus unam uirgatam terrae.' Cf. 129 c (Middlesex, Ticheham); ii. 372 a (Suffolk, Bury St. Edmunds), 'modo xxxiiii milites inter francos et anglicos et sub eis xxii bordarii.' i. 155 b: 'De terra Dorchecestre tenent Angli liberi homines iii hidas et dimidiam, et Conan viii hidas unam uirgatam minus. Walcher vi hidas et dim. Iseuuardus v hidas et dim. Jacob ii hidas. Rainaldus et Vitalis v hidas.'

[4] Dd. i. 181 c: (Hereford) 'Medelagie ... In eod. Hundredo ten. ii liberi homines iiii hidas et pertinent ad Bertune episcopi ... Totum manerium ualet c solid. Terra militum xv solid. et viii denar.' Cf. 182 a (Hereford, Liedeberge); ii. 18 a (Essex, Berchinges); 31 b (Essex, Borham); 38 b (Essex), 'Dommawa ... ii hid. et xxx ac. .... Istam terram calumpniatur uitalis i miles quam ut testatur tenuit i liber homo T. R. E.'; 39 b (Essex, Alreforda); ii. 55 b (Essex, Scanburne et Topesfelde); ii. 59 b, 'In Hundredo de Berdestapla erant vi liberi homines T. R. E. quos G(oisfridus) inuasit super regem Willelmum, tenentes xii hidas terrae quas tenent v milites de eo'; cf. 60 b (Estram); 65 b (Menghedanam); 86 a (Toleshuntam).

carved out for their use—this is the so-called *thaneland*, which cannot be separated from the rest of the estate or taken out of the over-lordship of the magnate to whom the main portion of the estate belongs. These very thane-lands are found as the appanages of the *milites* or *homines* and opposed to the demesne portions of the lords after the Conquest.[1] At the same time there are practices in the period before the Conquest which closely correspond to the personal allegiance of later knights as sanctioned by homage: thanes 'go to hand' in regard to their lord: they have to renounce former allegiance if they want to accept a new one. Indeed, the famous Salisbury oath of all tenants of land (*landsittende men*) seems in one sense a variation of the 'going to hand' in use before the Conquest.[2]

In a word, the position of the feudal knight holding a fee under the personal tie of vassalage and the obligation of military service appears anticipated in every way by the

[1] Dd. i. 66 d: (Wilts) 'Langeford . . . Duo taini tenuerunt de Abbate (Glastingberiense) T. R.E. et geldabat pro ii hidis . . . In eadem uilla tenet Eduuardus de rege i hidam quae iure pertinet abbatiae ad tainlande'; cf. 67 b (Breme); ib. (Coleburne); 67 c (Pevesei, Tisseberie); 68 c (Boltintone); 71 c (Liteltone); 89 b (Wivelescome, Somerset); 93 a (Somerset, Biscopestone). 155 b: 'Cropelie. De aecclesia sanctae Mariae Lincoliensis fuit et est. Ibi sunt 1 hidae. De his habet episcopus in firma sua xxv hidas et milites tantumdem. Super has 1 hidas est terra in dominio ad x carucas. Inter totum terra est xxx car.' Ib. (Eglesham); 155 c (Thame); 181 c (Hereford, Medelagie); 204 b (Hunts, Stivecle), cf. Cartulary of Ramsey; Dd. i. 221 c (Northants), 'Terra Hominum eiusdem aecclesiae' (Sancti Petri de Burgo). Cf. Lib. Nig. Mon. Sancti P. de Burgo (Camden Soc.), p. 168. Descriptio Militum de Abbatia. Dd. i. 77 a: Scireburne (Dorset), 'Episcopus Sarisberiensis tenet . . . T. R. E. geldabat pro xliii hidis . . . De eadem terra huius manerii tenent de episcopo Otbold iiii hidas. Sinod v hidas et dimidiam. Ingelbert v hidas. Waleran iii hidas. Radulf iii hidas. Uxor Hugonis f. Grip. ii hidas.—Quod habet episcopus in dominio in hoc manerio valet l lib. Quod monachi vi lib. et x solid. Quod milites episcopi xxvii lib. Quod taini vi lib.'—Inquisitio Eliensis (Hamilton), p. 123: 'Idem Picotus in eodem comitatu habet de Thainland ecclesie ely de quibus concordatus est cum abbate concessione regis x maneria'; p. 124: 'Hardeuuinus predictus in Grantebryggesyra habet de thainlandis Ely . . . iv maneria.'

[2] Chron. 1085, i. 217: 'ealle hi bugon to him, and weron his menn, and him hold aðas sworon þ hi woldon ongean ealle oðre men him holde beon.' Chron. 882, i. 79: 'þa men wæron myclum of slagene and forwundede ær hi on hand eodon.' Cf. A.D. 1127, i. 257: 'Se hæfde his abbot rice S^t Johannes of Angeli on hande.'

status of the Saxon *thane* or *liber homo* holding land under a lord. The main differences consist in the fact that the part played by the Saxon free tenant corresponds both to that of the knight and to that of the sergeant of the Norman period, as the thanes, radmen, and *liberi homines* are not clearly divided from each other in point of quality of service and tenure. Secondly, the service of the Saxon free tenants is of a more general kind, and is not specifically military as in the case of the feudal vassals. It must be remembered that the king's thanes, of whom we know most, were originally household servants, dish thanes and stallers, as well as military followers. The apportionment of military service to rigid forms in respect of equipment, occasion, and time is also a result of French feudalism. But the military side of thane service, although not directly prominent in the general conditions of tenure, finds sufficient and drastic expression in other facts—in the laws of heriot, strictly regulated by Canute,[1] but slowly developed by long customary practice,[2] and manifestly derived from the conception of military outfit and service. Military service also is put down as the fundamental obligation of the thane in the description of his standing provided by the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*.[3] This last notice is particularly interesting, inasmuch as it supposes that the tenurial quasi-feudal service is only a particular form, and the most typical form, of the *trinoda necessitas*. This information appears to provide us with a valuable connecting link in regard to the evolution of the tenure and of its feudal incidents. Originally, the *trinoda necessitas* had nothing to do with a special military tenure, and a thane's position had nothing to do with special military service. The *trinoda necessitas* was an obligation falling on all freemen, or, at least, on all free householders; thane service was a minister's, a servant's service in general. But when

[1] Canute, Secular Dooms, 72, codifying older customs. Cf. Bishop Alfwold's heriot, Crawford Charters, p. 127.

[2] Thorpe, Dip. Ang. 499, 512, 544, 549, 578.

[3] Rectitudines, 'Þ he ðreo ðinc of his lande do fyrd-færeld ⁊ burhbote ⁊ bryc-gepeorc.'

and in so far as the soil was parcelled out among a few great men holding enormous tracts or numbers of smaller estates, the duty came to concern the lords of these tracts and estates and to be performed primarily by their servants. The rule of the five-hide honour became in this connexion a rule as to the acquitting of districts or estates in proportion to multiples of five hides. The practical outcome of this was not necessarily and always a subdivision of the territory into five-hide units with a fully equipped horseman at the head of each; it was also the 'defence', the utware, of territory according to the five-hide or similar rule, with full possibilities of the great lord's 'sweating' of his followers by quartering them on smaller estates and keeping the rest of the acquitted territory for his own use. How far such operations were counterbalanced by the necessity of helping knights and sergeants with equipment and capital from above cannot be made out in detail, but the necessity for such supplementary arrangements may be taken for granted if we take the five-hide rule and corresponding calculations as to small fees and sergeanties to be something more than mere haphazard combinations.

Thanes and knights.

Some curious cases supporting our contention as to the direct institutional connexion between thanage and military service appear in the history of great ecclesiastical lordships. The peculiarity of this case is that the churches and monasteries were not as a rule subjected to the violent dispossession which took place in respect of lay lordships. In most cases there was a continuity in the tenure and in the social life of the great ecclesiastical estates which cannot be matched in the history of lay fiefs. Instead of having to look out for Saxon predecessors and to speculate about the extent of violent change, we may restrict our inquiry to a conveniently narrow margin of transformation. And, from our present point of view, the question we have to ask is—had the great sees of Worcester, of Sherborne, of Lincoln, the monasteries of Peterborough, Shaftesbury, or Glastonbury, to change their military arrangements materially in consequence of the

Conquest? Or did they substitute knights and sergeants for thanes and radmen more or less on the same conditions, although the service exacted came to be regarded as an obligation of feudal contract rather than of tenurial custom in acquitting the above-mentioned lordships in respect of the *fyrd*?

As to Worcester[1] we might appeal to a document of dubious authenticity, but evidently compiled very soon after the Conquest. The possession of the triple hundred of Oswaldeslaw is made the subject of a stipulation on the part of the king grantor, that the see of Worcester should hold it as long as it acquitted the service of the naval *fyrd* by providing for one *scypfylled* of armed oarsmen—one man for five hides. An Abingdon Charter[2] of 821 had made the military service of twelve vassals the condition of holding.

There is an even earlier and undoubtedly genuine example in the endorsement of a deed made about 800 A.D. which regulates the service of a territory in Middlesex: it should be five men for thirty hides.[3] It would be difficult to treat all these instances as Norman falsifications, and even if in one or other the hand of an interpolator may be discovered, it would seem rather strange that he should be so careful and so artful as to invent such very antiquarian conditions as the outfit of a *scypfylled*. It looks as if the

[1] Codex Diplomaticus, vi. p. 240 (App. D xiv).

[2] Cod. Dip. 214: . . . 'Ego Kenulfus . . . anno imperii nostri xxv. fui rogatus ab apostolica sede per priuilegium domni apostolici gloriosissimi papae Leonis, et Rethunun uenerabilem episcopum, ut sibimet seu familiae quae habitat in monasterio quod situm est in Abbendonia . . . ut illud monasterium seu omnia loca quae ad ipsum pertinere dinoscuntur, cum rebus mobilibus et immobilibus, in notis causis et ignotis . . . donans donabo perpetuis temporibus aeternam libertatem in Sanctae Trinitatis patrocinio, omnia loca ad praefatum monasterium pertinentia; quorum infra nominantur nomina: Culeham; Cheintun, &c. . . . Expeditionem cum xii uassallis et cum tantis scutis exerceant; antiquos pontes et arces renouent; caeterum plena et integra libertate glorientur.'

[3] Cart. Sax. 201: '. . . Ego Offa divina gubernante gratia Rex Merciorum Stidberhtae venerabili viro atque abbatis cura praedito terram xxx manentium in Middilsaexum bituih gumeninga hergae end liddinge, et est vi manentium habitatio ab oriente torrentis Lidding libentissime concedens donabo. et iste praefatus Stidberht mihi terram totidem manentium id est xxx in Ciltinne in loco ubi dicitur wichama in vicem commutationis perdonauit.' For Ötithbeorht see Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: [an. 767]. K. C. D. 116.

interpolator were at any rate guided by local traditions of a perfectly genuine kind.[1]

In several cases entered in due form in the Domesday Survey the passage from Anglo-Saxon thane tenure to Norman military tenure may be illustrated from different points of view.

Peterborough knights.

The surveys of the possessions of the Abbey of Peterborough in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Huntingdonshire,[2] when compared with the Survey of 1124 and with notices in the Chronicle of Hugh Candidus (about 1177), show a systematic separation between the land of the Abbey and that of its military tenants. In some cases whole estates are made over to these latter, in others they are quartered on parts cut out from larger estates, the minor portions of which remained with the monastery. The families of the tenants in question were of French origin, but the apportionment of the thaneland must have gone back to the time before the Conquest, as there are no traces of a difference in the tenure of the estates T. R. E. and T. R. W., although their rental was greatly increased in the interval.[3] In several instances we gather from the Survey of 1124 and from notices of Henry II's time that part of the military service was still acquitted by the socmen on the estates.[4] This is an

[1] Cf. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, p. 308 ff.; Round, in Victoria County History of Worcestershire, i. p. 248.

[2] Dd. i. 221 c; 231 b. Cf. Black Book of Peterborough (Camden Soc.), p. 160 ff.

[3] E.g. Dd. i. 221 c: 'Terra hominum eiusdem ecclesiae (Sancti Petri de Burgo, Northants). In Castre tenent v milites iii hidas de abbate et ibi habent v car. in dominio. Valebat x sol. modo xl sol.—In Sudtorp tenet Goisfrid et ii alii milites iiii hidas et dimidiam de abbate . . . valuit xl sol. Modo vi lib.' 231 b: (Terra Sci. Petri de Burgo, Estone, Leics.) . . . 'Duo milites tenent in hac uilla ii carucatas terrae de abbate. Valuit xl sol. modo c sol.'

[4] Liber Niger Mon. S. Petri de Burgo (Camden Soc.), p. 169: 'Ricardus Enganie ii hidae in Hamtonascira, et seruit pro i milite. Sed socemanni faciunt quartam partem militis et ipse iii partes unius militis'; p. 171 note (quotation from Hugh Candidus, History of Monastery of Burgh, p. 56), 'De Suttone—Primus Ansketillus de Suttone. De feodo Thoroldi de Suttone in Northamptonscire sunt tres hidae, scilicet in Suttone, et inde debetur plenum seruitium duorum militum, sed sokemanni et alii tenentes totum faciunt.'

important feature, showing that the ancient system of *fyrd* service imposed on free tenants of common and not specially military tenure was still going on in parts of the country, more especially in the Danish districts.[1] I have already called attention to the scattering of the plots attributed to single *milites* on the land of the Abbey, and to the traces of help from the Abbot in the case of some of them who would not otherwise have been able to perform their service. An interesting, and at first sight a puzzling, observation may be made in regard to the standard which regulated the apportionment of the fees. Roughly, the service of one knight was reckoned for two or three hides. The carucates in Lincolnshire were mostly treated on the same standard, with the exception of one instance where nine carucates are equated to three hides.[2] The systematic carrying out of this principle of apportionment, and the formation of sergeants' tenements for those who did not reach the minimum of two hides,[3] points to a policy which probably sprang from the nature of the service itself. The most plausible explanation seems to be suggested by the great reduction of the Northamptonshire hidage, the result of which must have been to let down honours of five hides to three[4] and two hides, so that the Old English apportionment must have been in correspondence with the normal rate noticed before.

The manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Kent, the Bishop of Sherborne in Dorset, and of the Bishop of Lincoln in Oxfordshire show very clearly the subdivision of ecclesiastical property into the home part reserved for the maintenance of Bishops, chapters, or monks, and the

[1] Cf. the Lincolnshire knights' fees held of the Honour of Richmond, MS., Appendix.

Another ancient feature is the occurrence of *parage*, Lib. Nig. p. 173: 'Walterus filius Aluredi v hidas de feodo Rogeri de Luvetot, et de abbate i uirgam cxl acras in paragio in Hamtonascira.' Cf. Dd. 221 b, c.

[2] Lib. Nig. p. 175: 'Robert de Guneges ix carrucatas in Lincolnescira et servit pro iii hidis . . .'

[3] Lib. Nig., pp. 172, 173, 175.

[4] Round, Feudal England, p. 155; Victoria County History, Northamptonshire, i. p. 260.

thaneland to which the defence of the sees as to *fyrd* was confided.[1]

On the other hand, such lists as those concerning the repartition of estates between church, *milites*, and thanes in Somerset[2] substantiate the view that the main difference between military tenants and thanes lay in their nationality, an inference further confirmed by the names of thanes and of *milites* as far as they are preserved in the Exon. Domesday.[3] The opposition between *Franci milites* and *Thani anglici* is laid down by this record in as many words,[4] but these very people who are termed *Franci milites* in Devonshire are named *Franci thegni* in Somerset.[5] On the other hand, the estates of the thanes disappear later on among the fees and fractions of fees of ordinary knights and sergeants.[6] In other words, the two institutions were so similar that the passage from the one to the other was effected without any noticeable break.

Summary.

The study of military institutions in the eleventh century suggests, as it seems to me, several not unimportant conclusions as to the course and causes of social evolution.

Natural husbandry provides the broad ground on the basis of which all the institutions of the time were constructed. The local forces of society aimed at direct consumption of produce on the spot. Commercial intercourse and money dealings played an entirely subordinate part. Therefore the attempts to organize public force on commercial lines by hiring mercenaries were either casual expedients or followed on exceptional pressure on the part of conquerors. They could not lead to the formation of a permanent system.

[1] Dd. i. 3 a, 4 b (Terra Archiepiscopi, Terra Militum eius); 77 a (Scireburne, Dorset); 155 a (Dorchecestre, Oxfordshire).

[2] Dd. iv. 491.

[3] Cf. Aldret, Aluuard, Coluin, Ansgod, Godwin (Dd. iv. 445) with Osbern, Girold, William, Radulf, Osbert (iv. 421).

[4] Dd. iv. 445 (Terre Anglorum Tegnorum in Devenescira); 453 (Terre Anglorum Tegnorum in Summersetaesyra); 421 (Terre Francorum Militum in Devenesira).

[5] Dd. iv. 428 (Terre Francorum Tegnorum)..

[6] E.g. Sherborne, Dd. i. 77 a (*milites* and *taini*), cf. Feudal Aids, ii. p. 4, Hundredum de Shirburn (de feodis militum).

The second effect of natural husbandry on military organization was the introduction of land tenure as the main condition of military service. The influence of this element makes itself felt in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish as well as in Anglo-Norman society. Warriors had to be settled and to receive means of existence and emoluments in the shape of tenements of some kind. The obligation may be expressed or understood, formulated strictly or implied in a loose way, but it appeared in all three cases and facilitated the passage from each one of the three systems to the other. The *thaneland*, the holding of the Anglo-Danish *liber homo*, and the fief of the Norman knight stood on the same line.

Natural husbandry in its agricultural stage leads to an aristocratic military system because it involves the separation of the class permanently engaged in agricultural work from the class permanently engaged in warlike pursuits. The professional soldier naturally becomes the lord of the professional labourer. The development of the professional warrior was bound up with a special and rather costly outfit, a good deal of leisure devoted to warlike occupations, and a revenue representing the results not of productive labour but of a political superiority. The differentiation between warriors and labourers was not brought about in a day. It was the result of a long process in the course of which the numerous hosts of small freemen, grouped on tribal lines or on the principle of guild association under a few leaders, were gradually subdivided into a body of occasional militiamen and a class of thanes or military tenants. The chief features of this process may be summarized under the following heads:—

1. The service of the free tribesman, of the one-hide householder, and of the representative of a five-hide honour mark the principal stages of this evolution.

2. The Danish *here* corresponds in a general way to the early Anglo-Saxon *fyrd*.

3. The array of the *fyrd*, for home defence included all fyrd-worthy men, the array for the king's expedition

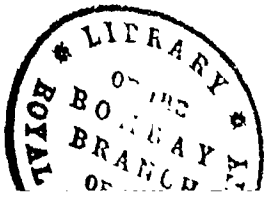
a picked force collected on a tenurial standard. The *scyp-fylled* appears as a variety of the latter.

4. The standards of equipment and service in the Anglo-Norman army were fixed by the great knight's fee, the small knight's fee, and various sergeanties. The great knight's fee was estimated on the average in the twelfth century at fifteen or sixteen marks' income, and the small knight's fee at two-thirds of the great one. The notion of the honour of five hides, derived from the Saxon customs as to the king's expedition, asserts itself sometimes in the apportionment of the fees in the Norman period in the south of England.

5. The military tenants of the Conquest included knights and sergeants. They step naturally into the places occupied formerly by thanes, drengs, radknights, and *liberi homines*.

6. The law and apportionment of knights' fees is the product not only of French examples and irregular bargains between the Conqueror and his followers; they have been largely influenced by the rules as to the selection of picked men for the Old English king's expeditions on the one hand, by the customs as to thanage on the other.

7. The difference between thanage and Norman military tenure lay mainly in the looser character of the first as based on a general contract of service. Yet the military side of this contract becomes very prominent in the eleventh century.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# SECTION II: JURISDICTION

## CHAPTER I

## THE COUNTY AND THE HUNDRED

Provincial custom.

1. I DO not want to speak of the well-known features of English provincial organization: the subject has been treated in such an exhaustive manner by Stubbs, Gneist, Maitland, and others, that it would be needless to revert to it. One side in the life of provincial and local institutions cannot, however, be passed over without some discussion in a book treating of social history—namely, their relation to the groups and ranks of society, their influence on the formation of such groups and ranks. In regard to the counties Domesday presents some curious indications. One of its most important features is the series of custumals serving as an introduction[1] to the survey of several counties. They do not treat merely of the revenues of the Crown, but also of all sorts of matters indirectly connected with them—of Crown suits, franchises, military levies and guard duties, private war, &c.[2] The returns enrolled in Domesday are evidently the result of presentments made by inquests consisting of all the jurors of a county, although we do not know in exactly what way the machinery of the Survey was modified to serve this particular need. Whether, for example, the County Courts took any part in formulating them; and whether the verdicts are to be considered, in this case, as the pronouncement of the thanes of the shires only, or also of the rustics and the *vilis plebs*, which were not left aside in the compilation of the local reports.[3] The

[1] In a few cases the enrolments do not follow the ordinary county boundaries, e. g. Derby and Nottingham are joined together.

[2] Dd. i. 179 b (Hereford), on the Welsh customs of private war.

[3] Dd. 69 a, Alentone (Allington, Wilts): ... 'Hanc terram tenuit

circles of local usage would be narrower: the customs of a town, like Colchester or Bury St. Edmunds, might be occasionally revealed to us, at least in part, and tracts with a very peculiar physiognomy, like the borderlands of Wales, or the district between the Ribble and the Mersey, would also receive a special description. We need not recall to the memory of our readers that later on every town and manor might have a body of local custom to appeal to. But on the whole it is according to counties that legal customs are formulated in Domesday, and it is evident that this is not a casual arrangement which might easily have been superseded by a different one. It has its roots in the conformation of legal institutions in the country, and may serve as an indication of processes with which we have to reckon very materially. The fact is, that before the Common Law of England was worked out in the Royal Courts of the feudal age the main body of English law flowed in the channels of provincial customs, and the shire-moots were the chief institutions concerned with the definite laying down of it. There was a certain stock of law declared and enacted by the kings, but it covered only the least portion of the whole ground. Indeed, a good deal of the contents, even of the laws promulgated by the kings, was provincial in origin, and most of the litigation of the country and of its voluntary jurisdiction was shaped by the pronouncements and decisions of the County Courts.[1] This main principle is but slightly modified by the fact that sometimes several counties joined, in order to declare the law, and to lay down a decision in some particularly important trial;[2] and that, on the

Heraldus comes, in eadem uilla sunt iiii hidae terrae quas iniuste abstraxit Heraldus ab aecclesia Ambresberie testimonio tainorum scirae.' Cf. 66 d (Wintreburne); 70 c (Chegeslei); Exon. Dd. 117 (Boeurda).

[1] Thorpe, Dipl. p. 273 ff.: claim made by Archbishop Dunstan as to the estates of Ælfeh before the gemót of the men of Kent (before 988). Dipl. 301 (about 1006): agreement between Eadmund Ætteling and the convent of Sherborne witnessed by the senior thanes of Dorset. Dipl. p. 302 (before 1011): Trial between Bishop Godwin of Rochester and Leofwin son of Ælfeah before the gemót of Kent at Canterbury.

[2] Dd. i. 175 d: Beningeorde (Bengeworth, Worcs.), 'Ipsa aecclesia (de Evesham) tenet iiii hidas . . . et v^tam hidam tenet Urso. Has

other hand, some counties, like Yorkshire, consisted, in truth, of several districts, which might be considered, in certain respects, as independent provinces. There is certainly a movement of transformation in the history of English counties, as in everything else, and it is interesting to note some traces of their rise and growth;[1] but these are matters for the antiquarians: the principle of county autonomy is not disturbed by them, at least for the period of the Conquest and the two or three centuries immediately preceding it.

Legal peculiarities of shires.

A direct consequence of this may be seen in the fact that the lines of cleavage between the different legal and social varieties of English life follow to a great extent county boundaries. Apart from such fundamental distinctions as that of the Danelaw as against Saxon England, we find several instances of sharp contrast between adjoining shires. The most remarkable is afforded by Kent; not only is the system of agrarian measures quite peculiar there, and certainly goes back to the beginnings of the Kentish kingdom[2] (sulungs and yokes against hides and yardlands), but not long after the Conquest we find a whole body of customary rules in force in the county which are directly opposed to those prevailing in the rest of England. Socially, the most important of these is the famous rule of *gafolcund* (gavelkind), succession demanding equal division among sons,[3] the hearth being reserved to the younger; and, needless to say, the enforcement of this rule produced a very different system of holdings from that

v hidas diratiocinauit Walterus abb. ad Ildebergam in iiii sciris coram episcopo baiocensi et aliis baronibus regis.' Cf. 238 c (Aluestone, Warwick). In cases concerning kings and very great men the Witan at general assemblies decided. E. g. Thorpe, Dipl. p. 201—the declaration of Queen Eadgifa as to litigation in regard to her estates. Cf. 207–9.

[1] An interesting example in Domesday in this respect is the dispersion of Rutland between Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire.

[2] We find the sulungs, yokes, and aratra, as opposed to hides and *manentes* or *cassati*, in some of the most ancient of the genuine charters that have come down to us. E. g. Earle, Land Charters, 17 (A. D. 700 or 715); Cod. Dipl. 195 (A. D. 811).

[3] The original term seems to have been gafol-gecynd.

commonly prevailing in feudalized counties. The unity of the sulungs and yokes was kept up artificially, but they were in truth covered by a network of entangled rights, and the economic exploitation of the land tended to a parcelling of it up into small plots, instead of a concentration into efficient husbandry units. This Kentish system of succession is the corollary of a mobilization of land tenure and of great freedom in the choosing of pursuits on the part of labourers and small landowners.[1] With all its accompanying circumstances, it accounts, probably, for the startling fact recognized by the exponents of Common Law in the thirteenth century, namely, that there was no villainage in Kent in the later legal sense, that is, no servile population holding at the will of the lord. And what is more, a whole string of rules of private law, which are not immediately derived from social standing, are framed by this provincial custom[2]—rules in regard to freebench, to wardship, to freedom from forfeiture.[3] These peculiarities of Kentish custom interest us here from the point of view of the shire autonomy they disclose. Nothing of the kind is recognized in Sussex, Surrey, or Essex, just over the border. Customs similar to gavel-

[1] Villainage in England, pp. 205, 248. Cf. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, II. i. p. 269 ff.

[2] They form the substance of the famous custumal of Kent recognized by the Royal Courts in the thirteenth century. Statutes of the Realm, p. 224. Such juridical sayings as 'the father to the bough, the son to the plough' are the best proof that the customs in question were formulated in courts which kept up their legal rules by oral tradition.

[3] Bracton's Note Book, pl. 1338: 'Isabella de Grauenel v. Thomam de Wadenhale medietatem c acr. et septem acr. terre cum pertinenciis in Nywelande etc. ut dotem suam etc. et v. Iohannem de Wadenhale medietatem c et septem acr. terre cum pertinenciis in eadem uilla ut dotem suam, unde Walterus de la Nywelande quondam uir suus eam etc. Et ipsi ueniunt et defendunt ius suum et dicunt quod non debet habere terram illam nec aliam nomine dotis quia ipsa post mortem predicti Walteri de cuius nomine ipsa clamat predictam terram in dotem cepit alium uirum et consuetudo est quod uxores maritorum defunctorum habeant francum bancum suum de terris sokemannorum et quod nullum uirum capiat post mortem uiri sui, quod si fecerit, consuetudo est in eodem comitatu quod amittat dotem suam quam clamat nomine primi uiri sui. Et super hoc uenerunt milites de eodem comitatu et petunt libertatem et consuetudinem comitatus sibi teneri.'

kind may be noticed in this or the other place outside Kent,[1] but they would be rooted in manorial usage and not in county law, whereas the rules enumerated in the Kentish custumal may be considered, if one may use the expression, as the Common Law of the shire. Clearly the jurisdiction of the shire-moot[2] played a decisive part in shaping the local usages of this region into determined legal principles, just as later on the jurisdiction of the King's Courts unified the Common Law of England.

Another instance of sharp cleavage between adjoining counties is presented by the comparison of the surveys of Suffolk and Norfolk on the one hand, Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire on the other. The two East Anglian shires are not only described in a different way from the Mercian and Saxon provinces bordering on them, but they display, also, peculiarities in their political and social structure. The system of distributing the 'Scot' among manors is peculiar: the very minute settlement of the position of freemen and socmen, when compared with the neighbouring counties, being due, not only to the matter-of-fact conditions, but also to the peculiar treatment of questions of status by East Anglian County Courts.[3] It is not likely that this difference in arrangement should be traceable chiefly to

[1] Bracton's Note Book, pl. 623 (Cantebr.): 'Alicia que fuit uxor Philippi de Burgo v. Odonem de Swafham medietatem ii acr. et trium rodarum ... terre ... et v. Willelmum le Fraunceys medietatem unius acr. ... Et Odo et alii prius dixerunt quod talis est consuetudo in feodo Comitis Britannie quod mulieres non poterunt habere nisi terciam partem terrarum uirorum suorum eo quod tenerunt per seruicium militare simul cum soccagio ... Et uicecomes misit inquisicionem ... quod talis sit consuetudo eiusdem manerii quod mulieres non possunt habere nisi terciam partem.' Cf. pl. 990 (Hereford).

[2] After all, these special customs of honours and manors are also traceable to the action of separate courts.

[3] It is interesting, e.g., to compare the description of the Essex hundred of Tendring with that of adjoining parts of Suffolk. The materials are very similar, and yet the surveys even of such manors as Erleia, Laleford, Dicheleia, Sciddinchou, which lie on the very border and present many varieties of condition, including in the case of Laleford a considerable Royal Soke with many sokemen, are different from the exceedingly heterogeneous Suffolk surveys with their gradations of commendation and soke.

the separate existence of East Anglia as a kingdom or an earldom. Some of the traits just mentioned belong to a period when the two shires had ceased to form a united body separate from the rest, and although the policy of East Anglian earls may have had something to do with the division of the land, it hardly extended to the settlement of all these intricate questions of commendation, soke, and land tenure which are constantly noticed by the Survey. These questions must have demanded the constant attention of the thanes of the Norfolk and Suffolk shire-moots before they came to the cognizance of the jurors of William the Bastard's Inquest.

The customs as to *fyrd* attendance are another point on which the lines of cleavage between counties became very noticeable. Why should the jurors of Berkshire make such a definite statement about the rules of military service in their county?[1] Why are the duties of the Welsh contingent mentioned expressly in the custumal of Herefordshire?[2] Because, evidently, the ordinary precepts about the *trinoda necessitas* were insufficient to settle the particulars in such cases. Nor is it at all likely that in other counties, although no explicit enrolment with regard to such rules is made, there should not have been similar peculiarities in regard to *fyrd* attendance, frontier expeditions, &c. Supplementary arrangements could not be dispensed with, because the general principle of the *fyrd* obligation was too broad to ensure a settlement of the many questions arising in practice. How far these supplementary arrangements had to be framed by provincial customs in every instance we cannot tell, but we know

[1] Dd. i. 56 c: (Berks) 'Siquis in expeditionem summonitus non ibat, totam terram suam erga regem forisfaciebat. Quod siquis remanendi habens alium per se mittere promitteret et tamen qui mittendus erat remaneret pro l solidis quietus erat dominus eius.'

[2] Dd. i. 179 a: (Hereford) 'Si uicecomes iret in Wales cum exercitu ibant hi homines cum eo. Quod siquis ire iussus non iret, emendabat regi xl solidos.' Cf. 179 c: '(In Arcenfelde) Similiter emendat (dat ii solidos aut unum bouem regi) qui iussus a uicecomite secum ire in Walis non pergit. Nam si uicecomes non uadit nemo eorum ibit. Cum exercitus in hostem pergit ipsi per consuetudinem faciunt Auantwarde et in reuersione Redrewarde.'

enough to maintain that the shire-moot of each county had an extensive and decisive jurisdiction in such questions. The Witans of the realm put forth general requirements, and the royal officials had to watch over the efficiency and completeness of the national force, but the details as to repartition and enforcement of service were left to the shires themselves.

From these demonstrable facts we may surmise that, in the formation of group distinctions, the customary lore of the thanes of the shire played a great part. It would be wrong to assume that it was the only, or even the chief, agent in the matter. Royal authority, the pressure of economic wants, the strong hand of the mighty, the distribution of capital, have certainly to be reckoned with in no slight degree. But before making up our mind as to the relative influence of these several factors, we must lay stress on each one of them in turn as they present themselves. And there can hardly be a doubt that in regard to the preliminary processes preceding the wholesale arrangement of feudalism by the Conquest, the jurisdiction of the Old English County Courts exerted a most powerful influence; this influence did not altogether cease even after the Conquest, when the new French administration had constantly to appeal to the traditions of the former period, and the provincial institutions remained active in their sphere, although their competence became more restricted.

The hundred-moot.

2. The origins of the hundred as a subdivision of the shire need not concern us here. Whether it was a comparatively modern machinery introduced by Edgar, or the result of a gradual development of local government, or an English variety of a universal Teutonic institution, it was in full action long before Domesday, even its Danish counterpart,[1] the wapentake, being more than a century old at that time. Nor is it necessary to inves-

[1] Dd. i. 375 a: '(Clamores quae sunt in Sudtreding, Lincolniae), In Tadeuuelle hundred clamant homines episcopi Baiocensis i carucatam terre super Robertum dispensatorem, et homines de Wapentac dicunt quod ipse episcopus iure debet habere.' Cf. 371 a (Chisebi); Round, V. C. H. Essex, i. p. 405 ff., Sussex, i. p. 360.

tigate the various district divisions intermediate between the county and the hundred—the Riding, treding, rape, last[1]—nor the local branches which are sometimes mentioned within the hundred, the leets, wards,[2] &c. All such investigations may be left on one side as not affecting the main issue. The subject which immediately interests us is the part played by the hundred, in the judicial organization of the county on the one hand, in its financial system on the other. For the bulk of the population it was the most common and active of the public institutions they had to deal with. The small landowners and tenants had not often to do with the shire-moot; already in the eleventh century the latter was managed by a group of thanes, which might be likened to the county families of later days, well-to-do people who could afford to appear at the sessions, and were able to exercise local influence. Thus, although the small freeman suitors were not excluded from the county, they played hardly any part in its affairs; they had not sufficient power and energy to keep up their real participation in its administrative and judicial business. It was different, to a certain extent, with the hundred. Its court met sufficiently often to transact a good deal of legal and administrative business, the attendance of small suitors was exacted with some severity, and the place where the hundred court was held was within easier reach for every one.[3] The history of

[1] Dd. i. 1c (Lest de Estrede); C. S. 1119 (provincia); V. C. H., Sussex, i. 353 (Rapes).

[2] Dd. i. 166 a (In Ferdingo de Wicelcombe, Gloucs.); ii. 119 b (H. de Grenehou, Norfolk, de xiiii letis); ii. 212 b (Norfolk), 'Terra Sanctae Adeldredae. Hund et Dim. de Clakeslosa. de x leitis.' Cf. Testa de Nevill, 319 b (Wapent. de Avelund, Hund de Brune, &c., Lincs.). The fact that leets appear as fractions of hundreds is important as an explanation of the *Court leet*, which is, at bottom, a portion of the Hundred Court in private hands.

[3] See the transactions witnessed and confirmed by the hundreds in Northamptonshire in regard to property ceded to Peterborough Abbey (Cart. Sax. 1130). In one particularly important instance the whole *here* of Northamptonshire appears to ratify the transaction—a shire-moot is evidently meant. E. g. Cart. Sax. 1130 (Medehamstede, 972–992): 'Þis sind þa festermen þe Osferð and Þûr funden Adeluuolde b and Ælfrice cylde and Ealdulfe ab. on æhte hundred gemote æt wylmes forda for hiora magas æt þan lande æt Beringafelde . . . Þa Elfric

public jurisdiction in the local divisions is intimately connected with the fate of this court.

Now the hundred may be regarded from two points of view. It was the congregation of the freemen, or as we should say of the citizens of the district, of the men mot-worthy, fyrd-worthy, and fold-worthy;[1] and it was a territorial union of all the townships and estates of the district. In the composition of the hundred one may notice both elements; both the free owners as such, and the estates as such, were represented, the first individually, the second by delegations of the lord, the steward, or of committees of six villagers, including the priest and the reeve.[2] The attendance of the suitors was urgently demanded, and fines inflicted for non-attendance, and this has ensured the existence of sufficient evidence about the status of the suitors. According to the position of the shire one or the other element predominates, mostly the territorial, as far as we can see from the records of feudalized England.[3] We find, even, that a special status of hundredors, of tenants bound to acquit a manor, or town-

ealdorman bohte þat lande æt Leobrantestune æt Frenan on ealles heres gemote on hamtone þe þes him eal se here boruhhand clenes landes... Her ge swuteleð þæt Ealdulf ab ge bohte ane hȳde landes on Esctune æt Ealfuuolde on þere iii hundred ge wȳtnesse.' Dd. i. 179 a: 'Inter ciuitatem et xviii maneria qui in Hereford reddunt firmas suas computantur ccc xxxv librae et xviii solidi exceptis placitis de hundredo et de comitatu.' Cf. ii. 423 b, 424 a (Faltenham, Suffolk).

[1] K.C.D. 853 (vol. iv. p. 208). Therefore the northern district corresponding to the hundred is the wapentake, and the moot of a shire is a moot of the whole *here*. Cart. Sax. iii. 1130, p. 370.

[2] Leg. Henr. I, c. VII, 7. Cf. VIII, 1; the Lib. Eliensis, Introduction, mentions an increased deputation of eight for the purpose of the Domesday Survey. Cf. the twelve men from towns, e. g. Chester, Dd. i. 262 d: 'Tunc erant xii iudices ciuitatis et hi erant de hominibus regis et episcopi et comitis. Horum si quis de hundret remanebat die quo sedebat sine excusatione manifesta x solidos emendabat inter regem et comitem.'

[3] The attendance of the lords must have been frequent in the shire-moots and exceptional in the hundred-moots. Both lords of estates and deputations represent, however, the territorial element. The personal one is evident in cases where the free members of a hundred are enumerated apart from the organization of estates. E. g. Dd. ii. 146 a: (Dallinga, Norfolk) 'Ibi calumpniatur Edui prepositus regis i hominem de xxx acris et hoc testatur hundret.' Small freemen belonging to the hundred are often mentioned in the East Anglian shires.

ship, by suit to the hundred court, is created by custom.[1] Still, the personal aspect never disappears entirely, and on the great law days the whole free population is called up to stand before the sheriff, or the magnate holding the view of frank-pledge, even the lowest classes being represented by their tithings, or at least by their chief pledges, head-boroughs,[2] &c.

Originally both aspects of the hundred seem to have been connected in such a way that the court ought to have been formed of all the free tenants of the hundred, each possessed normally of one hide, while the followers (*falgarii*) of the 'hearthfast' men were represented by the latter as their pledges. The fact that the personal responsibility was supported by a collective liability of the tithings did not alter the fundamental relation of the two classes—that of the freeholders and suitors of the hundred, and that of the dependent population. In this construction the freeman possessed of one hide appears as the typical landowner and member of the hundred. Traces of such freemen outside the manors attached to hundreds are still to be found in Domesday, or rather the freemen, who are generally distributed in the Survey according to manors, appear, exceptionally, as directly attached to the hundreds;[3] and there can be hardly a doubt that

[1] Cf. Villainage in England, pp. 188, 194. The status of the *hundredor* was rendered especially important in manorialized districts because the freeholders of ancient custom were not clearly divided from the rest of the peasantry.

[2] Rot. Hund. ii. 127, 128: (Somerset) 'Dicunt quod hundred de Suthperton est in manu domini Radulphi de Albiniaco . . . Et quatuor theghing qui solebant facere sectam ad hundredum predictum sunt subtracte . . . per Ricardum Comitem Gloucestrie . . . videlicet Sevenhampton Abbatis, Sevenhamton Deneys, Rinigton, et Chafton, et eciam secta duorum eorundem maneriorum et liberorum hominum in predictis quatuor maneriis terras habencium subtrahitur . . . Dicunt eciam quod idem liberi homines et eedem decenne solebant facere sectam bis in anno ad turnum Vicecomitis et modo non faciunt ad dampnum domini Regis.'

[3] Dd. i. 18 d: (In Baldeslei Hundred, Sussex) 'In eodem hundredo tenet Ingelrannus de comite (de Ow) iii virgatas quas tenuerunt ii liberi homines T. R. E. sed geldum nunquam reddiderunt.' Cf. 19 c (In Henhert Hundred, Drisnesel, &c.); 20 a (Colespore Hundred); 147 b (In Coteslai Hundred, Bucks), 'Duo Angli tenent de Walterio in hoc

before the Conquest this was regarded as their natural position.

Hundred-hides.

The hundred-hides theory is clearly traceable in the composition of many hundreds in Domesday, or in documents of nearly the same time. Many hundreds were actually composed of the required number of hides,[1] and when they got to be too large or too small they were treated as, and called, double, triple hundreds, hundreds and a half, or half-hundreds.[2] In course of time the estates got to be anything but single-hide holdings; in the overwhelming majority of cases they contained five, ten hides, or, on the contrary, fractions of a hide. But the hundred was nevertheless rounded off as much as possible to contain the average of a hundred hides. How are we to explain such regularity in the midst of all the incidents of land tenure? How could the hundreds keep up their round numbers while the estates composing them grew and diminished, while so many of the original members of the hundreds ceased to be tenants-in-chief, and disappeared within the estates of greater and more successful men? It has to be said, to begin with, that the passage of some of

hundredo unam uirgatam.' Cf. 148 c (Stanes Hundred); 357 c (Picheuorde); ii. 333 b (Blidinga, Suffolk), 'Liberi homines Rogeri bigot.'

[1] Dd. i. 175 c: (Worcs.) 'In Fissesberge hundred habet aecclesia de Euesham lxv hidas. Ex his xii hidae sunt liberae. In illo Hundredo iacent xx hidae de dodentreu et xv hidae de Wirecestre perficiunt hundret.'

[2] Dd. i. 172 c: (Worcs.) 'Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae de Wirecestre habet unum hundret quod vocatur Oswaldeslau. In quo iacent ccc hidae. De quibus episcopus ipsius aecclesiae a constitutione antiquorum temporum habet omnes redditiones socharum et omnes consuetudines inibi pertinentes ad dominicum uictum et regis seruicium et suum, ita ut nullus uicecomes ullam ibi habere possit querelam nec in aliquo placito nec in alia qualibet causa. Hoc attestatur totus comitatus. Hae predictae ccc hidae fuerunt de ipso dominio aecclesiae et siquid de ipsis cuicunque homini quolibet modo attributum uel prestitum fuisset ad seruiendum inde episcopo.' 182 d: (Hereford) 'Inter totum sunt in episcopatu (de Hereford) ccc hidae quamuis de xxxiii hidis homines episcopi rationem non dederint.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 1137 (Hundret de Oswaldeslao 'in quo iacent ccc hidae'). 132 c (Hertford, Dimidium Hundret de Hiz). Cf. 134 a: (Hertford) 'Has xxxvi hidas tenet episcopus Londoniensis et sui milites et cum his reclamat iiii hidas quas tenet abbas de Ely in Hadam.'—Northampton Geld Inqu., Ellis, Introd., i. 184 ff.

the hundred tenants into a lower story of tenure, if one may term it so, did not itself affect the hidage of the district, inasmuch as the new lord represented the hide which had lapsed into his hands as well as those formerly held by him. It was different, of course, when the transfer of property led to a change in the distribution of the hides into hundreds: if, as not unfrequently happened, the manor to which the small and formerly independent plot came to belong was situated in another hundred, or even in another county. This certainly led to complications in tenure and fiscal liability, of which there are so many reported in Domesday.[1] But, after all, the fact that the normal hundreds were primarily composed of hides, and not of estates, made it possible to keep up the tradition of the original numbers very tenaciously. Secondly, there are some clear cases of rearrangement, when great changes in the distribution of the hides necessitated the formation of new hundreds, and the different grouping of old ones.[2] And, lastly, it has to be said that, although the regularity does make itself felt in many districts, there are a great many others which cannot be reduced to any regularity. One need only glance at the tables of hundreds belonging to the southern counties in order to realize the meaning of this observation.[3] Very characteristic indications are given in this respect by two counties situated at the extreme ends of the island—Kent and Devon. The south-eastern county is full of exceedingly small hundreds, of which some contain only three or four townships;[4] the hundreds of Devon extend over wide tracts of land, of which a great

[1] Dd. i. 20 d: (Sussex) 'In eodem Hundredo (Totenore) tenet ipse comes viii hidas sed appreciatae sunt in alio Hundredo.' Cf. 69 b (Wilts, Hundred de Wrderusteselle); 181 b (Hereford, Niware).

[2] Ballard, Domesday Inquest, 66, 67.

[3] See, e.g., the Victoria County Hist. of Sussex, i. 360.

[4] E.g. Witenestaple Hund.—Soaneclive, ½ solin (Dd. i. 10 a), Blehem. 1s. (14 b); Ceteham Hund.—Gelingeham, 6s. (3 c), Ceteham, 6s. (8 c); Litelai Hund.—Erhede, 4s. (3 a); Loisnes, 4s. (T. R. E., 10s.) (6 c); Hou, 1s. (6 c); Plumestede, 2s. 1 jugum (6 c); Plumestede, 2s. 1 jugum (12 a); Calehelle Hund.—Cheringes, 8s. (3 d); Pluchelei, 1s. (3 d); Lerham, 2s. (4 c); Litelcert, 2½ hides (T.R.E. 3s.) (5 a); Welle, 5s. (T.R.E. 7s.) (5 b); Piuentone, 1s. (10 d); Rotinge, ½ j. (12 b).

part was hardly cultivated at the time of the Survey.[1] The sulungs of Kent do not stand in any regular relation to the hundreds, and as for the hides of Devon, they present artificial units of taxation not corresponding in the least to actual ploughlands. The number of Devonshire hides in the hundreds are therefore small, and hardly ever approach the hundred; and the same may be said of the sulungs of Kent. Yet the reasons for this superficial similarity lie in directly opposite deviations from the common standard of the hide. The Kentish households were crowded on to the territory of the sulungs, and the hundreds were evidently never meant to be enumerations of these latter, but, if anything, enumerations of households which, for all we know, may have been near enough to the mark, at least in old times when the Jutish immigrants were crowded on a narrow strip of territory. It is not without significance that the number of these hundreds roughly corresponds to half the number of the hides assigned to Kent in the so-called Tribal Hidage,[2] and which never reappear in later records.

On the contrary, Devonshire suffered from scarcity of population and want of capital. Its hidation was beneficial, that is, a few hide units were assigned, not only to large tracts, but even to estates containing a good many plough-teams. Therefore the territorial hundreds could not keep pace with the hidage. Although, as a matter of fact, they were much more extensive than in other places, still the number of hides in them did not nearly reach the average.[3]

Curious provincial variations have been noticed in the north, where we find hundreds of 12 carucates, and combinations of 6, 12, and 18 hundreds.[4] The numbers are

[1] See Victoria County History of Devon, i. 383.

[2] Corbett, Tribal Hidage. Trans. of R. Hist. Soc., xiv. 212.

[3] The hundred of Crediton, containing twenty hides, is a good instance. Crawford Charters (Anecdota Oxoniensia), ed. Napier and Stevenson.

[4] Dd. i. 293 c: (Roteland) 'In Alfnodestou Wapent. sunt ii Hundrez. In unoquoque xii carucatae ad geldum; et in uno quoque xxiiii carucae esse possunt. Hoc Wapentac dimid. est in Turgastune

evidently grouped artificially according to northern duodecimal schemes. It is not unlikely that, at the bottom of these strange computations, there may lie the toft, as one man's land, leading to the carucate, as fenmanland.[1] The hundred would then consist, not of households, or plural combinations, but of single men's holdings. The higher units would have to be formed by a piling up of dozens and half-dozens of these smaller hundreds, and it is clear that the artificial groups in question were formed anew by the northern conquerors of the Danelaw.

Citizens in the hundred.

The hundred is not only a district with a jurisdictional centre, it is also a union for the purpose of exacting fiscal dues and public contributions of all kinds—police service, military service, attendance at inquests and judicial courts.[2] A township may be included in a hundred for payment of geld, and for the *fyrd*, although it is incorporated in

Wapentac et dimid. in Brochelestou Wapent.—In Martinesleie Wap. est i hundret in quo xii carucatae terrae ad geldum et xlviii carucae esse possunt exceptis tribus dominicis regis Maneriis in quibus possunt arare xiiii carucae.' Cf. 361 b (Lincs.), 'Blachene Duo hundreda .. xxiiii carucatae terre ad geldum'; Dd. i. 38 c (Wallop, Hants), 'Wallope. . . . Huic manerio pertinebat T.R.E. tercius denarius de vi hundrez et in omnibus siluis quae pertinebant vi hund. habebat pasturam et pasnagium quietum'; 280 c (Notts), 'In Snotingeham scýre et in Derbiscýre. pax regis manu uel sigillo data si fuerit infracta, emendatur per xviii hundrez. Unumquidque hundredum viii lib. Huius emendationis habet rex ii partes. Comes terciam. Idest xii hidae emendant regi et vi comiti.' Cf. 298 d (Yorkshire); 336 c (Lincolnshire).

[1] The *tenmanland* occurs on the Norfolk estates of Ely Minster. Villainage in England, p. 255; cf. Growth of the Manor, p. 375. I thought that the term might be a corruption of *tunmanland* and indicate the carucate or ploughland as the holding of a typical *tunman*, a *plenus villanus*. But there are curious variations of the term in some of the cartularies of Ely, which show that a complex of ten 'mantales' or ten man 'hloth' was meant. Cotton MSS., Tiberius, B. ii. f. 157: 'Willelmus Franceis et Thomas de Nordwald tenent dimidium tenmanloth, Scil. 60 acras etc. . . Galfridus de Gatestone et participes tenent unum tenmanloth, scilicet sexcies viginti acras pro 10 sol.' The parallel passage quoted in Villainage in England as Ely Inqu. 185 a should have been given as Cotton MSS., Claudius, xi. f. 193. The number of acres assigned to tofts varies, but ten is not unusual, e.g. Claudius, xi. 194 b; 199. My attention was called to the probable connexion of the tenmanland with the hundreds of twelve carucates by Mr. W. J. Corbett.

[2] e.g. Dd. ii. 235 a: (Necton, Norfolk) 'Nechetuna tenet Radulfus (de toenio) .. Habet in lungo i m. et dim. in lato et reddit in gelto ix d. quando hundredum scotat xx. sol.'

a franchise in respect of jurisdiction.[1] A few cases of extra-hundredal plots are mentioned in the Survey, and it is added that they do not geld with the hundred, nor do they attend it, nor appertain to it,[2] meaning of course that the tenants do not go to the hundred-moot, and are not in scot and in lot with the members of the hundred in regard to the payment of geld.

The hundred being considered as the normal institution providing local administration and justice, the suitors of the hundreds were, in a sense, the typical citizens. Indeed we hear, not unfrequently, of the suit to the hundred as being the condition of tenure for the ordinary freeman; he is a suitor to the hundred, a suitor or socman of the King in the hundred.[3]. According to a most curious Norfolk entry, an attempt was made in the case of Fersfield to distinguish between tenants of less than thirty acres, who were to look for justice to manors, and were to act as suitors to their courts, and those holding thirty acres and more, who remained suitors to the hundred.[4] So clear a cleavage does not appear in other

[1] Dd. i. 174 a: (Worcs.) 'De ipso manerio (Halhegan cum Bradewesham (Broadwas)) tenet abbas de Euesham v. hidas ad Hantune. De quibus episcopus de Wirecestre T.R.E. tantummodo geldum habuit ad suum hundredum. De reliquo tota est quieta ad aecclesiam de Euesham ut dicit comitatus.' 208 b: (Hunts) 'Testantur homines de comitatu quod rex Edwardus dedit Suineshefet Siuuardo comiti soccam et sacam et sic habuit Haroldus comes praeter quod geldabant in Hundredo et in hostem cum eis ibant.'

[2] Dd. i. 157 a: (Oxford) 'Canonici S. Frideswidae tenent iiii hidas de rege iuxta Oxeneford . . 'Haec terra nunquam geldauit nec alicui Hundredo pertinet neque pertinuit.' 175 a: 'In Wirecestre scire tenet Robertus parler de Gisleberto filio. Turoldi unum frustum terrae et uocatur Nadford. Haec terra non geldat nec pergit ad hundredum.'

[3] Dd. i. 203 c: (Stilton, Hunts) 'In Stichiltone habent sochemanni regis de Normanecros [hund] iii virgatas terrae ad geldum.' Ibid.: (Ouretune (Orton Longueville), Hunts) 'habet rex socam super iii hidas terrae et dimidiam in terra abbatis de Burg quae fuit Goduini.' Ibid.: (Grafham) 'In Grafham sunt v hidae ad geldum. Terra viii car. soca in Lestunestan hundredo. Ibi modo vii sochemanni et xvii villani habent vi carucas.' Cf. ii. 138 a, 146 b (Somertuna (Somerton), Norfolk); ii. 155 a (Wodetona (Woodton), Norfolk); Exon. Dd. 78 (Ermintona (Ermington), Devon).

[4] Dd. ii. 130 b: (Fordwell, Norfolk) 'In Feruella iacet soca et saca t. r. e. de omnibus qui minus habent quam xxx ac. De illis qui habent xxx ac. iacet soca et saca in hundredo.'

places, but the principle involved is probably underlying the condition of most of the freemen and King's socmen in East Anglia. In Norfolk and Suffolk the free elements of the population were clearly successful in upholding their direct relation to the Royal hundreds and their quality as free tenants. It did not follow that, even in the case of subjection to private jurisdiction, they ought to have lost this latter quality, but naturally enough this subjection was regarded as a step downwards, and the records are very careful to distinguish between the position of the King's tenants and that of suitors to hundreds in private hands.[1]

Break up and alienation of hundreds.

The absorption of Crown rights by privileged subjects is one of the most important and characteristic features of feudalism, and in regard to the hundred jurisdiction it is expressed in the alienation of all sorts of dues connected with this jurisdiction, up to the surrender of the entire administrative and judicial leadership of the hundred. It is sufficient to point to a few instances of the grant of the right to levy the fines and wites accruing to the lord of the hundred.[2] In the hundreds still public two-thirds of these judicial dues went to the Crown, while one-third was reserved for the earl (or the sheriff) of the shire. Both these items are often alienated to private lords, and sometimes they are commuted into a lump payment, liberating the hundred from the duty of accounting for each single fine and wite levied by it.

[1] Dd. i. 288 d: (Hoveringham, Notts) 'In Horingeham habuit Suain ii carucatas terrae et ii bovatas ad geldum. Terra iiii carucis. Ibi Walterus habet in dominio ii carucas... S. in Fiscartune habet Walterus dimidiam carucatam terrae ad geldum. Unde soca pertinet ad Sudwelle. S. in Mortune habet Walterus dimidiam carucatam terrae ad geldum. De qua soca pertinet ad Sudwelle. S. in Farnesfeld habet Walterus ii bouatas terrae ad geldum. Una est in soca de Sudwelle et alia regis sed tamen ad hundredum de Sudwelle pertinet.'

[2] Dd. i. 162 c: (Winchcombe, Gloucs.) 'Burgum de Wincelcumbe reddebat T.R.E. vi lib. de firma. De his habebat Heraldus comes iii^cium denarium idest xl sol. Postea reddidit xx lib. cum toto Hundredo eiusdem villae. Durandus vicecomes apposuit c sol. et Rogerus de Iurei lx solid. Modo adiunctis iii hundredis redd. xxviii lib. de xx in ora.' Cf. 64 c (Wilts, Sarisberie); 186 a (Hereford, Burgelle); 253 b (Shropshire, Recordine); ii. 123 b (Norfolk, Witona).

By the side of these partial grants of fiscal regalities stand complete surrenders of jurisdiction, and even of all administrative rights attached to the hundred.[1] A charter of William the Conqueror to Worcester gives a rather full enumeration of these,[2] while another charter of Edward to St. Peter of Chertsey[3] is interesting, inasmuch as it contains, besides the surrender of jurisdiction, a characteristic reference to the surrender of all work and *wara* to the church services in kind, probably riding and carrying services, as well as week-work, along with rents, *wara* being taken in this case as the home taxation of the manor, the *inwara* rather than the *utwara*. A note about the customs of Taunton mentions that the tenant of every one of the so-called nine hides has to pay church-scot and tithe (eight pennies per hide), and is to seek justice and pay fines and wites in regard to homesocn and foresteal, breach of peace and capture of thieves, compurgation and ordeals, and fyrd-wite, at the Manor of Taunton, to which the Crown rights of the hundred of Taunton had passed. Besides, every one of the tenants had to do suit at the manorial hundred court as often as he was summoned.[4] The tenants of

[1] Dd. i. 172 a: (Worcs.) 'In ipso comitatu sunt xii hundreda horum vii ita sunt quieti sicut scira dicit quod vicecomes nichil habet in eis et ideo sicut dicit in firma multum perdit.' Cf. ii. 139 b (Hersam dimidium hund.); cf. Extenta Hon. Richmond de Holand.

[2] Thorpe, Dipl. 442: 'Willelmus rex Anglorum V. vicecomiti, et Osberno filio Escrop, et omnibus Francis et Anglis de Wiriceastrecyre, salutem. Volo et praecipio, ut episcopus Wulfstan ita pleniter habeat socam, et sacam, et servitia, et omnes consuetudines ad suum hundred, et ad terras suas pertinentes, sicut melius habuit in tempore regis Edwardi... Et de xv hidis de Hantona, unde episcopus diratiocinavit socam, et geldum, et expeditionem, et cetera mea servitia ad suum hundred, et cirichescot, et sepulturam ad suam villam pertinere, precipio, ne ullus ei contra teneat, sed sic habeat omnia de illis ad meum opus et suum.'

[3] C. D. 850: (Eadweard) 'ic habe geunnen Criste and Sancte Petre intó Certeseige ðone sylfa tún and Eggehám and Torp and Cebbehám mid ðán hundrede of Goddelie freo wið echege scote, and weorc and ware, and saca and sóca, and tol and teám, and infangeneðeóf and grícbruche and forestel, hámsóca, and flemenfrmð, and morðslehte, inne fréols and út of freóls, and wið ealle ðe þinge ðe tó me belimpað, on wude and on felde.' Cf. 848, 849.

[4] C. D. 897: (After Eadweard) 'Her swutulað on ðisum gewrite hwylce gerihta langon intó Tantúne on ðám tíman ðe Eádwerd cing wes cucu and deád. Ðæt is, ærest of ðam lande æt Nigon hídon séo mann redden intó Tántúne cirhsceattas, and burhgerihtu, heorð-

some other places were subjected to the same court, in regard to the above-mentioned Crown pleas, but had to attend the moots only three times a year.[1] Yet even in such cases attendance after extraordinary summons was sometimes specially claimed.[2] In a charter to Abingdon the soke of the hundred of Hornemere is ceded by King Edward the Confessor to the Monastery, with the understanding that neither sheriff nor mótgerefa (the hundred-ealdor, hundred man) might henceforth claim any suit, nor call any moot, within this hundred, unless by leave of the Abbot.[3]

penegas, and hundredpenegas, and teoðung of ælcere híde eahta penegas, hámsócn and forsteall, griðbrice and handfangenðeóf, áð and ordél, fyrdwíte, and eall swá oft swá him man bude tó gemóte he come oðe hine man badode.' The 'burgeristh' of the Taunton customs, as entered Dd. i. 87 c, is the same word as *burgerihtu* (cf. the 'radchenestri' of Domesday, the 'Knestesmetehám' of the Shaftesbury list of knights' fees). The word may mean the customary dues of *geburs*. It has hardly anything to do with 'borough'.

[1] C. D. 897: (After Eadweard) 'Dúnna wes ðæs biscopes mann tó ðam tíman ðe Eádward cing wæs cucu and deád of ðám lande æt Acon and of táá lande and of twám Cedenon, and he geaf tó gerihton v. circsceattas and heorðpenegas, and hundredpenegas, hamsocne, and forsteall, griðbrice and handfangeneðeóf, áð and ordél and þriwa sécan gemót on xii monðum, and of Eáforda ða ilcan gerihtu. And Ealdred wæs ðæs biscopes mann of ðám lande æt Hele and dyde ðe ilcan gerihta ðæ man dyde of Nigon hídon, and of ðám fíf hídon æt Baggabeorgan iii. circsceattes, and burgerihta, heorðpenegas and hundredpenegas, and handfangeneðeof, áð and ordél, hámsócn and forsteall, griðbrice and þreó motlæðu ungeboden on xii monðum.'

[2] C. D. 897: (After Eadweard) 'of Hylle i circ sceatt, and burh gerihtu, heorðpenegas and hundredpenegas, hám sócne and forðsteall, griðbrice and handfangeneðeóf, áð and ordél and iii gemót on geare búton he hit gebicge oððe gebidde. Of ðære oðre healfre híde, æt twám Holaforda ii circsceattas and eall ðæ geylcan gerihta ðe man déð of Cedenon.'

[3] C. D. 840: (Eadweard) 'Eadward cyningc grét Hereman bisceop, and Harold eorl, and Gódríc, and ealle his þegenas on Bearrucscýre freóndlíc; and ic cýðe eow ðæt Ordríc abbud and eal ðæt hired on Abbendúnes mynstre be mínre unne and gíse frigelíce habban and wealdan, Horneméres hunred on hyre ágenre andwealde on écere worulde, and swá ðæt nán scýrgeréfe oððe Mótgeréfe ðár habban éni sócne oððe gemót búton ðes abbudes ágen hæse and unne.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 1270 (Grant by King Edgar to Adelwold Bishop [of Winchester], De Barwe super Humbram); cf. Dd. i. 360 b (Barewe).

# CHAPTER II

## FRANCHISES

Origin of franchises.

1. THE passage of entire hundreds, and of jurisdictional and fiscal regalities connected with hundreds and shires, into private hands, leads us directly to the question as to the forms and origin of feudal rights of jurisdiction. All the well-known franchises or liberties of the feudal age were chips from the block of Royal authority. They were severed from it at a time when it was found impossible to govern society by the direct command of the King or of his officers, and to render justice by the direct intervention of the King and of his judges. The local decentralization of feudal rule called for a dismemberment of public authority; it had to be confided to locally influential people; but the idea that all such delegations of power proceeded ultimately from the king's grant was never abandoned, and helped the Crown to resume its alienated functions when it was again strong enough to do so. The Placita de Quo Warranto give the best information about the struggle and compromises between the Crown and its vassals, in regard to franchise, after the restoration of Royal power under Edward I, and it would be an interesting undertaking to go through this immense store of materials in order to gather the threads of the principal English franchises. It is not my purpose to attempt such a task, but I should like to point to a few instances taken from the judicial records of the thirteenth century, in order to show how intimately the later franchises were connected with the private appropriation of rights, vested in hundreds and shires, which we have just been discussing. If we look at the great collection of pleas made by Bracton while preparing his treatise, we find,

among other things, a very suggestive selection of cases treating of franchise privileges. There is, for instance, a case turning on the right of the Liberty of Berkhamstead to try suits which ought to have gone to the county in its own court.[1] There is a significant litigation as to the right of the Abbey of Beaulieu to exact services, from certain free tenants, for the *afforciamentum*, the strengthening, of their court of the Manor of Farringdon in Berkshire,[2] evidently in connexion with the regalities alienated to that court. There is a verdict on the famous liberties belonging to Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk.[3] In a dispute between the Bishop of Ely and the Abbot of Ramsey the origin of the disputed rights is clearly traced to grants of sake and soke, thus following feudal contentions to their old English beginnings.[4]

[1] Bracton's Note Book, pl. 1406: 'Libertas de Berchamstede (Herts) ... Et Waleranus le Tyes constabularius de Berchamstede uenit et defendit ... et dicit quod loquela ista tangit Dom. Regem quia manerium illud est Dom. Regis et liberum est et tales habet libertates quod omnia placita que ad Dom. Regem pertinent de terris et de aliis rebus infra libertatem illius manerii debent teneri in curia ipsius Regis apud Berchamstede, ita quod uicecomes nullam habet potestatem trahendi placita illa de curia illa ad comitatum suum, set si aliquid factum fuerit in curia illa quod debeat de iure emendari, Dom. Rex uel eius iusticiarii illud debent emendare in curia sua.' Cf. pl. 20 (Libertas S. Aldrethe, Lincs.); 435 (Libertas S. Albani, Herts); 1218 (Libertas S. Edmundi Arch. Cantuar. Kent, cf. pl. 277); 1436 (Curia Episcopi Bathoniensis, Somerset); 1443 (Libertas Abbatis de S. Eadmundo, Suffolk, cf. pl. 592); 513 (Libertas Thomae de Basset in hundredo de Bolendena, Oxon). Cf. Y. B. Ed. II, i. 126 (franchise of St. Leonard).

[2] B. N. B. pl. 655: (Curia Abbatis de Ferenduna, Berks) 'idem Abbas ... dicit quod cum habeat manerium de Ferenduna ex dono Dom. Regis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, et cum idem Bartholomeus (de la Hose) semper quamdiu manerium illud fuit in manu Regis et eciam per multum tempus postquam fuit in manu sua solebat facere sectam ad curiam de Ferenduna quando latro ibi esset iudicandus et quando breue Dom. Regis ibi esset de recto pro afforciamento curie, idem Bartholomeus subtraxit se iam per tres annos unde deterioratus est etc. et inde producit sectam.'

[3] B. N. B. pl. 592: (curia S. Edmundi, Suffolk).

[4] B. N. B. pl. 1716: 'G. Elyensis Episcopus queritur quod cum ecclesia sua Elyensis multas habeat libertates ex dono antecessorum Dom. Regis per cartas suas, Abbas de Rameseia contra libertates illas et contra coronam et dignitatem Dom. Regis capere fecit quemdam hominem ipsius Episcopi ... Et quod idem Abbas hoc fecit contra libertates ecclesie Eliensis profert cartam Regis Edwardi que testatur etc. ... Et Abbas uenit et defendit uim et iniuriam, set uerum uult dicere ... et uidetur ei quod hoc facere bene potuerunt, quia predictus

Profits of public authority.

Domesday Book supplies us with a great number of indications about the gradual breaking up of Royal power in criminal jurisdiction, and the attempts of the Crown to keep at least a fraction of it. The process is universal, but its results are very different according to localities, being brought about, in each single instance, by matter-of-fact relations. Let us take, as an instance, the position of affairs in Chester. The king and the earl are strong enough to keep the great Crown cases in their hands, and they divide the profits of jurisdiction between themselves, two-thirds being reserved to the king, one-third to the earl. Besides the ordinary Crown cases, two special crimes are mentioned, the jurisdiction over which, with the profits accruing from it, are reserved for the king and earl. Their reeve in Chester is to receive the fines for false coinage, and for the brewing of bad beer, in whose land soever these crimes may have been committed.[1] The case is interesting on account of the wide extension of the rights of public authority, as represented by king and earl; we are on the soil of a Palatinate, which later on was distinguished by the extraordinary franchises of its holder, the Palatine of Chester.[2] Other forfeiture fines were in use all along the border of Wales, in Herefordshire, and Shropshire. Most conspicuous is the right to claim one-third of the booty in case of private feud among the Welsh.[3] It is remarkable that the fyrdwite for neglect

Rex Edwardus feoffauit ecclesiam de Rameseia de pluribus terris et de hundredo et dimidio de Clackelose cum omnibus libertatibus quas idem Dom. Rex habuit, et sicut idem Dom. Rex tenuit tunc terras illas et hundredum que tunc fuerunt de dominico suo, ita illa dedit ecclesie de Rameseia de omnibus que Dom. Rex ibi habere posset... Et quod talem habet libertatem, profert cartam Regis Edwardi que testatur,' &c. Cf. pl. 520 (Lib. de burgensibus de Wycumba, Bucks); 1154 (Lib. de Coplande, Northumberland); 1551 (Lib. de Beuerlaco, Yorks); 1598 (Lib. Abbatis de Bello, Sussex); 1676 (Lib. Abbatis de Witeby, Yorks).

[1] Dd. i. 262 c, d.

[2] Ormerod, History of Cheshire, I. liv, lv, 126, 127.

[3] Dd. i. 179 b: (Hereford) 'In Arcenefelde ... Siquis eorum moritur rex habet de eo xx solidos per consuetudinem. Siquis Walensium furatur hominem aut feminam equum etc. ... conuictus inde reddit prius furtum et dat xx solidos pro forisfactura, siquis occiderit hominem regis et facit heimfaram dat regi xx sol. de solutione hominis et de forisfactura c. sol. Si alicuius taini hominem occiderit dat x sol. domino

of military service appears in the shape of two widely different sums, forty shillings and one hundred shillings. The first occurs especially in cases of failure to appear in Welsh expeditions, the second in all probability applies to neglect of general summons to serve. It appears in the same way in Oxfordshire, which had nothing to do with the Welsh wars.[1] The great fyrdwite is emphatically termed forfeiture, *forisfactura*, perhaps because thanes hölding land were liable to forfeiture in such cases. The hundred shillings fine would have thus to be considered mainly as a redemption from the forfeiture of land.

Reserved forfeitures.

An important group is formed by cases in which the king grants away jurisdiction and profits in regard to all minor pleas except six. These are hamsocn, the breaking into a house; grithbreche (breach of the king's peace); foresteal (attack on the highway); murder; reception of an outlaw; leyrewite (adultery). The reservation of six forfeitures is rather common, but there are some variations in the making up of the list. In Kent, for instance, *homicidium*, murder, is not included at all, while theft appears as one of the delicts leading to forfeiture—namely, if a thief has been sentenced to death, half his chattels go to the king. In cases of adultery the man was adjudged as a 'wite-theow' to the king, the woman to the archbishop, except on the lands of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and of St. Martin. These great ecclesiastical foundations excluded the king, and had therefore the right to punish the offending adulterer themselves.[2] The Kentish enu-

hominis mortui. Quod si Walensis Walensem occiderit congregantur parentes occisi et praedantur eum qui occidit eiusque propinquos et comburunt domos eorum donec in crastinum circa meridiem corpus mortui sepeliatur. De hac praeda habet rex terciam partem, illi uero totum aliud habent quietum.'

[1] Dd. i. 154 d: (Oxford) 'qui monitus ire in expeditionem non uadit c sol. regi dabit.' Cf. 252 a: (In Civitate Sciropesheire) 'Cum in Walis pergere uellet uicecomes qui ab eo edictus non pergebat xl solid. de forisfactura dabit.'

[2] Dd. i. 1 b: (Kent) 'Et de his terris scilicet Goslaches et Bocheland et alium Bocheland et tercium Bocheland et Herste . i iugum de Ora et i iugum de Herte etc. habet rex has forisfacturas Handsocam, Gribrige, Foristel. De Adulterio uero per totum Chent habet rex hominem et Archiepiscopus mulierem excepta terra S. Trinitatis et

meration, if murder and fyrdwite should be added, would be exceptionally complete, and would contain actually, not six, but eight reserved cases. Otherwise we generally hear of six only. In some Norfolk cases it is interesting to note the contrast between the six cases and the right of sake and soke ceded to manorial lords; one might almost compare the distinction with that, common on the Continent, between *haute justice* and *moyenne et basse justice*. A material difference would, however, exist in the fact that the *haute justice* was determined by the eventual penalty; it was, to use the German expression, a 'Blutbann'.[1] Some similar idea was contained in germ in the English distinction, as is shown by the Kentish mention of capital punishment for theft.[2] In a few exceptional instances even the six forfeitures are surrendered to private lords. A conspicuous case of the kind is presented by Bury St. Edmunds.[3]

It is not unusual to find that four forfeitures[4] are reserved to the king instead of six; as, for instance, in Worcestershire, or in Berkshire, where a baron gets his land exempted from all customary payments except fines for theft, murder (and manslaughter), homfare, and breach of the king's peace.[5]

Even more frequent is the reservation of three Crown cases. In the Shropshire custumal it is even stated that

S. Augustini et S. Martini de quibus rex nichil habet. De latrone qui iudicatus est ad mortem habet rex medietatem pecuniae eius. Et qui exulem receperit sine licentia regis inde habet rex forisfacturam.'

[1] Dd. ii. 155 a, b: (Hosford, Norfolk) 'Hosforda tenuit edricus ... Et tunc et post xxii soc. modo xxi ... de duobus soc. habet rex et comes socam et super alios vi forisfacturas.' Cf. ibid. Horsham, '... xix socemanni ... De tribus rex et comes socam et super alios vi forisfacturas.'

[2] Dd. i. ib.; v. note 2, pp. 111, 112.

[3] Dd. ii. 384 b: (Cedeberia, Suffolk) 'ii carucatae terre pro duobus maneriis ii liberi homines T. R. E.... Tota hec terra iacebat in dominio abbatiae tempore regis eduardi cum omni consuetudine praeter sex forisfacturas Sancti Edmundi.' Cf. ii. 391 a (Stoches, Suffolk); ibid. (Westlea); 414 b (Wankeforda).

[4] Dd. i. 61 c: (Kintbury, Berks) 'In Cheneteberie tenet isdem W(alterus F. Other) dimidiam hidam quam rex E. dedit eius antecessori de firma sua et solutam ab omni consuetudine propter forestam custodiendam, excepta forisfactura regis sicut est Latrocinium, et homicidium et Heinfara et fracta pax.' Cf. Dd. ii. 22 a (Colchester).

[5] Cf. Dd. i. 172 a (Worcestershire).

three forfeitures—for breach of peace, for breaking into a house, and for forsteal, were reserved to the king's domain all through England.[1] This is not literally true, as we have already been able to gather from previous instances. Nor can there be a doubt that the list of the three reserved Crown cases was formed in different ways in various places.[2] Such a treatment is in keeping with the customary character of all these franchises. The warrant of express grant is sometimes mentioned[3] and exacted by the Crown; such a grant would be invaluable in case of a dispute. But there can be no doubt that it would have been impossible for all those who claimed franchises to produce grants or to appeal to the testimony of a county court, or a hundred-moot, when such a grant should have actually been produced. Custom, usage from time immemorial, came to be a test in many if not most cases, and we see that such a test is actually appealed to, though not always with success, in the *Quo Warranto* inquests.

Another explanation of the variety in question may be that in some cases it was not meant to affirm that only three forfeitures went to the king, and that, e. g., forsteal or breach of peace was not reputed a Crown forfeiture, although the three excepted cases ceded to the burgesses of the new castle of Rhuddlan[4] were said to comprise only manslaughter, theft, and homfare. This may, after all, be an inexact form of expression, and mean in this as in some other cases[5] that three out of the six great Crown for-

[1] Dd. i. 252 a: (Shropshire) 'Has iii forisfacturas (Pax infracta, heinfara, forestel) habebat in dominio Rex E. in omni Anglia extra firmas.'

[2] Dd. i. 269 b: (Rhuddlan) 'In ipso manerio Roelend est factum nouiter castellum similiter Roelent appellatur. Ibi est nouum burgum et in eo xviii burgenses inter Comitem et Robertum ut predictum est. Ipsis burgensibus annuerunt leges et consuetudines quae sunt in Hereford et in bretuill. Scilicet quod per totum annum de aliqua forisfactura non dabunt nisi xii denarios praeter homicidium et furtum et Heinfar praecogitata.' Cf. 4 c (Lamport, Kent).

[3] Dd. ii. 195 a: (Blofield, Norfolk) 'In Blafelda tenet Almarus episcopus T. R. E. ii carucatas terrae . . . isti manerio pertinent xliii socemanni t. r. e. et semper qui non potuerunt terras suas uendere nec dare. . . Super hos habuit t. r. e. episcopus vi forisfacturas. Sed hundredum nec uidit breue nec sigillum nec concessum regis.'

[4] Cf. note 2.

[5] Dd. ii. 244 a: (Tunstead, Norfolk) 'Tunesteda tenet idem (Rogerus

feitures had passed into the hands of these privileged tenants.

However this may be, an interesting feature of some of these instances is the fact that the right to exact fines for minor offences, and to be exempted from paying these fines to the king or the officers of one of his courts, is expressly conceded to bodies of men who club, or 'scot,' together to commute the casual payments into a lump sum, and are thereby liberated from a part of the ordinary jurisdiction. The most famous instance of this kind is presented by the socmen of the Huntingdonshire manor of Broughton, who had bought the right to exact fines for the effusion of blood, adultery, and theft, up to four pennies, while the greater fines went to their lord, the abbot of Ramsey.[1] This does not mean, of course, that these socmen had a court of their own, nor is it, in itself, necessarily a proof that the fines were levied in the manorial court of Brenton belonging to the abbot. But it certainly supposes organized action and organized supervision on the part of these socmen as a body. In fact, they appear in the same position as holders of a franchise, in regard to the abbot, as he occupied himself in a higher sphere as against the king. It may be said at once that the socmen above mentioned could exercise their right most naturally as legal suitors of the court of Broughton.

The Domesday Survey does not very often go into such details as to rights acquired by bodies of men subject to great lords, but some characteristic instances of the same kind as the Broughton one it does mention.[2]

Pictauiensis) Alfere tegnus Heroldi t. r. e. . . . xxiiii socemanni . . . et idem sunt additi t. r. w. et R. comes addidit, vi liberi homines i car. terre et dimidiam . ex his habet sanctus benedictus socam et de uno commendationem et de xxiiii tres forisfacturas.'

[1] Dd. i. 204 b: (Broughton, Hunts) 'In Broctune habet abbas de Ramesy iiii hidas ad geldum. Terra vii carucarum et ii boum. Ibi est terra sochemannorum v hid. ad geldum. Terra viii carucarum et vi boum. Isti sochemanni dicunt se habuisse Legreuuitam et blodeuuitam et Latrocinium suum usque ad iv denarios et post iiii denarios habebat abbas forisfacturam latrocinii.'

[2] Dd. i. 179 a: (Hereford) 'Modo habet rex ciuitatem Hereford

The effect of the granting of jurisdictional franchises is described in a few cases rather fully, because there were some special features connected with it. Thus we hear that several great men in Berkshire had retained the gafol which they ought to have paid from their houses, and had a right to the fines in cases of bloodshed, or reception of strangers before they were delivered to the reeve, as well as adultery and theft, when all these offences were committed within the precincts of their houses. As to other wites, they went to the king.[1] In this case only remission of the fiscal due is stipulated. In the description of Dunwich, the private jurisdiction arising out of such cases is more clearly seen. The manor has to be represented in the hundred court by two or three of the tenants, but thieves caught in the place had to stand their trial in it, and as for corporal justice (cases involving corporal punishment) it had to be administered in Bliebury, a capital manor of Robert Malet, the tenant-in-chief.[2]

Sac and soc.

But the common and well-known manner in which grants of private jurisdiction were made was, of course, the insertion of the famous sac and soc (sake and soke) clause in a charter conveying property. The first points to the deciding of cases (sake); the second to the suit the men subjected to the jurisdiction had to do with the court.[3] Thus sake and soke is literally case and suit, a very appropriate conjunction of terms, which lays stress both on the

in dominio et anglici burgenses ibi manentes habent suas priores consuetudines. Francigenae uero burgenses habent quietas per xii denarios omnes forisfacturas suas preter tres supradictas.'

[1] Dd. i. 56 c: (Berkshire) 'Ælmer presbiter et alius Elmer presbiter et Bruman ... habent gablum de domibus suis et sanguinem si ibi effunditur, si receptus fuerit homo intus antequam calumnietur a prepositо regis excepto sabbato propter mercatum quia tunc rex habet forisfacturam et de adulterio et Latrocinio habent ipsi emendam in suis domibus. Alie uero forisfacturae sunt regis.'

[2] Dd. ii. 312 a, b: (Dunwich, Suffolk) 'Rex habet in duneuuic consuetudinem hanc quod duo uel tres ibunt ad hundret si recte moniti fuerint et si hoc non faciunt forisfacti sunt de ii oris, et si latro ibi fuerit captus ibi iudicabitur et corporalis iusticia in blieburc capietur, et sua pecunia remanet domino de duneuuic et t. r. e. non fuit ibi canbitor sed in blideburh.'

[3] Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 84.

passive and on the active side of the relation which was created by the franchise for those who came under its application. They had to submit to decisions, and they had to attend a private tribunal competent to give such decisions, and eventually to take part in its jurisdiction as judges or members of inquest juries. Needless to add, the fundamental formula acquired a somewhat different meaning when applied to the lord's exercise of judicial right and collection of its profits. He received, or had, sake and soke in the sense of a privilege to exercise jurisdiction. I need not dwell on the amplifications of the formula: Toll, team, infangennetheof, utfangennetheof, flymenafeorm, are the most frequent adjuncts, all terms which have been often and sufficiently explained, both in glossaries and pleas, and in the books of modern commentators.[1] Let us merely take notice that in some instances the contrast between sac and soc, as the ordinary attributes of private jurisdiction, and *forisfacturae*, as important cases mostly reserved to the Crown, is expressly drawn and insisted upon. From the combination of the two arose the different degrees of manorial justice in so far as it deals with criminal and police matters. A case in point is presented, e. g., by the rule about the trial of thieves in Southwark. If a man was accused on the spot ('in flagranti') he paid his fine to the king; if he left the place without being accused, and, we must add, I suppose, was brought up for trial afterwards, his fine went to the lord of the manor, the bishop of Bayeux.[2] In Alverstone, Warwick, the predecessor of the bishop of Worcester had sake and soke, and team, and

[1] Dd. i. 280 c: (Notts) 'Hic notantur qui habuerunt socam et sacam et Thol et Thaim et consuetudinem regis ii denariorum . . . Archiepiscopus Eboracensis super maneria sua . . . Horum omnium nemo habere potuit tercium denarium comitis nisi eius concessu et hoc quamdiu uiueret praeter archiepiscopum et Ulf fenisc et Godeuam comitissam . . . Super socam quae iacet ad Cliftune debet habere comes iii partem omnium consuetudinum et operum.' Cf. Earle, 201; Dd. i. 173 d (Grimanleh); 249 b (Fricescote); 336 a, 337 a (Lincoln).

[2] Dd. i. 32 a: (Sudwerche) 'Si quis forisfaciens ibi calumpniatus fuisset, regi emendabat. Si uero non calumpniatus abisset sub eo qui sacam et socam habuisset, ille emendam de reo haberet.'

church-scot, and all fines, except the four forfeitures which the king had all through the realm.[1]

Noteworthy cases arise when sake and soke include rights to fines imposed by a hundred or a wapentake. It is not easy to distinguish them clearly from the normal forfeitures, and they may be occasionally treated as such. Yet the crucial fact of the appropriation of fines by a private lord, on the ground of his being possessed of soke as to land, or to men, within the hundred, or even in regard to the hundred itself, is seen to be at the bottom of the arrangement.[2]

Profits and functions.

One of the difficulties in reading the older evidence arises from the fact that it is not always clear whether the grant of sake and soke, of forfeitures, or of pleas (*placita*), is to be construed as a grant of judicial functions, or of leave to collect and appropriate fines. Domesday, and documents of the same kind, are chiefly interested in the latter side, and therefore they are seldom very explicit in regard to the former. Indeed, there are cases in which it can be shown that the actual trial and delivery of the sentence took place in the hundred court, but the men more directly concerned in it stepped out to form a special quorum.[3] But this is evidently a transitional stage, and as a rule the grants of sake and soke led to the formation of

[1] Dd. i. 238 c: (Alveston, Warwick) 'Brictuinus T. R. E. tenuit in Aluestone vii hidas et dimidiam. De hac terra habuit Eldred archiepiscopus socam et sacam et tol et teim et cerset et omnes alias forisfacturas praeter illas iiii quas rex habet per totum regnum.' Cf. 298 c (Yorkshire).

[2] Dd. i. 376 b: (Clamores in Westreding, Lincoln) 'Wapentac testatur quod Ulchil et Asfort et Restef et Ulmer habuerunt sacam et socam super terras suas et super homines suos in Stratone hundredo. et super forisfacturam de Wapentac habet Sancta Maria ii partes socae et comes terciam. Nunc Rex. Similiter de heriete. et si terram suam forisfecissent S. Maria ii partes habuisset et comes terciam.' Cf. ii. 22 a (Meresaia).

[3] Dd. i. 58 b: (Brightwell, Berks) 'Bristowelle ... Stigandus tenuit T. R. E. Tunc pro xx hidis. modo pro x hidis ... Ibi aecclesia et de placitis terrae que in Walingeford huic manerio pertinent xxv sol.' Exon. Dd. 198 (Fardle, Devon), 'Comes (de moritonio) habet i mansionem quae uocatur ferdendella ... de hac mansione calumpniatur hundremani et prepositus regis xxx den. et consuetudinem placitorum ad opus firme Ermtone mansione regis.' Cf. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 97.

separate manorial courts. This is implied in the very name of the privileged holders of sake and soke in Danish places like Lincoln and Stamford ; they are designated as laymen-judges, a common Scandinavian expression for persons exercising the right of declaring the law and administering justice.[1] In the west, which appears strongly feudalized already at the time of Domesday, a manor like Persore, belonging to St. Peter of Westminster, is said to yield an income of £83 with the pleas of the freemen.[2] These freemen, or franklins, would correspond to the socmen of the Danish districts, and, to judge by the description of the manor, some of the villains of the place must have been included in the class, as personally free, or descended from a group which had to be distinguished from the serfs in point of jurisdiction. However this may be, the pleas in question can hardly be taken in the sense of judicial profits only. They may have accrued to the manor as a result of the judicial functions of the hundred attached to it, but they appear characteristically as an attribute of the manor itself, and are on entirely the same footing with similar pleas proceeding from grants of sake and soke. A case of the same kind is that of the huge manor of Taunton[3] in Somerset, to which many of the most important franchises appertained. Three times a year the tenants had to attend to hold the pleas of the bishop without summons ; the pennies from

[1] Dd. i. 336 d (Stamford). Cf. Lincoln, 336 a.

[2] Dd. i. 175 b: (Pershore, Worcs.) 'Omnes hae supradictae terrae iacuerunt et iacent ad Persore. Hoc manerium T. R. E. reddebat quater xx lib. et iii et 1 sextarios mellis cum omnibus placitis francorum hominum.'

[3] Exon. Dd. 162 : (Taunton, Somerset) ' Iste sunt consuetudines pertinentes ad tantonam . burgerist (burgeriht) . latrones . pacis infractio . hamfara . denarii de hundreto . denarii sancti petri . circieti . et ter in anno teneri placita episcopi sine ammonitione . et de talanda . et de lacca . et de Holeforda et Ubcedena et Succedena et Maidenobraca . et de Iafort et Lediart et Lega et Billa et Bela et Denichebede et omnes illi debent ire in expeditionem cum hominibus episcopi . et cum domini de supradictis terris morientur debetur sepeliri in Tantona . hanc eadem consuetudinem debet Bagueberga Tantone . praeter exercitum et sepulturam . et de Scobinalre et de Stoca debetur predicta consuetudo excepto exercitu, etc.' Cf. i. 269 d (Derbei).

the hundred jurisdiction are included in the customary dues to the Bishop of Winchester, but they are only one of his many privileges there. The reciprocity of the collection of dues and the performance of functions is very clear in such conspicuous cases, and it is not less apparent in instances where the natural relation of the estate to higher units was for some reason ambiguous or complicated. It might happen that a township was attributed to one district for the purpose of rents and service, and belonged to another in regard to geld and to the holding of pleas. This is noticed sometimes in a way which leaves no doubt as to the intimate connexion between judicial profits and jurisdiction. Thirteen hides of Martley and five hides of Sucheley have to pay geld and to hold pleas in Dodintre Hundred, Worcestershire, although their farm is in Herefordshire.[1] Even more explicit is the statement in respect of two hides in Kingston, Herefordshire;[2] they pay geld and do work in Gloucestershire, but their tenants are bound to attend pleas, in order to do and to receive right, in the Hundred of Bremesete, Herefordshire. In fact, the juridical side of jurisdiction cannot be conveniently separated from its fiscal side; those who get the profits have to do the work, and, as we have said before, every grant of sake comes to be a grant of soke. The fine follows investigation and sentence, and in order to investigate and to give sentence, not a single judge, but suitors forming a court are needed. An allusion to this primary requirement of the holding of pleas may be found in the often quoted passage about the Sheriff Picot, who accommodated a couple of socmen 'propter placita sua tenenda.' It is not clear whether the 'sua' means 'their' or 'his'. More likely the first, if we may judge from the cases quoted above, but the private court with the privilege of holding certain pleas, and

[1] Dd. i. 178 a: (Worcs.) 'In Dodintret hundredo iacent xiii hidae de Mertelai et v hidae de Suchelei . quae hic placitant et geldant et ad Hereford reddunt firmam suam et sunt scriptae in breue regis.'

[2] Dd. i. 182 d: (Kingstone, Hereford) 'Ecclesia S. Mariae de Cormeliis tenet ii hidas in Chingestune et geldant in Glouuecscire et operantur, sed in isto hundredo (Bremesese) ad placita conueniunt qui ibi manent ut rectum faciant et accipiant.'

a certain number of suitors necessary for its existence, is certainly before us on this occasion.[1]

Soke over persons.

3. The Domesday Survey is full of references to soke. Apart from some special cases which will have to be examined hereafter, these references may be considered from two points of view. They speak of certain rights, and they speak of certain territorial divisions. Turning to the first group, we find, to begin with, that the king is often mentioned as exercising soke over men or over places. The description of Norwich[2] is a good instance in point. Of 1,320 of its burgesses 1,238 were in the soke and sake of the king and of the earl, and they had to pay customary rents or to perform corresponding services; over 50 Archbishop Stigand had sake and soke and commendation, and over 32 Harold. Besides 1,238 burgesses in the common soke of the king and earl, there was one tenant of the king who was 'to that degree' under his lordship that he could not leave nor do homage to any one without permission from the king. The mention of this single very dependent burgess is not without importance, because it throws light on the position of the rest, who were evidently able to do what was denied to him. They could not be called 'ita dominici'—to that degree—under his lordship as he was. Indeed, their dependence on the king and the earl would be considered nowadays merely as the obligation of subjects in regard to public authority. The mediaeval Survey puts it as a subjection to the soke and sake of king and earl, subjection to the jurisdiction of the ordinary public authorities. Hardly different was the position of the tenants of 113 houses in Warwick, who held under the king, in contrast to the 112 who held of the king's barons. All had to pay geld, but the former resided in the king's 'demesne.[3] This is, however, an inference suggested by a comparison with cases like that of Norwich, as sake and soke are not expressly mentioned. Such express references to holdings

[1] Dd. i. 193 c. Cf. Dd. i. 265 c (Acton).
[2] Dd. ii. 116 a (Norwich).
[3] Dd. i. 238 a (Warwick).

and land in the soke of the king are of common occurrence,[1] as well as others where the royal soke is said to stretch over certain persons, more especially over freemen or over sokemen.[2] Of special interest are cases when this royal soke is said to be transferred by express grant to a private person, a great lay lord or an ecclesiastical foundation. There is, e. g., the famous passage which tells us that five hides in Broughton were land belonging to socmen, but King Edward gave both the land and the soke to St. Benet of Ramsey in acknowledgement of a service which Abbot Aluuin had rendered to him in Saxony.[3] In Norfolk it happened that some freemen over whom King Edward had soke and sake were appropriated by force by Guerth, Harold's brother. King William granted to the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, along with the manor, the sake and soke of all the freemen of Guerth, and therefore the monks claim the persons in question.[4] A similar contention arose about the freemen of Mulcelsel.[5] We trace here very clearly the passage of men, whom we should have called ordinary citizens, under the sway of private jurisdiction, and the Broughton instance seems especially eloquent, because it discloses motives and proceedings which remind us of the

[1] Dd. i. 203 d: (Orton, Hunts) 'In Ouretone ... iii hid. et i uirg. ad geldum ... Iohannes tenet de episcopo. De hac terra clamat rex socam.' Cf. 204 a (Eregrave); 205 b (Ouretune); 208 b (Cateuuorde).

[2] Dd. ii. 123 a: (Hasingham, Norfolk) 'In hasingeham vi liberi homines R. stalre et de uno habuit socam t. r. e. ... et de istis ii uillis (Limpesho et Hasingeham) T. R. E. erat soca regis testimonio hundredi. Sed R. tenuit ex quo fuit comes. modo tenet Godricus in manu regis. In frietorp ix liberi homines. super v habuit R. socam t. r. e. et super iiii rex.' Cf. 154 b (Torp).

[3] Dd. i. 208 a: (Hunts, Broughton) 'De v hidis de Broctòne dicunt quod terra sochemannorum fuit T. R. E. sed isdem rex dedit terram et socam de eis S. Benedicto de Ramesy propter unum seruitium quod abbas Aluuinus fecit ei in Saxonia, et postea semper eam habuit.'

[4] Dd. ii. 210 a: (Abbas de Sancto Edmundo, Norfolk) 'Super omnes istos liberos homines habuit Rex Edwardus socam et sacam et post ea Guert accepit per uim sed rex W. dedit cum manerio socam et sacam de omnibus liberis Guert. sicut ipse tenebat. hoc reclamant monachi.'

[5] Dd. ii. 360 b: (Mulcelsel) 'Mulcelsel tenuit Sanctus Edmundus t. r. e. lx ac. pro manerio ... In eadem tenuit Ailricus liber homo lx ac. terrae ... Hanc terram ideo tenet Abbas quod ille Ailricus accepit uxorem T. R. E. que hanc terram tenebat libere in soca regis, sed abbas reuocat socam de dono regis.'

innumerable grants of land made in Anglo-Saxon charters; it is not only the soke that is passed in this case, but also the land and people get subjected, at one stroke, to a feudal lordship as a reward for services rendered by a magnate to the Crown. Similar services were of everyday occurrence, both in the State and the Church, and on the other hand the great fund for the distribution of rewards was undoubtedly the land of the kingdom, with its various dues. And proceeds of jurisdiction stood on a par with agricultural rents and services as a source of income at the disposal of the authorities.[1] Another group of entries which also shows clearly the passage of valuable political rights from the king to the lords are the passages bearing on the transfer of the jurisdiction in the hundreds. If we look at the *nomina villarum* list[2] we get sufficient material to judge of the extent to which hundreds had come into private hands.

[1] This is a source of difficulty in interpretation and of ambiguity in the use of the term. Although the intimate connexion with jurisdiction is sufficiently clear in most cases, in some the term 'soke' is taken to imply all the rights accruing to the king from his subjects. These include claims on their assistance for mustering the host, contributions to royal progresses and farms of right, and, possibly, some rents and services. By granting the soke the king may grant all such rights or a part of them. This meaning of the term may be illustrated both from Domesday and from preconquestual evidence. E. g. Edgar's charter to Ely, probably forged, but in accordance with the legal customs of the time. (Thorpe, Dipl. 242): 'Ic þa geeacnode to þare ærran sylene ten þusenda ælfixa ælce geare þam munecum, þe me for fyrdinge gefyrndagum aras binnan þam iggoðe of þam folce æt Wyllan, and ealle þa socna eac ofer þet fennland into þam twam hundredum him to scrudfultume, . . . eac ealle þa socna ofer fif hundredum, and ofer ealle þa land, gelice ða socna ðe into þam mynstre nu synd, begytene oððe ða þe him gyt becumaþ þurh Cristes foresceawunge, oððe þurh ceap, oððe þurh gife, habbon hi æfre on eallum þa socne, and þone feorðan pening on folclicre steore into Grantabricge be minre unnan . and gif ænig man þis awendan wille, þonne gange eal seo socn þe to anre niht feorme gebyreð into þære stowe.'—The last stipulation seems rather an astonishing way of introducing a penal clause, but whatever we may think of its juridical character, the term 'socna to anre niht feorme' is characteristic by itself: it points to contributions in kind to a knight's farm. Cf. Dd. i. 368 a: (Sumerdebi) 'hec soca talis erat quod nihil reddebat, sed adiuuabat in exercitu regis in terra et in mari.' This use of the term 'soke' has led Mr. Ballard, as it seems to me, to formulate a somewhat exaggerated theory as to soke in opposition to sake and soke. Domesday Inquest, 84, 159 ff. Cf. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 67 ff., 76 ff.

[2] Feudal Aids, i. 47 (Berks), ii. 39 (Dorset), iii. 449 (Norfolk), &c.

In Domesday we see the process of such transfer in its actual course of development. To begin with, even when hundreds are retained in the king's hands they may be merged into the administration of a royal manor. Such was the case with the Hundred of Grenehow, Norfolk, e. g., it was attached to the manor of Wiston (Wistune).[1] Then come the constant notices of the attribution of this or the other hundred, or of two, three, eight, twenty-seven of them, to a great lord or a see or a monastery.[2] These are well-known facts, and I only mention them because they illustrate the meaning and application of soke, or sake and soke, as a right to jurisdiction.

Some cases of grants of soke require special notice—namely, the cases when a place, or some persons, are said to be exempted from it, or quit of it, as it is expressed in the Survey. The expression is suggested clearly by the corresponding 'reddere socam',[3] to render soke, meaning the payment of certain dues accruing from jurisdiction. But what is the aim of the quit-claim? Clearly it could not be an entire abolition of fines and wites, as this would have had the worst effect on the grantees. There can be hardly a doubt that they were left in such a case to manage their judicial affairs themselves, and to collect the fines for themselves. Whether they could alter the amount and character of such fines may be doubtful if we look only to Domesday, but the

[1] Dd. ii. 113 b: (Norfolk) 'Soca et sacha de Grenehou hundredo pertinet ad Wistune manerium regis quicunque ibi teneat et habet rex et comes.' Cf. 114 a (Dimidium Hundredum de Dice); i. 227 c (Epingeham).

[2] Dd. i. 154 c: (Headington, Oxford) 'Rex tenet Hedintone. Ibi sunt x hidae . . . Duorum Hundredorum soca pertinet huic manerio. Ricardus de Curci de xvi hidis retrahit sibi.' Cf. ib. (Cherielintone (Kirtlinton); Optone (Upton); Sciptone (Shipton), Bentone (Bampton)); 154 d (Blochesham et Edburgberie (Adderbury)). Cf. 39 c (Sumburne, Hants); ii. 215 b (Norfolk), 'De soca hundreti et dimidii (de Clacheslosa) habet Sanctus Benedictus lxx sol.' Cf. ii. 282 a (Dice, Suffolk).

[3] Dd. i. 231 a: (Misterton, Leics.) 'Idem (Radulf) tenet de episcopo (Lincoliense) in Ministone iii carucatas terrae et dimidiam et unam carucatam terrae quae reddit socam. Terra est iii car. Ibi iiii uillani cum ii sochmannis.' Cf. 377 a (Turoluebi).

wealth of material presented by borough custumals and other records of local custom points to a very free exercise of customary legislation in connexion with the growth of franchises.[1] Perhaps the most interesting instance entered in Domesday is that of Dover,[2] which was pardoned 'sake and soke' as a reward for the fitting out of twenty ships, for fifteen days in the year, twenty-one men serving in every ship. A similar buying-off of sake and soke seems implied by the service of the sea performed by the men of Romney. The term 'frigsoca'[3] that sometimes occurs in Lincolnshire points to authority over freemen as opposed to 'burgeriht'—rights over gebúrs.

The socmen so frequently mentioned in Domesday, and the socagers, or tenants-in-socase, of later days, seem naturally to be men under soke, and men doing soke, suitors. The question gets to be a somewhat complicated

[1] Dd. i. 373 c: (Risby, Yorks) 'In Risbi habuit Gam ... iiii carucatas terre ... De hac terra iacuit olim soca in Welleton sed Thomas Archiepiscopus habet breuem regis Willelmi per quem concessit ipsam socam quietam S. Iohanni de Beureli similiter de iiii carucatis terre in Walchinton (Walkington) pertinebat soca ad Welleton. Sed rex Willelmus donauit eam quietam Eldredo archiepiscopo testante wapentak qui breuem regis inde uidit et audiuit.'

[2] Dd. i. 1 a: 'Dovere tempore regis Edwardi reddebat xviii libras de quibus denariis habebat rex Edwardus duas partes et comes Goduinus terciam ... Burgenses dederunt xx naues regi una uice in anno ad xv dies et in unaque naui erant homines xx et unus. Hoc faciebant pro eo quod eis perdonauerat saccam et socam. Quando missatici regis ueniebant ibi dabant pro caballo transducendo iii denarios in hieme et duos in estate. Burgenses uero inueniebant stiremannum et unum alium adiutorem et si plus opus esset de pecunia eius conducebatur.' Cf. Dd. i. 4 c (Romenel).

[3] C. D. 845: (Eadweard) 'Súðhámptonscire—Ic kýðe eów ðat ic wille ann ðat ic ann ðat sainte Petre and ða gebróðran on Westminstre habben ðat cotlif Euereslea and alc ðáre þinge ðat ðártó mid richte gebireð, mid cirke and mid milne, mid wode and mid felde ... And ic wille ... ðat paðu mí meodes wrichte and Wlnoð mín húscarl and Ælfríce Hort and Frébern mín freosócne men ðe ðat cotlyf healdeð ðat hi heonneforð mid lande and mid loge heore alc mid his dále bén on sainte Petres wealde and ðám hirde on ðám minstre hérsumian and þewwan' (cf. Dd. 43 c). Dd. i. 340 b: (Skillington, Lincs.) 'In Schillintune habuit comes Morcar iii carucatas terre ad geldum et Friguist et Bridmer i carucatam terre ad geldum. Terra ad v carucas et dimidium. Frigesoca in Schillintune. Ibi Walchelinus homo archiepiscopi ii carucas et xiii uilłani et v sochemanni habentes iiii carucas.' Cf. ib. 368 c (Carlebi). The charter of Edward the Confessor gives a clue in explanation of the term as *freo* and not *friđ*. Cf. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 93.

one, because the right of soke may be taken so differently, as we have already had occasion to notice—there is the soke of the king, and that of magnates, and that of communities which have acquired the franchise. Besides, it is not only socmen who are under soke and have to do suit, but also freemen (*liberi*), and villains too.[1] Some of the points bearing on the question will have to be discussed in the chapter on Socmen; I should like on the present occasion merely to call attention to the fact that rights of soke over socmen are often granted in the same way as rights over freemen.[2] Sometimes the right is divided, and this can hardly mean anything else than that the profits accruing from suit of court and from fines for non-attendance, as well as for transgression, had to be divided equally between two lords,[3] one of them being

[1] The capital distinction between certain and uncertain tenure in feudal common law amounted to a refusal of judicial protection to villains, while to socmen such protection was granted (Villainage in England, 114). This feature led to a modification of the doctrine in regard to socage tenure. It came to be considered chiefly from the point of view of certainty of tenure and service. But originally the tenure is certainly connected with the term and institution of the *soke* as franchise—a portion of public authority either residing in the ordinary royal officials and district courts or granted to a subject. Many traces of that and of the suit (*secta*) corresponding to it are to be found in later documents. Rot. Hund. ii. 301: (Notts) 'Et adhuc de eodem wapentak habet soka de Dunham duos turnos de omnibus tenentibus suis per annum, et semper habuerunt postquam primo fuerunt de dominico domini Regis et valent illi duo turni per annum 20 s.' ii. 313 (Arnhall), 318 (Orston); ii. 177 (Suffolk), 'Omnes isti prenominati sunt aquitati de murdro et de communibus misericordiis et de omnibus misis que pertinent ad dominum Regem que pertinent ad hundredum et capiunt emendaciones de braciatoribus et non habent tumberellum exceptis Holebroc et Selfleye.' Cf. ii. 178; Plac. Quo Warr., 144: 'Sallowe cum Soka (Derby): . . . ex quo idem Gauselinus non habet iudicialia que ad huiusmodi libertatem requiruntur . . . idem Gauselinus huiusmodi libertatem habere non potest.'

[2] Dd. i. 12 d: (Badlesmere, Kent) 'Scyra testificatur quod Bedenesmere fuit S. Augustini T. R. E. et de illo qui eam tenebat habebat abbas sacam et socam.' Ib. 220 a: (Barford, Northants) 'In Bereford est i hida. Oslac albus hanc tenuit cum ii sochemannis de quibus ipse socam habebat.' ii. 250 b: (Barton Bewdish, Norfolk) 'In Bertuna . . Huic manerio adiacent semper iiii homines de omni consuetudine et alii iiii ad socham tantum.' Cf. 251 a (Buchetuna); 252 b (Walnccham).

[3] Dd. i. 345 d: (Walcott, Lincs.) 'In Walecote habuit et habet S. Petrus de Burg v carucatas terre ad geldum. Terra ad vi carucas. Nunc Gislebertus homo abbatis habet ibi i carucam et vi uillani et

possibly the king. One curious case has been preserved in which the socman was free, not only to sell his land, but to sell his soke.[1] His position was in every way exceptional, as there were five others in the same place who could only alienate their land. The only possible explanation which such a remarkable right may receive seems to consist in the leave to transfer land, with all the rights accruing from its possession in regard to jurisdiction, while in the case of a sale of land by any of the fellows of this socman the right to jurisdiction remained as before. It is in any case a very unusual privilege. There may have been definite limitations to such a licence of trading in public allegiance, but we are not told what these limitations were.

Confusion of attributes.

It is not difficult to see how uncertain and open to misunderstandings and encroachments the arrangements derived from the right of soke were. The jurisdictional privilege of the lord crossed, as it were, several other lines of superiority which led to the collection of dues and profits, and it was by no means easy to disentangle the meshes of these concurrent rights to exploitation, especially as they resembled each other very much in concrete particulars, and were, very often, wielded by the same person. The surveys of the eastern counties, drawn up after recent Danish invasions, and therefore not reduced to the more colourless uniformity of those of counties settled from old

v bordarii cum ii carucis, et ecclesia . et xiiii sochemanni de ii carucatis habentes iiii carucas. Una medietas de soca est S. Petri et altera Gisleberti de Gant pertinens in Folchingeham.' ii. 159 a: (Witton, Norfolk) 'Wituna, 1 liber homo, xxx acras . . Almarus episcopus T.R.E. et Willelmi medietatem et W. Malet similiter aliam medietatem.'

[1] Dd. i. 142 d: (Standon, Herts) 'Rothais uxor Ricardi f. Gisleberti comitis tenet Standone . pro xi hidis se defendit.—Hoc manerium tenuit Stigandus Archiepiscopus. In hoc manerio fuerunt vi sochemanni homines eiusdem archiepiscopi et quisque unam hidam habuit et uendere potuerunt praeter socam. Unus autem eorum etiam socam suam cum terra uendere poterat.' Cf. K. C. D. 797: (Eadweard, 1052–1053) 'Hér swutelaþ on þissere bóc þæt Osferþ bohte v. hida landes æt Lence æt Lifince bisceope þreora manna dæg, mid saca and mid sócne, on þá gerád þæt he weraþ hí for 11. on þæs cyncges gehwitnesse and on ealra his hwitena.'

times, abound in references to the confusion and conflicts resulting from the co-existence of several forms of superiority. A place in which the inhabitants paid dues in commutation for the casual fines derived from soke might easily be taken for a settlement of tenants paying customary rent. A freeman, attached to a lord by voluntary commendation, might occasionally be drawn into a circle of men bound to recognize the jurisdiction of this same lord. In a dispute with regard to the ownership of a manor or of a holding, it might be material to discover whether the Saxon 'antecessor' of the Norman claiming the land was, really, possessed of land, or only held soke over its tenants, or perhaps was merely entitled to a claim to commendation. I only mention a few of the possible queries and complications in order to explain the stress laid, in some parts of the Domesday Survey, on the exact distinctions between commendation, soke, land-ownership and customary dues.[1] We shall have to come back to the subject in other connexions. I should like to point now to the fact that the great variety of conditions and privileges is distinctly traceable, in a general way, although not in every single case, to Old English antecedents, working on different though converging lines. The Norman age reduced this variety to somewhat simpler combinations, but did not succeed in getting rid of it entirely.

[1] Dd. ii. 162 a: (Feltwell, Norfolk) 'In fatwella xl sochemanni iii carucatas terrae et xl acras... Super hos omnes habuit Sancta Aeldreda socam et omnem consuetudinem et commendationem et illorum vii liberi erant cum terris suis sed soca et commendatio remanebat sanctae Aeldredae. Totum fuit liberatum Willelmo (de Warenna) pro escangio.' Ibid. 207 b, 208 a: (Gawestone, Norfolk) 'Girolfestuna, xix liberi homines . c acras terrae . . . Ex his testatur hundredum quod suus antecessor nullam habuit consuetudinem praeter commendationem . . . et quidam homo Hermeri offert iuditium quod suus antecessor habuit omnem consuetudinem T. R. E. praeter socam Sancte Adeldrede et quod poterat terram suam uendere.' Cf. i. 249 d: (Amblecote, Stafford) 'In Elmelecote i hid. . . Duo homines Algari Comitis tenuerunt sine soca.' Ibid. 250 a: 'Biscopesberie . . . Ulfric tenuit cum saca et soca'; 346 d (Dowdyke, Lincs.), 'In Duuedic habuit et habet S. Gutlacus ii carucatas terre ad geldum. Terra ad ii carucas cum sacca et soca.' Ibid., 'In Burtoft habuit et habet S. Gutlacus i bouatam terre quae iacet in Duuedic. Inde habet rex socam.' Cf. 375 a (Richesbi); 375 b (Hotot); 375 d (Golsa).

Territorial soke.

4. The relation bound up with the right to sake and soke is, in principle, a personal one. Certain persons are exempted from the ordinary jurisdiction of the hundred and of the shire, and placed under the jurisdiction of a great man or of a great institution. These exempted persons may be taken, and mentioned, singly or in batches, but the character and limitations of their new subjections will be derived from the nature of every single grant, and is not necessarily bound up with any general scheme of local government and local repartition of rights of jurisdiction. Therefore the relation may sometimes assume a shape very similar to personal commendation. But there is one feature which separates it clearly from this last, and forms a link between the personal and the territorial aspect of the right to sake and soke. It is not regardless of any relation to land that one is subjected to the right, but as the tenant of some land—a holding, an estate—or as one temporarily connected with some land, one who dwells on it, or who has committed some specified action on it, e.g. a theft. This side of the attribution of soke makes it akin to land-ownership, and necessitates careful distinctions in some instances. And, on the other hand, the juxtaposition of soke privileges in respect of scattered tenants tends to resolve itself into territorial combinations, to concentrate into local jurisdictions. Let us take a case from Lincolnshire. Robert of Stafford claims that the land of Outi, a vassal of Archbishop Thomas, ought to lie in the soke of Lepsi, his own predecessor, but the wapentake says that they never saw Outi render soke to Lepsi. The test of the contention is transferred to evidence of a personal, customary duty, which, in this case, seems to have been a commutation rent, but the claim is directed to include a certain holding into a local district called Soke[1].

The building up of more or less compact franchises was

[1] Dd. i. 376 d: (Clamores in Chetsteven) 'Robertus de Stadford clamat terram Outi hominis archiepiscopi Thomae debere iacere in soca Lepsi antecessoris sui, sed Wapentak dicit quod nunquam uiderunt Outi dare socam Lepsi.'

facilitated by the very common occurrence of a grant of privileged jurisdiction, in regard to whole townships,[1] or manors, with all their population,[2] or all the lands and men belonging to a lord.[3] But there are numbers of cases when stray hides or carucates, or a church, or a wood, are connected by soke with some manor to which they do not otherwise belong, and from which they may lie at a considerable distance;[4] or are attributed as to soke to a person

[1] Birch., Cart. Sax. iii. 1348 (1029 B), A. D. 958 (p. 690): 'Ðis sint ðam tunes ðe bireð in to sudpellan mid sacce ⁊ mid sacne fearnes elð Cyslinstune . Nordmantune . Uptune . Mortune . Fiscertune . Gypesmere . blisetune . sofestune . healhtune . healum.' Cf. Dd. i. 283: (Southwell, Notts) 'In Suduuelle numerantur xii (bereuuiche (xi?)—In Sudwelle cum Bereuuitis suis sunt xxii carucatae terre et dimidia ad geldum. Terra xxiiij carucis.' Cf. Cart. Sax. iii. 1029 (A. D. 958): 'ego Eadwy . . . meo desiderabili episcopo Oscytello concedo . . . at Sudpellan. xx mansas in haereditatem.' K.C.D. 805: 'quandam telluris partem, scilicet rus quod ab incolis Ðeotinctum uocatur cum alio uiculo ad illud pertinente qui Ælfsigestun nominatur, tres uidelicet hidas terrarum in duabus, ut praedixi, uillulis, cum licentia domini mei regis Eduuardi . . . Sanctae . . . Mariae condono ad usus fratrum . . . ut habeant et possideant iure aecclesiastico perpetua haereditate, cum saca et socne, tolle et teame, reditibus et campis, pascuis et pratis, et cunctis utilitatibus ad praenotatam villam pertinentibus.' Dd. i. 235 d: 'In Godtorp (Leics.) sunt iii carucatae terrae et dimidia. Soca de Picheuuelle et de Summerdebie.' 275 b: 'In Redeslei (Derbyshire) . . . xii bouatas terrae ad geldum . . . Abbas (de Bertone) clamat socam huius uillae' (cf. 273 b).

[2] Dd. ii. 173 b: (Massingham, Norfolk) 'Masingeham . . . Super hoc manerium et super omnes homines qui erant in eo habebat Stigandus socam, et fuit liberatum Rogero uiuente eo.'

[3] K. C. D. 856: (Eadweard) 'Eadward kyng grét Willeme bissope, and Suetman míne porteréfe, and alle ðe burhware on Londone freondlíche . . . ich wille ðat Wulfuuold abbod at Cherteseye beó his saca wrðe and his sócna ofer his hágan land hérbinne and ouer his ágene man.' Cf. 857, 'burhðegnes'; 867, 'quod ipsi sint de eorum sacha et eorum socha liberi supra eorum terras et supra eorum homines' (Hereford); 888 (Eadweard), 'his bisceopas, and his abbodas and his eorlas and þeignas ðe on ðám scyran syndon ðe Ordríc abbud hæfð land inne . . . ic hæbbe geunnen him into Sancta Marian mynstre sace and sócne, toll and team, etc. . . . ofer his ágen land.' Cf. 893: 'Ealdred ærcebisceop . . . ðat he beó his saca and his sócna wurðe ofer his land and ofer eallum his mannum.'

[4] Dd. i. 205 d: (Hammerton, Hunts) 'In Hambertune habuit Ulfech xv hidas (carucatas) terrae ad geldum. Nunc habet Eudo dapifer de rege et Alich et Leuuine iii hidas Soca in Lectunestane hundredo. hanc terram habet Eudo et rex habet socam. Nunc in manerio sunt iiii carucae in dominio in iii hidis huius terrae, et xxvi uillani habentes vi carucas.' 221 d: (Armston and Kingsthorpe, Northants) 'In Mermeston et Chingestorp tenent v milites de abbate v hidas de soca. Terra est viii carucis. In dominio sunt v, et ix uillani

who is not the owner of them.[1] We even hear of the soke of half an acre belonging to Countess Judith in Brachefeld, Northamptonshire. It is difficult for us nowadays to understand how such a fractional privilege could be realized, but mediaeval arrangements very commonly assumed the shape of similar subdivisions, as we have already had occasion to observe in the matter of military obligations.[2] These scattered privileges explain the often-recurring statement of the Survey that the soke of a certain place, or of certain holdings in it, belongs to or lies in another place.[3] Conversely, some manorial estates are surrounded by whole swarms of smaller settlements, hamlets, or holdings in other vills, which are expressly designated as their sokes.[4] In Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Hertfordshire, these subordinate sokes are marked off in the margin by an S, to which the full 'soka' corresponds as a heading.[5] The

et iii bordarii et vi sochemanni cum iii carucis inter omnes.' Cf. 222 b (In Rodewelle Hd.—Boctone, Gadintone, Erniwade, Scadewelle, Hohtone, Langeport, Badebroc, Ferendone, Udetorp, Clipestone, Calme, Medewelle); cf. 217 a (Winessamestede, Beds); 222 c (Eddone, Northants); 373 a (Middeltun, Clamores de Euruicscire).

[1] Dd. i. 355 b: (Claxby, Lincs.) 'In Clachesbi habuit Tonne vi bouatas terrae ad geldum.... Ibi Rademer homo Gisleberti habet ii carucas.... In eadem uilla habet Gislebertus quater xx acras siluae minutae et alias cxx acras siluae minutae. De tribus partibus harum acrarum habet Wido de Credun socam.' Cf. 363 d (Wilgebi).

[2] Dd. i. 222 c: (Brayfield, Northants) 'In Brachefeld est una domus pertinens ad Wicetone cum v acris terrae. De dimidia acra habet socam Iudit comitissa.'

[3] Dd. i. 220 b: 'De feudo episcopi Baiocensis tenet Willelmus unam uirgatam terrae in Brandestone (Northants). Huius soca iacet in Faleuuesle.' Cf. ibid. Waltone, 'Huius soca iacet in Sutone'; Everdone, 'Huius terrae soca iacet in Felesleuue.' 237 b: (Ibestoche, Leics.) 'soca iacet ad superiorem uillam Bageworde.' Cf. 275 a (Snellestune, Derbyshire); 276 c (Pinneslei et Caldecotes et Wilelmestorp); 277 a (Moresburg); 272 d (Mileburne). 280 b: (Nottinghamshire custumal) 'In Derby habet abbas de Bertone i molinum et i mans. terrae cum saca et soca, et ii mans. de quibus habet rex socam'; cf. ibid. 'Stori Antecessor Walterii.' 370 c: (Barchestone, Lincs.) 'ii molina unde iacet saca in Granham.'

[4] Dd. i. 281 a: (Dunham, Notts) 'In Duneham cum iiii Bereuuites Ragenehil, Wimentun, Derluueton, Suanesterne habuit rex Edwardus v carucatas terre et dimidiam ad geldum. Terra xii carucis... Soca huius manerii. In Draitone.... In Marcham... in Grenleige... in Ordeshale... in Graue Ledune (Hedune)... in Upetone... in Normentone'; cf. 341 a (Caditon, Lincs.); ii. 135 a (Trukebei, Norfolk); ii. 152 a (Scerepham, Norfolk).

[5] Dd. i. 272 b (Newbold, Derby.); 277 a (Echintune); 275 d (Estune);

opposition between the manor, as the economic unit of an estate, and the soke, as the jurisdictional union encircling the manor and often consisting of places scattered around it, is one of the important results of the different modes by which lords acquired rights of superiority over their dependents.[1] Brictric, the son of Alfgar, held a hide in Beadun from the Bishop of Worcester, and contributed to the manorial farm in proportion to his holding, but he also rendered to the soke of the bishop everything he was bound to perform in service to the king. The expression 'soke', in this case, may be stretched to a somewhat wider extent than usual, or else it may be simply an inexact rendering of the usual surrender of jurisdiction. But however this may be, the contrast between the two forms of contribution which might be levied from a hide holding—one to the farm of the manor, the other to the customary dues of the soke; one economic, the other political—is well accentuated by the entry.[2] In a Suffolk case we read that three freemen were unable to sell their land at all, while two others could only sell within the precincts of the Soke of St. Edmunds.[3] The closing of a soke against

277 c (Bareuue); 205 c: (Kimbolton, Hunts) 'In Chenebaltone habuit Harold comes x hidas ad geldum. Terra xx carucis ... s̄ in Caissot. Allic iii uirgatas terre ad geldum. Terra vi boum. Soca. s̄ in Suineshefet ... soca, etc.'

[1] Dd. i. 281 b, c: (Mansfield, Notts) 'In Mamesfelde et Schegebi (B.) et Sutone (B.) ... BB. in Grimestone ... in Edenestou. SS. In Carletone, in Mapelberg ... Item soca in Wardebec Wapentac. SS. In Tilne ... In Cledretone ... Ibi xxii sochemanni et xi uillani habent ix carucas. Hi sochemanni reddebant xx solidas de consuetudine T.R.E. SS. In Fentune, Litelberg, Estretone. Haec soca ualet xl sol., etc.' Cf. 281 d (Oschintone); 299 c (Baswick, Yorks), 'In Basewic ... Soca huius terrae pertinet ad Drifelt, et tamen ibi habuit Morcar manerium'; 355 d (Folchingeham, Lincs.).

[2] Dd. i. 173 b: (Bredon, Worcs.) 'De ipso manerio (Breodun) tenuit de episcopo Brictric f. Algar i hidam ad Biselege et inde firmabat ipsum episcopum omni anno et tamen reddebat ad socam episcopi quicquid debebat ad seruitium regis. Modo est in manu Regis Willelmi.'

[3] Dd. ii. 349 a: (Mendham, Suffolk) 'Menham tenet idem (Vluricus teinnus) ... iii homines xx acras terrae ... Isti non poterant dare uel uendere terram sed tamen soca in Hoxa'; cf. 349 b (Brockley, Suffolk), 'In Brocle iii liberi homines, ex histis habuit sanctus Edmundus commendationem, cum soca super unum et non poterat uendere, super alios ii habuit rex commendationem, sed poterant uendere in soca Sancti Edmundi.'

strangers is parallel to a similar phenomenon within the more narrow circuit of a manor, but the boundaries of the two do not coincide.

Organization of Sokes.

A jurisdictional centre is necessary for the constitution of a soke, although cases occur when it is not easy to make out where it lay.[1] This points to a feature especially common in Lincolnshire, namely, to the congregation of enormous numbers of free settlements around a jurisdictional centre which has no importance whatever as a manorial unit. In Caistor, in Grantham,[2] there is hardly any domain to speak of: these huge lordships are emphatically sokes, and the central place appears chiefly in the light of a meeting-place for the court of the franchise. This is not the rule everywhere, of course, and sometimes a soke gets superadded to very important manors. In Harold's manor of Bernodeby[3] there is already a manorial nucleus of three carucates in domain in Bernodeby itself, and two carucates in Riby, an inland or berwick of the manor. In the Derbyshire possessions of the abbey of Burton[4] the manorial element is still more prominent.

[1] Dd. i. 355 b: (Lincs.) 'Soca de Bardenai. SS. In Partene, Scheueldelbi, Screnbi, Stepinge, Calnodesbi, Burg, Herdetorp, Haberdingham, B. In Wemflet.'

[2] Dd. i. 337 d: (Grantham, Lincs.) 'In Grantham habuit Edid regina xii carucatas ad geldum . . . SS. In Gunfordebi sunt vii carucatae terre ad geldum . . . In Herlauestune xii carucatae terre . . . In Sudstoches et Nortstoches . . . ix carucatae . . . In Nongtone . iii carucatae. . . . In Magna Pamptune . xii carucatae . . . Ad Granham pertinet haec Soca. Sumerdebi, Sapretone et Breizbi, Wellebi, Beltone, Herigerbi, Dunetorp, Lundetorp, Barchestone, Dentone. Simul ad geldum lv carucatae. Terra ad lx carucas.' Cf. 338 d, Soca de Castre.

[3] Dd. i. 349 b: (Barnoldby-le-Beck, Lincs.) 'In Bernodebi habuit Harold comes vi carucatas terre ad geldum. Terra ad xii carucas. Tres carucatae sunt in soca . . . Haec soca pertinet ad Bernodebi. Item in Lobingeham iiii carucatae et i bouata, et Irebi i carucata et dimidia, et Ribi iiii carucatae et dimidia . . . Ibi lii sochemanni et xi uillani et vii bordarii habentes xi carucas. In Ribi habet Erneis homo comitis ii car. in dominio. Illam socam tenet ipse de comite (Hugone). Alias tenent Willelmus, Radulfus et Azelinus homines comitis.'

[4] Dd. i. 273 b: (Mickleover, Derby.) 'In Ufre habuit Rex Edwardus x carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra xv carucis. Ibi adiacent iii Bereuuiche, Parua Ufre, Findre, Potlac. Ibi abbas de Bertone habet nunc in dominio v carucas et dimidiam . . . Soca eiusdem manerii,

The facts that sokes may appear as outside adjuncts of manors, and, at the same time, that rights of sac and soc contribute powerfully to the formation of the franchise of the manor, have their counterpart in the extension of soke over very different elements of the population. It stretches naturally over socmen and freemen, and in most cases, which are marked off as special sokes, we find socmen[1] or freemen[2] forming the bulk of the population. Villains and bordarii, if any, appear as their under-tenants. And yet there are numbers of cases where villains are found to be resident in sokes[3] or under soke, and any normal manor provided with the ordinary sake and soke franchise would of course include villains, and might perhaps consist of villains alone or of other elements of the population reputed unfree according to mediaeval Common Law.[4] These facts explain themselves in so far as manor and soke overlap without coinciding; the latter ought to be restricted to rights of jurisdictional or public origin, while the former comprises both jurisdictional and economic elements. But the local influence of the lord easily extended beyond the strict measure of rights conceded to him by the grant of franchise, and we commonly find socmen gradually drawn on into the closer

Snellestune, iiii bouatae, Beuerdescote, iiii bou. Dellingeberie, iii bou. Hougen, iii bou. Redlesleie, xii bou. Sudberie, iiii bou. Hiltune, iiii bou. Sudtun, i carucata.'

[1] Dd. i. 139 d: (Bordesden (in Braughing) Herts) 'In Bordesdene... hanc terram tenuerunt iiii sochemanni de soca Asgari Stalri et uendere potuerunt.' Cf. 314 c (Bochetone, Yorks); 349 c (Staintune, Lincs.); ii. 110 a (Saham, Norfolk); ii. 131 a, b (Salla, Norfolk); ibid. (Tyrningoo); 132 a (Racheitha); ii. 138 a (Torp, Norfolk).

[2] Dd. ii. 123 a: (Burlingham, Norfolk) 'In Berlingeham i liber homo R. Stalre cum soca de xxx acris terrae et x acris liberae terrae pertinentis ad ecclesiam ... Adhuc in Berlingeham, iii liberi homines et dimidius semper unus R. socam. Super ii et dimidium Rex xlii acras terre et iiii ac. prati.' Cf. ibid. (Stromessaga); i. 356 b (Bundebi, Lincs.), 'habuerunt Grinchel et Merdo et Aldene et alii iii taini iii carucatas terrae ad geldum ... Socñ iii bouatae huius terrae.'

[3] Dd. i. 273 c: (Bectune, Derby) 'Soca (of Sudtune) Ibi ii uillani habent i carucam et i acram prati.' Cf. 339 c (Barcuurde, Lincs. soke of Ulingeham); 339 d (Rigesbi).

[4] Dd. i. 342 d: (Burgrede, Lincs.) 'Soca (de Stratone) iii bouatae terrae ad geldum. Terra ad dimidiam carucam. Ibi est unus uillanus et i bordarius habentes i bouem arantem.'

bonds of manorial subjection. In some cases they at least held their own as socage tenants of the manor, but there were other instances in which they lapsed into the same state of bondage as the villains. We shall have to revert to these phenomena when treating of the classes of the population, but it is important to note at the outset, and in connexion with the subject of territorial jurisdiction, that there is material contrast in the treatment of this institution in the north and in the south of England. In the north, including the East Anglian shires, the soke appears as a recognized separate institution, and, parallel to it, numerous socmen and freemen under soke represent a fundamentally free population, subjected to political exactions of various kinds, but preserving its high social standing on the basis of suit to the courts of the sokes. In the south the soke is almost entirely merged into the manor, while socmen and freemen appear only exceptionally, and the court of the manor has to attend to all jurisdictional business. At the same time the sake and soke basis of the manorial franchise is quite as clear as in the case of the Scandinavian shires, in fact clearer, because most of the Old English charters come from the southern counties. Have we to suppose entirely different courses of development in the two cases, or to say that the Saxon south had gone through approximately the same stages as the Scandinavian north, but had already arrived in the eleventh century at the goal reached by the northern districts only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under the influence of the Normans? I think that a survey of the grants of sac and soc made in the tenth and eleventh centuries establishes more than a presumption that the second eventuality actually took place. This means that a number of men who are technically entered as villains in Domesday were ceorls under soke in earlier times, and that their complete fusion with the servile elements of the population is more the result of terminology and encroachment than of a fundamental difference in the conditions and development of the two halves of England. In any case, in the feudal

age the contrast seems to be to a great extent removed even in the counties of the former Danelaw. Former sokes are currently treated as manors, and their franchises discussed in the same way in the north as in the south.[1]

Soke of Rothley.

Yet interesting points remain even in later evidence to show the original difference between the two institutions—a jurisdictional district attached to an estate, and an estate acquiring some rights of jurisdiction. One of the best later records of the organization of sokes is the thirteenth-century custumal of Rothley, in Leicestershire.[2] The manor is kept distinct from the surrounding members, which are spread over a surface of some square miles,[3] exactly in the same way as the sokes of Derbyshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln are said to surround the centre or head of the soke in the Domesday Survey. The manorial court, held, as usual, every three weeks, and, if necessary,[4] more often, could evidently clear only the purely juridical part of the business incumbent on the townships of the district. There was no constant centre for it; it could be moved by the reeve from one member of the soke to another according to the necessities of the case, although probably it met most frequently in Rothley, the manorial centre of the franchise. This point puts into

[1] E. g. Lincolnshire, Calthorpe, Dd. i. 363 b: (Carltorp) 'Soca huius manerii, In Brandune ... Ibi Rosbi.' Cf. Placita de Quo Warranto, 395: 'manerium de Calthorp cum membris suis'; Fiskerton, Dd. i. 345 c (Fiscartune), 'Soca huius manerii, In Scoltorne, et Holme et Sutbroc.' Cf. Rot. Hund. i. 371 b: 'manerium de Fiskertun'; Holbeach and Whaplode, Dd. i. 368 a (Holobech et Copelade), 'Soca huius manerii, In Stith ... In Pincebec ... In Westune et Multune.' Cf. Placita de Quo Warranto, p. 411: 'maneria de Holebech et Quappelade.'

[2] Archaeologia, vol. xlvii. pp. 89–130.

[3] In West Goscote Hd.: Rothley itself; in East Goscote Hd.: Gadesby (Gaddesby), Barnsby (Barsby), Croxton (South Croxton), Tylton (Tilton), Grimeston (Grimston), Saxelby, Wartnaby, Kayham (Keyham); in Gartree Hd.: Babgrave (Baggrave); in Framland Hd.: Somerdeby (Somerby), North and South Mardfield (Marefield), and Caldwell.

[4] Archaeologia, vol. xlvii. p. 125: 'De curia tenenda. Item sciendum est quod dictus ballivus tenebit dictam curiam de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas vel in unum mensem si voluerit vel aliquando amplius iuxta voluntatem suam, set si breve domini regis ibi fuerit oportet quod teneatur de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas ubicunque ei placuerit in Soka.'

strong light one of the most important features of the soke arrangement. Being primarily a jurisdictional one, it was not contrived to fit the economic requirements of the lordship. It was not necessary to have a close and meddlesome supervision over the husbandry of the peasants so far as services were concerned, because there were few services in kind, mostly carriage dues, the rest being already acquitted in money in the thirteenth century.[1] There remained, to be sure, the multifarious by-laws and economic arrangements made necessary by open-field cultivation, commons, &c. As the manorial court was taken up with other business, and could not pretend to local knowledge, it is especially clear in such cases that the by-laws were drafted and enforced by local meetings and local officers, whatever they may have been called. The case stands exactly on a parallel with the halimotes of the bishop of Durham, to which one great manorial court was superimposed,[2] and with the *placita* of the Lancashire reeves in the huge manors among which the thanes and drengs of the district were distributed.[3] By the side of the hundreds and of the purely jurisdictional sittings of manorial courts the necessity of meetings of some sort, to draw up by-laws and to appoint rural officers and juries, must have asserted itself. And the same may be said about all very large manorial combinations of this period, of which there are many, especially when they take the shape of sokes, that is of organizations of tenants emphatically free. The manorial jurisdiction remained a necessary item of the arrangement in so far

[1] Arch. vol. xlvii. p. 125: 'Consuetudines et servicia—Item homines de Rol' debent cariare omnia blada dominica domini regis ultra aquam scilicet blada de veteri dominio de duabus carucatis terre usque in orreum domini regis cum carectis suis propriis ad summonicionem ballivi set ad cibum regis semel in die.' Cf. p. 99: 'Consuetudines et Servicia de manerio de Rol' et soka. Stephanus de Rol' tenet et defendit duas virgatas terre cum tofto quibus reddit per annum vi s. ad duos terminos et propter unam culturam vocatam le Breche xii d. et pro uno tofto xii d. . . . Homines de Munt Sorel tenent unam virgatam et reddunt ii s.,' etc.

[2] Lapsley, in Victoria County History of Durham, i. pp. 261, 263.

[3] Growth of Manor, 273. Dd. i. 269 b.

as it had to sanction and to enforce the fines and punishments necessary to uphold economic order. The Rothley custumal formulates specific limitations in this respect. The fines for transgression and minor offences of different kinds imposed by the manorial court were not to exceed half a mark.[1]

The social substratum of the whole fabric of the soke was a numerous population of free peasants. More than 200 socmen's holdings are enumerated in Domesday in this particular instance.[2] The thirteenth-century custumal presents an even larger free population of rent-paying peasants occupying virgates and bovates. Their labour services are few and not burdensome. The rule of succession admits of equality between sons, to the exclusion of daughters[3] if there is male issue, yet the regularity of the holdings[4] makes it probable that a customary policy of buying out younger sons and of keeping the holdings from extreme subdivision must have been pursued by the tenants. No dispersion of the same sort as we find in the case of Kentish gavelkind is noticeable in Rothley.

Extant court rolls of manors developed from sokes, in so

[1] Archaeologia, l. c. pp. 125-6: 'et si implacitetur de terra tenemento aliquo convencione vel transgressione aliqua et super hoc convincatur non amerciabitur ultra dimidiam markam, similiter si conquerens deficiat in prosequendo non amerciabitur ultra.'

[2] Dd. i. 230 b, c: (Rothley, Leics.) 'Rodolei . . . Huic manerio pertinent subsequentia membra. In Adelachestone, Barnesbi, Setgraue, Seglebi, Tochebi, Sciftitone, Merdefelde, alia Merdefelde, Elstede, Caldeuuelle et Wiche, Tiletone, Offerdebie, Caiham, Worcnodebie, Tuiuorde, Sumerlidebie, Frisebie, Saxelbie, Grimestone, Badegraue, Gadesbie . . . In his sunt cc et iiii sochemanni, cum clvii uillanis et nonaginta iiii bordariis, habentes quater xx carucas et ii, et reddunt inter omnes xxxi lib. et viii sol. et i den.'

[3] Arch. l. c. p. 125: 'Item si aliquis de soka habens uxorem habeat de ea filios plures vel filias et ipse obierit, terra est partibilis inter ipsos vel ipsas, set inter filium et filiam nequaquam; et si sit unicus filius et plures filie filius habebit totum.'

[4] Arch. l. c. p. 99: 'Walterus Dunning et Willielmus frater eius tenent i virgatam cum tofto. Rogerus filius Stephani et Rogerus filius Ive tenent i virgatam cum tofto . . . Stephanus Page tenet i virgatam cum crofto . . . Ivo tenet duas virgatas terre cum tofto in dominico.' Cp. p. 100: 'Willielmus Clericus pro una virgata terre. Ricardus Godtid pro una virgata terre.' p. 108: (Croxton) 'Milo de Croxton tenet iii bovatas terre . . . Robertus de Rival tenet i bovatam . . Phelippus tenet i bovatam terre,' etc.

far as they have come down from later centuries, show sometimes, as an interesting feature reminding us of former conditions, a sharp contrast between the free and unfree tenants, the socmen, and the *nativi* or *villani*. This is very much the case, e. g., in the rolls of Hartington,[1] in Derbyshire. Originally these rolls constantly distinguish between the inquisitions held by freemen and by villains, while later on the opposition is expressed in a subdivision of the manorial court into a socage and a bondage portion.

Summary. The principal results of the chapter on jurisdiction may perhaps be summarized in the following manner :—

1. All departments of English law in the eleventh century were very much under the influence of provincial custom. More especially as regards jurisdiction, status, and tenure, investigators have to reckon materially with the varieties of jurisprudence practised by the different shire-moots.

2. The hundred was originally intended to be an association of a hundred citizen householders exercising full rights and primarily responsible for the administration of justice, the defence of the country, and taxation. The body of the suitors of the hundred became differentiated into the group of landowners and that of deputies of the townships.

3. The passage from the Old English to the feudal system of government is characterized, among other things, by the break-up of the popular courts and the surrender of public authority to numerous holders of franchises.

4. The term *soke* appears in the sense of a suit to a court or to a lordship, of authority over a district, and of a franchise or of a customary payment to it.

5. The surrender of profits accruing from a public function like jurisdiction necessarily leads to the formation of private courts. The ordinary courts could not be expected to perform duties the profits of which had to be given away.

[1] Court Rolls, Duchy of Lancaster, 45/525 (Record Office), Courts of 4-6 Ric. II : Inquisitions 'liberorum bondorum'.

6. The soke over persons appears as an earlier stage in the formation of territorial franchises.

7. The soke and the manor are institutions of the same kind, and are both derived from the delegation of political authority by the kings. But the soke represents more especially the relation between a jurisdictional lord and the free suitors of his court, while in the manor the political attributions of lordship are indissolubly blended with land-ownership and the authority of a master over serfs.

8. The peculiar treatment of soke in the Anglo-Danish counties corresponds to the great strength of the free elements of the population in those districts. It suggests comparisons with earlier stages in the evolution of society in the Anglo-Saxon south-west of the country.

# SECTION III: TAXATION

## CHAPTER I

### THE GELD

Scheme of taxation.

1. ONE of the most remarkable features of the history of England is the early development of taxation in this country. While other European states were slowly struggling to evolve taxation for common purposes, and while their sovereigns were still almost entirely dependent on the scanty revenue of feudal aids and occasional subsidies,[1] England presented comparatively a very advanced system of direct taxes. This was hardly felt as a blessing by the population; indeed, the sources are full of lamentations about the insufferable burden of imposts. And yet the fact that the kings were able to collect these taxes testifies to a considerable stress of political energy, if one may say so, and to an extraordinary concentration of state power, which became the starting-point of many other national advantages for England. This early concentration was wrung from the people by the tremendous efforts and sufferings of the Danish wars; but the ravages of Norsemen had been felt all over Europe, and yet in no other place did they call forth such a systematic activity in the matter of building

[1] Meyer, Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands und Frankreichs, i. 32 ff., on the scanty beginnings of common taxation in these countries. The Treasury of the Duchy of Normandy was a different affair, and its practices may have exerted influence on English fiscal institutions. But the stage was too narrow in the Duchy, and, after all, the material conditions of the tax in England were created a good while before the Normans became powerful there; they were derived from the necessary reaction against the Danes, and must have taken shape to some extent in support of Alfred's comprehensive system of defence, although the payment of enormous sums of tribute dates mostly from subsequent times.

up a financial organization, and nowhere else did the prosperity of the Royal Exchequer outlive the cessation of hostilities in the Norman wars.

The eventful period which gave England its monarchical centralization and its popular liberties begins, in a way, with the careful regulation of the fiscal system in the eleventh century, with fiscal measures which turned the Danegeld into a regular tax instead of an extraordinary imposition. The decisive turn was evidently taken under Canute, when the tax changed its destination, although it retained its name, or rather when it was perpetuated in order to consolidate the Anglo-Danish state, and to defend it against further invasions. During the struggle between English, Danes, and Frenchmen in Edward the Confessor's time it could not be dispensed with,[1] and William the Conqueror took it up with all the energy which in every respect characterized his rule. The Survey, to which we owe our most precious information in regard to English institutions and society, is mainly directed towards ascertaining the data for the imposition and repartition of geld. It became the invaluable cadastre which we know because such a cadastre was wanted by the officers of the king's Exchequer to check returns and to effect necessary modifications of the tax.

I do not intend to treat at length of the various sources of revenue existing by the side of the geld. Their meaning and relative importance are sufficiently known. It is necessary, however, to point out briefly the main distinctions between the terms used, as in concrete cases of interpretation it may be sometimes doubtful what is meant by our authorities. Apart from indirect contributions like toll[2] or

[1] The Sax. Chron. (D) a. 1052 speaks of Edward as putting an end to the Danegeld. Only a temporary respite can have been meant.

[2] Dd. i. 337 a: (Torksey, Lincs.) 'In Torchesey T. R. E. fuerunt cc et xiii burgenses. Easdem consuetudines habebant omnes quas et Lincolienses et tantum plus quod quicunque eorum mansionem in eadem uilla habebat neque intrans neque exiens theloneum dabat nec consuetudinem.' Cf. Sax. Chron. (E) a. 963: 'Ic wille þet þus be gifen se toll . fyrst fra Witlesmære eall to þe cinges toll of Norðmannes cros hundred . . .'

market dues,[1] from the coinage regality,[2] and from the proceeds of justice, including *bots* and fines for non-attendance,[3] the public revenue fell, at the end of the Saxon period, under three main heads, and these subdivisions continue to be traceable after the Conquest. There were: (1) customary payments in kind and in money,[4] (2) ordinary land taxes, and (3) extraordinary impositions. As to the first, they were levied in different ways, as food rents, carriage service, housing and quartering duties, or substitutes for them, and represent the most ancient and the simplest form of assessment. They occur in private economy,[5] but supply also means of providing for the needs of the royal household, of the army, and of public officers. Sometimes we hear of liveries on definite occasions,[6] and sometimes of systematic collections for the king's progress or for the 'feorm', the maintenance of his household or of those of his servants during a single night or several nights.[7] The 'averages'[8]—driving and carrying duties—and the

[1] Dd. i. 248 c (Toteberie, Stafford); ii. 379 a (Hoxana, Suffolk).

[2] Dd. i. 336 c (Lincs., 'de monedagio,' 'moneta').

[3] Dd. ii. 118 a: (Norwich) 'Franci de Norwic. In nouo Burgo xxxvi burgenses et vi anglici et ex annua consuetudine reddebat unusquisque i d. propter forisfacturas, de hoc toto habebat rex ii partes et comes terciam.' Cf. i. 280 b (Apletreu Wapentac. In Derberie); 280 c (Derby. and Notts), 'Hic notantur qui habuerunt socam et sacam et Thol et Thaim et consuetudinem regis ii denariorum, Archiepiscopus eboracensis super maneria sua et Godeua comitissa super Neuuercam Wapentac etc. Horum omnium nemo habere potuit tercium denarium comitis nisi eius concessu. Hoc quamdiu viveret, praeter Archiepiscopum et Ulf fenisc et Godeue comitissam—Super socam quae iacet ad Cliftune debet habere comes terciam partem omnium consuetudinum et operum.'

[4] Dd. i. 362 a: (Lincolnshire) 'Homines de Colebi retinent vi sol. et x den. de consuetudine. Homines de Hermestune retinent viii sol. de consuetudine.'

[5] Growth of the Manor, pp. 28, 224.

[6] Dd. i. 347 d: (Hache, Lincs.) 'Ad victum equorum l sol.' 376 d: (Navenby, Lincs.) 'Homines de Nauenebi detinent per uim xvi solidos de consuetudinibus pascuarum quae sunt in Scapeuuic et Cherchebi, et non dederunt eos in die regis Eduuardi.' ii. 110 b (Breccles, Norfolk).

[7] Dd. i. 336 d: (Stanford, Lincs.) 'Edded regina habuit lxx mansas quae iacuerunt in Roteland cum omnibus consuetudinibus sine panificis.'

[8] Dd. ii. 111 b (Holt, Norfolk). Cf. Dd. i. 132 c (Waldenei, Herts).

ward penny,[1] for which inward[2]—domestic guard—duties were commuted, represent two varieties of the same customary services.

The second species of direct fiscal imposition consisted of permanent taxes laid directly on houses or holdings—the land-gable or gafol.[3] It is sometimes difficult to distinguish in this case between rents payable to landlords and actual taxes,[4] but there can be no doubt that the gafol existed with the latter meaning from very early times.[5] Indeed it was perhaps coeval with the very establishment of English rule in the island. Still, it is not this ordinary land-tax that developed into the later system of flexible fiscal contributions, but the extraordinary impositions. Of these several were in use during the Domesday period. Sometimes a *gersuma*[6] was exacted by the lord of the manor as a kind of general subsidy from his subject, and it might by repetition get to be a yearly payment, although originally it was certainly meant to be occasional. The tailgia, *tallagium*,[7] expressly mentioned in the north-east, and commonly alluded to in manorial documents of the feudal age, originated probably also in extraordinary taxation by the local lords.

In direct opposition to these local rates stands the geld, the common geld, the Danegeld levied by the king. It is the most sweeping and the heaviest of all the taxes in the eleventh century.[8] From being an extraordinary

[1] Dd. i. 190 a (Lidlintone, Cants.), 'homines huius manerii reddebant Warpennam uicecomiti regis aut custodiam faciebant.'

[2] Dd. i. 191 a (Bercheham).

[3] Dd. i. 158 b (Oxeneford); 203 b (Huntedun), 'De toto hoc burgo exibant T. R. E. de Landgable x lib. inde comes terciam partem habebat, rex duas; 215 c (Totenehou, Beds); 336 a (Lincolia, Comes Hugo); 336 b, 336 d. Cf. Cart. Sax. 617: 'Ðréo pund to gafole, and cyresceattas. and cyresceat weorc and þenne þæs nud biþ his men beon ge aruwe ge tó ripe.' The Church scot seems to have been collected on the same principle.

[4] Thorpe, Dipl. 340; C. D. 758. Dd. i. 14 c: (Newton, Kent) 'lviii solidos de gablo ex his nouem solins.'

[5] Cyninges gafol: Norðleod, l. 7. Cf. Ine, 23, 3.

[6] Dd. ii. 111 a: (Himcham, Norfolk) 'xxx sol. de gersuma.'

[7] Dd. i. 339 c: (Grasby, Lincs.) 'In Grisebi . . . T. R. E. ualuit iii lib. modo similiter et tailgia xx sol.; cf. ibid. Lessintone.'

[8] Dd. i. 75 a: (Dorset) 'In Dorecestre T. R. E. erant clxxii domus.

subsidy it becomes gradually the main common tax of the realm, and loses at the same time a good deal of its importance, because its payment gets to be on the one hand a matter of course, a canon,[1] while on the other, frequent exemptions make it less and less burdensome. In this sense it appears later on as the *hidagium*.[2] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries two new extraordinary imposts arose by its side, *scutage* in commutation of military service, and *carucage*[3] as a kind of revival of the original Danegeld in great emergencies, with the object of getting contributions from the entire agricultural area of the kingdom.

Fiscal units.

2. After glancing at the general fiscal scheme of the beginning of the feudal period, let us turn to the geld, the principal tax of the Domesday Survey. Its fundamental feature is the assessment according to fiscal units called hides, carucates, and sulungs. The tax is not laid directly on the estates according to their value or income, but the districts, localities, and properties are estimated at a certain number of units, and the sum of the geld has to be distributed according to those.[4] There is one exception to

Hae pro omni servitio regis se defendebat et geldabat pro x hidis. Scilicet ad opus Huscarlium unam markam argenti exceptis consuetudinibus quae pertinent ad firmam noctis . . . In Brideport . . . cxx domus et ad omnem seruitium regis defendebat se et geldabat pro v hidis. Scilicet ad opus Huscarlium regis dimidiam markam argenti exceptis consuetudinibus quae pertinent ad firmam unius noctis . . . Modo sunt ibi c domus et xx sunt ita destitutae quod qui in eis manent geldum soluere non ualent . . . In Burgo Sceptesberie T. R. E. erant c et iiii domus in dominio regis. Haec uilla ad omnem seruitium regis se defendebat et geldabat pro xx hidis. Scilicet ii markas argenti Huscarlis regis.' Cf. 30 a (Gildeford, Surrey); 336 d (Stanford, Lincs.); ii. 41 b (Berdefelda, Essex).

[1] Dd. i. 30 a: (Guildford, Surrey) 'De supradictis hagis habet Rannulfus clericus iii hagas ubi manet vi homines et inde habet Rannulfus sacam et socam nisi commune geldum in uilla uenerit unde nullus euadat.'

[2] Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 475 ff.

[3] Stevenson in E. H. R. iv. p. 109; Rot. Cart. 2 a; Close Rolls (Rec. Com.), i. 437 a, b; Roger de Hoveden, iv. 46.

[4] Dd. iv. 489: (Somerset) 'In hundreto Bolestane sunt x et viii hide et dimidia uirga. Inde habet Rex de Gildo suo iiii libras et ii solidos et vi denarios pro xiii hidis et iii uirgis, et barones regis habent in suo dominicatu ii hidas et dimidiam uirgam. De his habet Girardus i hidam et Hardingus filius Alnodi i hidam et dimidiam uirgam, et de i hida quam tenet Ansger brito non habet Rex Gildum, et de dimidia hida quam tenet Britellus de Sancto Claro non habet Rex Gildum et

this rule, namely, the assessment of East Anglia, where every pound of the tax was divided among the estates forming a hundred in certain proportions.[1] Even there carucates and their subdivisions are mentioned,[2] although it is difficult to make out at this stage of our inquiry what the meaning of this second series of notices was, whether they were traces of a former fiscal arrangement displaced by a new mode of distribution, or whether they still had some significance for purposes of assessment in regard to one or other kind of service. We shall have to come back to this question by-and-by; at present it is sufficient to take note of the fact that the system of assessment units is not entirely absent even from Norfolk and Suffolk, although a different mode of repartition is in practical use by the side of it.

When we consider this method of estimating the rateable value of properties by equating it to a certain number of units, or fractions of these units, one main line of differentiation strikes the eye at once. Although the object of the formation of such cadastral units is seemingly the same throughout England, and although they are all formed ultimately of acres—fiscal acres or geld acres, of course—they appear under three different names, as solins in Kent, as carucates in the north and east of England, and as hides everywhere else. Evidently the fiscal standard had not been unified in the kingdom, although such a unification would have presented very great advantages from the fiscal point of view. Indeed, the king's fiscal advisers

de dimidia uirga quam tenet Ogissus non habet rex gildum et de dimidia hida de qua Segadri receperunt denarios per quam clamant consuetudinem non habet Rex Gildum ... In manerio Torne sunt vii hide. Inde habet Rex de Gildo suo xxx solidos pro v hidis et de ii hidis retinuit Robertus Gildum regis. In manerio Torleberge sunt iii hide. Inde habet rex de Gildo suo x et viii solidos.' i. 168 a: (Slaughter, Glouc.) 'Isdem Rogerus (de Laci) et mater eius tenent Sclostre. Ibi iii hide ... De his iii hidis geldabat i hida singulis annis per x solidos ad opus regis.'

[1] Dd. ii. 119 b: (Sporle, Norfolk) 'In Sparle et in pagrana xviii d. quando hundret scotabat xx sol. et in Acra vi d. et in Pichenham xii d. quicunque ibi teneat.' Cf. 112 a (Holt); 110 a.

[2] Dd. ii. 109 b: (Massingham, Norfolk) 'Masincham tenuit Heroldus t. r. e. iii carucatas terrae ... (Radulf Bainard) hoc totum habet i mille in longo et dim. in lato et de xx sol. reddit xvi d. in gelto.'

must have found it rather difficult to distribute the geld fairly among different provinces in which the units of assessment in use were not identical. Nor do we possess the key to all the methods of reduction which were used by the Exchequer at this time. Indeed, in order to get rid of this awkward stumbling-block on the very threshold of the inquiry some of our best guides have supposed that the sulung, hide, and carucate, though different in name, were actually identical in their fiscal value, and subdivided in the same way into fractions, each geld hide, or geld carucate containing an exact correspondence with agrarian measures —4 virgates, 8 bovates, and 120 acres, while the solin (sulung) was partitioned into yokes instead of virgates, but was also equated to 120 acres.[1] This being assumed, all statistical calculations in regard to Domesday data proceed on the convenient basis of a single fiscal standard. Unfortunately, matters are not so simple. As the formal correspondence between agrarian and fiscal units has to be granted, we have at once to recognize in the solin a peculiar Kentish standard considerably larger than the hide or carucate of 120 acres; it contained from 180 to 200 acres, and may even have been reckoned at 240 acres if its two hundreds were to be taken as long hundreds.[2] The *jugum* (yoke), as its fourth part, comprised consequently

[1] Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 409; cf. Round, Domesday Studies, i. 201. It may be added that the virgate appears in Kent, but as a fourth part of the yoke, not of the *sulung*, a fact fitting well with the arrangement as explained below. Dd. i. 12 d: (Kent) 'In Lest et in hundredo de Estrei habet S. Augustinus iii uirgatas terre, et ibi in dominio i carucam cum v bordariis. T. R. E. ualebat x solid. et post v sol. Modo xx sol.' Cf. 13 a: (in Estbrige) 'Bertrannus tenet de Hugone dimidium iugum et dimidiam uirgam, pro tanto se defendit.' Cf. ib. Blachemenestone.

[2] My paper on 'Sulung and Hide', E. H. R. 1904. In Dd. i. 2 b (Possessio Sti. Martini) 450 acres are equated to 2½ *solins*, making the *solin* 180 acres. The Kentish portion of the Surrey manor of Meretone (Merton) is estimated in *solins*. Dd. i. 30 b: 'Episcopus Lisoiensis tenet in Chent ii solins qui huic manerio adiacuerunt.' In the Survey of Litelcert 2½ hides take the place of 3 *solins* in the time of William the Conqueror, but this may be a mistake of the scribe compiling the returns. At any rate, the instance is entirely isolated. Dd. i. 5 a: (Little Chart, Kent) 'Ipse Archiepiscopus tenet Litelcert, T. R. E. se defendit pro iii solins et modo pro ii hidis et dimidia.'

50 or even 60 acres.[1] Evidently we have to deal in this case not with an artificial unit suited to the Great Inquests of William the Conqueror's reign, but a provincial standard derived from a provincial local unit of long standing.[2]

The difference between the hide and the carucate is not so apparent. Indeed, it seems clear that in many, and perhaps in most, cases both were used in the sense of a group of 120 fiscal acres.[3] And yet some explanation of the fact that the terms were different has to be found, and is not difficult to find.[4] The carucate is evidently a measure employed in the shires held by Danes and Norsemen; it stands in a much more immediate relation to the field carucate, the *carucata ad arandum*, than the fiscal hide,[5] and it is natural to see in this mode of fiscal appreciation the result of a survey which aimed at substituting actual field units for the artificial measures of former times, which had swerved greatly from their agrarian types and were further confused by the Invasion.[6] The carucated north of England is the land of the Norse people, and the suggestion that it was, as such, contrasted with the hidated south seems a very appropriate one.[7] The precise meaning

[1] Several instances where acres are mentioned fit better into a system of yokes of fifty or sixty acres than into one of yokes of thirty acres. E.g. Dd. i. 11 c: 'Osbertus tenet de episcopo i iugum et x acras in Masseberge . . . Isdem Osbertus . . . xv acras in Esmetone'; 11 d 'Radulfus de Curbespine tenet xl acras terrae quas tenuit Mollene de rege Edwardo.' The correspondence between the real and the fiscal yoke may be illustrated by Dd. i. 10 b: (Buckland) 'Isdem Osbernus tenet unum iugum de episcopo in eodem manerio (Bochelande), et pro i iugo se defendit.'

[2] Kentish Charters of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries are all consistently of *aratra*, while Mercian and West Saxon documents have 'manentes,' 'tributari,' 'cassati,' etc.

[3] Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 396, 409.

[4] Cf. Round, Feudal England, p. 71 ff. Domesday Studies, i. 199.

[5] Dd. i. 272 b (Mestesforde), 272 d (Aisseford): 'carucatae sine geldo.'

[6] Hides are occasionally mentioned in the North. Although the documents in which they occur are open to suspicion, it is by no means improbable that the ancient reckoning according to hides was still in use in the tenth century. Cart. Sax. 1255 (Notice of the lands given by Earl Thurcð to St. Cuthberht's, Durham, at Smeaton, Craike, and Sutton, co. York, A. D. 966-992): 'Her is gemearcod hu manega hyda landes Þurcð eorl betæht hafaþ into Sancte Cuðberhtes stope.' 1 C. S. 1278 (lands at Otley, Ripon, and Sherborn, co. Yorks. About A. D. 972). Cf. Stevenson in Engl. Hist. Rev. v. 143.

[7] Dd. i. 162 b: (Gloucs.) 'In Wales habet isdem Willelmus (de Ow)

of the distinction between hide and carucate is not their different composition, but the fact that the latter represents a more modern attempt to make use of agrarian terms for purposes of estimation. The elements for such a use are at hand in the hidated districts, we may say at once, in the shape of the field carucates or the team-lands, but they have not been turned to account as recognized geld units, while this has been the case in the north. At the same time it is clear that the geld carucates have been already some time in use in the north, and have already been deflected to some extent from their originally close correspondence to their field counterparts.[1] The geld units tend naturally to become customary and constant, and therefore are bound to disagree very soon with the actual measures of the field. One of the direct consequences of the modern character of the carucates is the fact that they are used everywhere in the same sense, and fall into the same subdivisions.[2] The formation is a very regular one.

Geld hides. Not so with the hides. When we look more closely at the use of this term in Domesday we find a most confusing variety of meanings. Sometimes the hide appears in the sense of an artificial group of carucates. I have already had occasion to mention that in Lancashire six carucates were occasionally reckoned to the hide.[3] From other entries in regard to the district between the Ribble and the Mersey it would seem that the ratio was not always the same, but that in any case the hide included several caru-

in feudo iii piscarias in Waie, reddunt lxx solidos, et in eodem feudo dedit Willelmus comiti Radulfo de Limesi l carucatas terrae sicut fit in Normannia. Hoc testantur Hugo et alii liberatores quod ita Radulfo concessit. Modo dicit Willelmus de Ow non se habere de hac terra nisi xxxii carucatas.' Cf. Round, Feudal England, 69 ff.

[1] This is made clear by the considerable divergences which occur between the number of geld carucates and team-lands on some estates. E.g. Dd. i. 281 a: 'S(oca) in Ordeshale i bouata terre ad geldum. Terra i carucae. Ibi ii sochemanni habent i carucam . . . S(oca) in Mortune et altera Mortune x bouatae terre ad geldum. Terre iv carucis. Ibi vii sochemanni et i bordarius habent iv carucas.'

[2] Eight bovates or oxgangs go without exception to the carucate.

[3] Dd. i. 269d: (West Derby, Lancs.) 'De isto manerio Derbei tenet modo dono Rogeri pictauiensis hi homines terram . . . In unaquaque hida sunt vi carucatae terrae.'

cates.[1] At first glance one might guess that in this thinly populated and exposed region some of the public burdens had to be assessed on very large areas, and that an alleviation was effected in this respect by combining several geld carucates into the unit of a hide approximately equal as a rateable quantity to the hide of the southern provinces. This would be, however, a mere guess. In fact, a comparison with Leicestershire, which could not be regarded as exceptionally depopulated or in a difficult position, might lead one to infer that the term 'hide' was used in these cases without any regard to its ordinary fiscal repartition. Leicestershire hides are said to include 12, 14, 18 carucates and the like.[2] This would suggest a similar ratio in the case of the Lancashire 8 carucates superadded to the hides. It is not easy to realize the aim of such artificial combinations, but, besides being noteworthy in themselves, they are interesting, inasmuch as they show that the term hide could occasionally be used in a manner in which it was opposed to the carucate, and out of proportion with the ordinary meaning attached to it in the south.

In the south-west corner of England we come across a similar phenomenon, namely, hides, virgates, and ferlins, or fourth parts of virgates, constructed on a very large areal scale.[3] On the other hand, we find geld carucates and geld acres of a peculiar standard. Cornwall is the

[1] Dd. i. 269 d, 270 a: Neweton, Walintune, Salford, Lailand.

[2] Dd. i. 231 b: (Burbach, Leics.) 'Abbatia de Couentreu tenet Burbece. Ibi est i hida et iiii$^{ta}$ pars i hidae. Ibi sunt xxii carucatae terrae et dimidia.' 235 c: 'Ipse Goisfrid (de Wirce) tenet Medelton (Melton Mowbray). Ibi sunt vii hidae et una carucata terrae et una bouata. In unaquaque hida sunt xiiii carucatae terrae et dimidia.' Cf. 236 a: 'Ogerus Brito tenet de rege in Cilebi ii partes unius hidae, id est xii carucatae terrae.'

[3] Dd. iv. 205: (Boden, Cornwall) 'Comes (de Moritonio) habet i mansionem que uocatur Boten quam tenuerunt ii tagni . . . In ea est i uirgata terre et reddidit gildum pro i ferlino. Hanc possent arrare ii carrucae. Hanc tenet Andreas de comite. Inde habet A. iii partes j uirgatae et i carrucam et uillani aliam terram.' Cf. ib. (Treluueren); cf. 207: (Liskeard, Cornwall) 'Comes habet i mansionem que uocatur Liscarret quam tenuit Merlesuanus . . . et reddidit gildum pro ii hidis. Sed ibi sunt xii hidae, has possunt arare lx carrucae. De his habet comes in dominio i hidam et iii carrucas, et uillani xi hidas et xiii carrucas.'

only county using the carucate unit in the south, and this peculiarity is clearly derived from its wild, half-pastoral condition and Celtic tribal customs. Even without going much into details, we notice a reckoning in Cornish acres which correspond roughly to sixty-four English acres; they are sometimes used synonymously with carucates, and present the basis of the geld assessment of the county.[1] Both the hides and the acres are evidently a product of local conditions, and cannot be equated without further inquiry with their counterparts in Wessex or Mercia. Indeed, the authorities distinguish clearly Welsh hides and English hides,[2] not only here but in other districts on the Welsh border, and although the Welsh hides and Cornish acres are taken primarily as real agrarian units, enough has already been said on the question to enable us to draw the conclusion that the geld units were constructed on the same pattern. This is further corroborated by the subdivisions of the hide as they appear in Cornwall and other Celtic districts: it falls, not into virgates and half-virgates, but into virgates and ferlins[3] or fourths, a scheme which does not fit with the usual reckoning of fifteen acres to the half-virgate. The ferlin goes well into a duodecimal system, but not into a decimal one.

In Devonshire the same conditions have left a trace in the very extensive areas assigned to the hide, or, conversely, in the very small fractions at which estates are being assessed.[4] But I should not like to press this point

[1] Dd. iv. 213: (Tremar, Cornwall) 'Comes habet i mansionem que uocatur Trelamar quam tenuit Ailsi . . . ibi est i ager terre, et reddidit gildum pro dimidio ferlino, hunc potest arare i carruca, hanc tenet idem Ailsi de comite.' Cf. 214 (Treloen; Treghemelin); 216 (Chilorgoret); 233 (Karsala); 236 (Trehynoc); 220 (Treguin); 222 (Lisniwen).

[2] Welsh hides: in Gloucester, Dd. i. 165 b; Hereford, 181 d (Capleforc). Cf. Tregony Pomeroy, Testa de Nevill, 185, 204.

[3] Dd. iv. 219: (Amble, Cornwall) 'Amal . . . ibi habet (comes) dimidiam hidam et reddit gildum pro ii ferlinis. Hanc possunt arare iii carrucae.' Cf. 235 (Witestan).

[4] Dd. iv. 75: (North Tawton, Devonshire) 'Dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens in Deuenescira. Rex habet i mansionem que uocatur Tauuetona que reddidit Gildum pro dimidia uirga . . . hanc possunt arare xxx carrucae. Ibi habet Rex iii carrucatas terrae et iii carrucas in dominio, et uillani habent xxvii carrucas.' Cf. Exch. Dd. i. 100 b.

too much, as it is not with the realities underlying taxation that we have to do just at present, but with the fiscal network thrown over them. And in Devonshire, of course, the exceedingly thin assessment has to be accounted for by the scanty population and the scantiness of means. Still, the virgates which usually take the place of hides in the inquisition of Devon manors present a natural stepping-stone from the Cornish acres to the ordinary hides of Saxon England. They keep traces of a duodecimal reckoning in the system of their subdivisions, and ferlings are by no means restricted in their occurrence to Devonshire.[1] Indeed, we find clear indications of a hide of forty-eight acres in Wiltshire,[2] and one of forty acres in Dorset.[3]

Another curious local variation is presented by a series of entries in the survey of Sussex. The hides appear there

[1] Dd. iv. 88 (Wodeberia, Devon); 120 (Waleurda, Devon); 454 (Hawkwell in Dulverton, Somerset), 'Ulfus habet i mansionem que uocatur Hauekeuuella quam ipsemet habuit et reddit gildum pro uirga et i fertino et pr' quarta parte i fertini. Hanc possunt arare iii carrucae. De hac terra tenet i anglicus Wlmarus fertinum i et quadrantem fertini pariter. Ibi habet Ulfus i fertinum et i carrucam, et uillani habent iii fertinos et i carrucam.' Exch. Dd. i. 19a: (Willingdon, Sussex) 'Ibidem (Willendone), Aluuinus tenuit unam uirgatam et unam quartam de manerio Sasingham.' I am bound to mention an isolated case of division into three parts in Devonshire, Dd. iv. 88: (Witheridge, Devon) 'Rex habet i mansionem que uocatur Wiriga quam tenuit Gida .r. reddidit gildum pro i uirga. Hanc possunt arrare iii carrucae. Inde habet Rex in dominio tertiam unius uirge (*sic*) et i carrucam. Et uillani ii partes illius uirge et iii carrucas.' The usual English reckoning may have occurred by the side of a local Celtic one. On the other hand, ferdings occur sometimes in the north-east, but there they probably go back to Scandinavian practices based on the division of the Ból into ferdings and ottings. Cf. Dd. i. 50d (Cantortun, Hants).

[2] Exon. Dd. iv. 13: (Hundredum de Dolesfeld, Wilts) 'pro xxxii hidis et i uirga et i acra reddite sunt regi ix librae et xiii sol. et vii d.' Cf. 16 (Hund. de Domerham) 'pro xiiii hidis iiii acris minus reddite sunt regi iiii lib. et iii sol. et viii d.' The sums correspond exactly to a reckoning based on the assessment of 6*s.* per hide of forty-eight acres.

[3] Exon. Dd. iv. 42: (Hazlebury Bryan, Dorset) 'Willelmus de Moione habet i mansionem que uocatur Poleham quam tenuerunt xxi tegni pariter . . . hec reddidit gildum tempore regis Edwardi pro x hidis, has possunt arare viii carrucae. Inde habet Willelmus iiii hidas et i uirgam et vi agros, et iii carrucas in dominio, et villani v hidas et dimidiam et iiii agros et vii carrucas.'

frequently equated with eight virgates.[1] I say frequently, because the usual reckoning of four virgates to the hide asserts itself also.[2] There occur also cases of entirely abnormal equations, which may have to be explained by a reduction of hidage without a corresponding reduction in the number of virgates.[3] But the ratio of one hide

[1] Dd. i. 17 d: (Sussex) 'Ipse Abbas (S. Martini de Labatailge) habet in suo rapo vi hidas et dimidiam. Haec terra pro vi hidis se defendit et dimidia fuit quieta quia foris rapum. In his hidis tenet isdem abbas in dominio Bocheham . . . Tunc et modo se defendit pro dimidia hida, modo est una uirgata in rapo comitis de Ow . . . In Bece . . . habet abbas iii uirgatas terrae . . . In Wasingate habet abbas unam uirgatam terrae . . . In Wilminte . . . vi uirgatas terrae . . . In Nircfeld . . . vi uirgatas terrae . . . In Penehest . . . habet abbas dimidiam hidam . . . In manerio Hou . . . dimidiam hidam . . . In Pilesham . . . habet abbas unam uirgatam et unum uillanum cum una . . . In Cedesfeld . . . habet abbas iii uirgatas in dominio. In Bollintun . . . ii hidas unam uirgatam minus. In Croherst . . . unam uirgatam terrae. In Witinges . . . i uirgatam terrae wastam. In Holintun . . . unam uirgatam terrae wastam. . . De omni hac terra habet abbas in dominio ii hidas et dimidiam . . . Hae hidae non geldauerunt in rapo.' 18 b: (Filsham, Sussex) 'Wilesham tenuit rex Edwardus in dominio. Ibi xv hidae sunt que non geldant neque geldauerunt. Terra est xxx carucis. De hac terra tenet ipse comes viii hidas et i uirgatam et ibi habet ii carucas . . . De terra eiusdem manerii tenet Goisfridus ii hidas, Robertus i hidam et unam uirgatam, Willelmus dimidiam hidam, Hugo Arbalister v uirgatas, Ingelrannus ii uirgatas, Robertus Cocus dimidiam hidam, Walterus v uirgatas, Sasuuardus unam uirgatam, Wenenc presbiter unam uirgatam, Osuuardus ii uirgatas, Rogerus Daniel dimidiam hidam . . . Uluuard presbiter huius manerii tenet aecclesiam cum una uirgata sed non pertinet ad xv hidas.' 18 c: (Hollington, Sussex) 'Horintone tenuerunt Goduin et Alestan T. R. E. . . . Tunc se defendit pro iiii hidis et dimidia modo pro iii hidis et ii uirgatis. Terra est viii carucis. De hac terra tenet comes in dominio unam hidam et dimidiam et ii uirgatas. De ipsa terra habet Reinbertus dimidiam hidam. Willelmus unam hidam, Hugo dimidiam hidam. Uluuardus ii uirgatas.' Ibid. (Wilting, Sussex) 'Wiltingham tenuerunt ii liberi homines T. R. E. Tunc et modo se defendit pro iiii hidis. Terra est ix carucis. De hac terra tenet Ingelrannus de comite ii hidas et ii uirgatas, Reinbertus dimidiam hidam et ii uirgatas, Radulfus dimidiam hidam, Robertus ii uirgatas . . . Comes habet in parco suo i uirgatam de hoc manerio.' Cf. Salzmann, E. H. R. Jan. 1904. Salzmann is less confident in Vict. Hist. of Sussex, but the value of his observation has not decreased.

[2] Dd. i. 20 a: (Ewhurst, Sussex) 'Ipse comes (de Ow) tenet in dominio Werste. Ælfer tenuit de rege Edwardo. Tunc se defendit pro vi hidis, modo pro iiii hidis et iii uirgatis et quinque sunt retro quia una hida est in rapo comitis de moritonio.'

[3] Dd. i. 20 b: (Welland, Sussex) 'Waliland tenet de comite (de Ow) v homines. Una hida est. Hanc tenuerunt iiii fratres . . . Non fuit nisi una haula T. R. E. et modo se defendit pro una hida. De hac hida tenet Aluuold ii uirgatas, Anschitil iii uirgatas, Rogerus v uirgatas, Hugo unam uirgatam, Osbernus ii uirgatas.'

to eight virgates seems too casual and too local at the same time to be accounted for in this way. A possible explanation, as it seems to me, might start from a comparison with the sulung of Kent. A double hide would be a match to it in Sussex, and there are actually traces of such a phenomenon.[1]

When we take all these scattered facts into account, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the geld system of the hides was by no means reduced to one common denominator, but, on the contrary, disclosed everywhere traces of local peculiarities and variations. It was evidently not devised at one moment nor introduced at one stroke, and it had to serve the purpose of the local repartition of scot more than those of a general survey over the resources of the kingdom and the relative fiscal strength of its component parts. Three circumstances rendered it very unfit for the latter purpose: it was to a very great extent a record of antiquated repartition; it presented all sorts of local varieties; it was, moreover, traversed by an enormous number of exemptions and privileges, of which we shall have to speak more fully by and by. And yet the necessity of a general survey must have prompted to a large extent the compilation of the cadastre. What means did the government use in order to get a more or less accurate estimate of the fiscal capabilities of every district and estate? William the Conqueror's government had recourse to means which were often used later on by the Angevin kings: it numbered the ploughs actually used in tilling the land, and it exacted returns in regard to the quantity of land fit for arable, pasture, or other economic purposes.

Team-lands.

3. The ploughing strength of the community was measured by the number of ploughs employed by it. I need not dwell on a point which has been entirely settled, and does not admit of controversy, in view of the clear and entirely concordant statements of the authorities.

[1] Villainage in England, 255; Battle Abbey Customals, ed. by Scargill-Bird (Camden Soc.), 29, 190.

The king's officers marked, not the ploughs as actually made up for tillage, but as groups or as fractions of a normal plough-team of eight oxen.[1] As a matter of fact, cows might be used instead of oxen; horses, or oxen and horses, might be yoked together, as is often described in cartularies.[2] Allusions to such variations from the usual course crop up in the Domesday Survey,[3] but it holds firmly to the rule that the plough-teams mentioned in its statistics are equivalent to the eight-oxen teams, and treats the facts as to the actual 'heads', or animals which go to make them up, as entirely secondary.

Nor does the Survey make any attempt to describe the larger or smaller teams, although both kinds often occurred in practice; it notes them merely in groups of eight heads, or as fractions composed of a lesser number of heads, for example, two oxen or six oxen.[4] The frequent instances of these fractional subdivisions may mean either that the holders of these fractions of teams had to join in order to start full ploughs, or else that they actually worked with smaller ploughs. The latter explanation seems the only appropriate one when, as is often the case, the six, four, three, or two oxen appear in separate hamlets, where it would be out of the question to find neighbours capable of joining to make up the team.[5] But the Survey consistently

[1] Dd. i. 340 c: (Brochlesby, Lincs.) 'In Brotulbi habuit Stepiot v bouatas terrae ad geldum. Terra ad vi boues. Nunc episcopus dunelmensis ... habet hanc terram et colit eam.' Cf. 352 d (Aplebi et Risebi et Saleclif, Lincs.); ii. 112 b (Scartune, Norfolk); Seebohm, 85, 74, 64; Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 142, 373; Eyton, Domesday Studies, Somerset, i. 29, 30; Round, Feudal England, 35, 36.

[2] E. g. Domesday of St. Paul's (Camd. Soc.), p. 13, Sandon; p. 53, Tidwoldintun, &c.

[3] Dd. i. 137 a: (Cheshunt, Herts) 'Ipse comes (Alanus) tenet Cestrehunt pro xx hidis se defendit ... Pratum xxiii car. ad dominicos equos.' Cf. 8 b (Herbretitou, Kent); 149 c (Wirecesberie, Bucks); 227 d (Westone, Northants).

[4] E. g. Dd. i. 338 a: (Laughton, Lincs.) 'Luctone ... Ibi habet rex vi boues et xvi uillanos cum iiii carucis.' Cf. ib. Gadenai; 338 b, Fleot; ii. 143 (Framingaham, Norfolk).

[5] E. g. Dd. i. 276 d: (Etwall, Derby.) 'In Etewelle habuit Dunstan i carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra i carucae. Ibi modo unus uillanus habet ii boues in caruca.' Cf. 341 b (Ravendal, Lincs.); 343 c

abstains from giving to these smaller ploughs the designation of 'carucae': it enters them merely as 'boves'. This deprives us in many cases of the means of judging whether we have to deal with fractional items, to be made up into teams by co-aration, or with small ploughs, but the method is characteristic of the Survey, and is a very reasonable one; it gives the government a simple clue for the purpose of estimating the ploughing strength of estates and districts separately. Some uncertainty is also produced by the mode of entering cattle which served not for ploughing, but for milking, food, breeding, or carrying. In the detailed enumerations of the East Anglian and Exon. Domesday some at least of the stock used for these purposes are entered, but in the Exchequer Domesday this is not the case, as a rule,[1] and one cannot help thinking that part of the horned cattle, at least, must have been entered as teams according to the computation of eight heads to a team.[2] This very imperfect mode of enumeration evidently corresponds to a state of husbandry when there was not, as a matter of fact, much differentiation in the use of cattle, the same cows being often employed for milking and ploughing purposes, and the same oxen for drawing carts and ploughs.

Let us notice that in the case of carucages levied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the junction of teams is made one of the principles of assessment, and there can be no doubt that the normal team meant was the same eight-oxen team which presents the standard unit in Domesday.

But both in these carucages and in the Domesday Survey

(Stapleforde, Lincs.); iv. 265 (Cicecota, Devon); ii. 122 b (Stiuecai, Norfolk) is a case of devastation.

[1] Excepting Dd. iv. 34: (Affpiddle, Dorset) 'Abbas (S. Petri Corneliensis) habet i mansionem que uocatur Affapidela que reddidit gildum pro ix hidis tempore Edwardi regis, has possunt arare vi caruce . . . Ibi habet Abbas ix boues et xii oues et i runc num et xii porcos.' Cf. Pochesuuella, 35; Abbatesberia, 37.

[2] Dd. i. 182 c: (Mansell Gamage, Hereford) 'In Malueshille sunt v hidae geld. In dominio est una caruca, et alia ociosa.' Cf. 175 d: (Offenham, Worcs.) '. . . Ibi sunt boues ad i carucam, sed petram trahunt ad aecclesiam.'

a second unit of appreciation occurs, namely, the plough-land or team-land, *terra carucae*, *carucata* (*ad arandum*). It was the constant aim of the officers in charge of cadastre and taxation to ascertain not only how many actual ploughs were in use in the country, but how much land there was for tillage. This is by no means strange, as cadastral operations are generally meant to describe the agriculture of a country, not merely in its constantly changing matter-of-fact expression, but also in its potential aspects. It was not merely the stock in hand, but also the arable territory that had to be surveyed and estimated from this point of view. A tract of land which might lie waste to-day might come under cultivation to-morrow, nor was it the interest of the Crown to render uncultivated districts privileged in regard to taxation. However this may be, we hear distinctly in the case of the carucage of 2 Richard I that 100 acres of arable land had to be reckoned on every carucate in the sense of land which might be put under plough.[1] The 100 acres have in all probability to be taken in their strict sense in this case: it is hardly likely that the long-hundred system should have been used at this comparatively late date as a common reckoning unit for the whole of England. If this is so, the carucage of 1198 was actually attempting to reduce the area of the fiscal plough-land in comparison with its agrarian basis—the plough-land of 120 acres. Such attempts are not to be wondered at; they spring from the natural wish of statesmen introducing a new fiscal measure to make it yield as much as possible, and to stretch it further than the formerly accepted standard.

In the light of this parallel between the Angevin carucages and the Domesday computation of *terrae carucarum*, it seems obvious that the meaning of this latter was to provide the government with a survey of the arable land in England which *might* be used for the plough, apart from its actual cultivation. For this purpose, neither the

[1] Roger de Hoveden, iv. 47; cf. Brist. and Glouc. Tran. xiii. 23 ff.; Testa de Nevill, 131, 132, 133 (Berkshire, Carucage of 1220).

enumeration of the ploughs nor that of hides and geld carucates could serve: not the first, because it applied to teams and not to lands; not the latter, because it was expressed in more or less artificial units which lacked uniformity and were not up to date. We cannot take our stand on this simple inference, however, as the matter has been made the subject of much controversy, and as our evidence happens on some occasions to be rather obscure.

References to T. R. E.

The meaning of 'land fit for tillage' seems to be the most natural one in most of the cases presented by the Domesday Survey and kindred documents. In fact, we sometimes read the very words, 'land that can be ploughed by so many teams,'[1] or 'land for tillage, carucates for tillage,'[2] 'land where there could be *x* ploughs,'[3] 'land for *x* ploughs[4] (*terra ad x carucas*)'. These expressions receive their simplest explanation from the same clue, and the latter leads up directly to the common notices *terra carucae*, *terra carucarum*, or *terra carucis*. Indeed, it would be difficult to attach too much importance to these equal terms. It requires strong proofs to the contrary to make us believe that people chose these four or five plain expressions in order to convey a meaning not

[1] Dd. i. 67 d: (S. Newton, Wilts) 'Newetone ... Totum manerium possunt arare x carucae.' 75 d: (Charminster, Dorset) 'Cerminstre ... In ipso manerio habet episcopus tantum terrae quantum possunt arare ii carucae.' Cf. 269 b (Ros et Reweniou); 299 b (Cliue, Yorks); 305 b (Lid, Yorks); iv. 50 (Bere, Dorset); 76 (Sulfretone, Devon); 89 (Cedelintone, Devon); 211 (Middeltona, Cornwall); 456 (Bochelanda, Somerset).

[2] Dd. i. 365 a: (Rothwell, Lincs.) 'In Rodouuelle habuit Rolf xiii bouatas terre et dimidiam et terciam partem unius bouatae ad geldum. Terra dupliciter ad arandum.' Cf. 276 a (Ednesoure, Derby.); 305 c (Broctune, Yorks).

[3] Dd. i. 127 c: (Stepney, Middlesex) 'Stibenhede ... In eadem uilla tenet episcopus Lisiacensis de episcopo Lundoniensi i hidam et dimidiam. Terra est i carucae, et dimidia caruca est ibi et dimidia potest fieri.' Cf. 136 c (Brichendone, Herts); 231 a (Leics.) 'Toniscote ... Duae carucae possunt esse, et ibi sunt.' Cf. 323 c (Brocstewic, Yorks); ii. 136 a (Halingheia, Norfolk).

[4] Dd. i. 29 b: (Sussex) 'Aluiet tenet de Willelmo (de Braiose) terram ad unam carucam de dominio Willelmi sine numero hidae. Ibi est una caruca.' 41 a (Ciltecumbe, Hants); iv. 325 (Baentona, Devon); 491 (Sanctus Petrocus in Cornugallie).

directly implied by any of them. It cannot be denied that there is a certain foundation for a different construction suggested by the text of some other entries. By the side of the sentence '*x* carucae possunt fieri' (or 'possent esse') appears another, which occurs indeed on fewer occasions, but yet often enough not to be treated as a mere exception or as a slip of the tongue; I mean the phrase '*x* carucae plus possent esse'.[1] Here the contrast lies not between plough-teams and plough-lands, but between plough-teams in actual use and land which could be utilized by an increase in the number of the teams. And in some cases the Survey goes further, and speaks of a number of teams which could be restored in a district, instead of speaking of land for ploughs,[2] implying that at some former time there had actually been a greater number of plough-teams. On the other hand, we may hear of there being as much land for ploughs as there were teams (*x carucae, Terra totidem carucis*).[3] In a few counties, for example in Leicestershire, the term *terra a carucis* alternates with that 'Ibi fuerunt T.R.E. a carucae', and by its side appears occasionally the addition of *nunc* or *unde* to the number of actual teams,[4] a turn of phrase which

[1] Dd. i. 174 a: (Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae de Wirecestre) 'In omnibus his maneriis non possunt esse plus carucae quam dictum est.' Cf. 174 b (Boclintun, Cuer, Inteberga); 172 b (Chideminstre); 252 c (Burtune, Shropshire); 252 d (Burtune); cf. ib. (Hesleie).

[2] Dd. ii. 111 b: (Holt, Norfolk) 'Holt ... Semper in dominio i caruca, et alia posset restaurari.' Cf. 113 a (Hohttune); 115 a (Caustituna); 120 b (Chiptena).

[3] Dd. i. 343 d (Canuic et Brachebrige, Lincs.).

[4] Dd. i. 231 c: (Aylestone, Leics.) 'Ailestone ... Ibi est i hida et vi$^{ta}$ pars i hidae. Ibi fuerunt xiiii carucae T. R. E. In dominio sunt ii carucae, et i ancilla et xxiiii uillani cum v bordariis habent v carucas.' Cf. 233 b (Stapeford); 233 d (Barcheberie; Clachestone); 274 a: (Brassington, Derby.) 'Branzinctun ... Terra iiii carucis. Ibi nunc in dominio iii carucae, et xvi uillani et ii bordarii habent vi carucas.' Perhaps the villains' teams (warland) are the only ones taken into account in some cases, e. g. 274 c: Scrotun (Scropton) 'Terra vii carucis. Ibi modo xxxii uillani et xxvi bordarii habent xii carucas.' Cf. Bradeburne, Tizingtun, 274 a; Crocheshalle, 274 b. Cf. also Dd. i. 154 c: (Benson, Oxford.) 'Besintone. Ibi sunt xii hidae una uirgata terrae minus. T. R. E. erant ibi l carucae. Nunc in dominio viii carucae, et v serui, et xxxii uillani cum xxix bordarii habent xxiiii carucas.' Cf. 155 b (Cropelie); ii. 132 a (Elesham, Norfolk).

again makes us think that the Survey contrasted teams T.R.W. with teams T.R.E. On the strength of such expressions it has been supposed that the entries as to *terra carucarum* or *terra carucis* apply usually to the number of teams used in Edward the Confessor's reign in distinction to the numbers of William the Conqueror's age. As the instructions to the commissioners preserved in the Ely Inquest actually require the different data of the Survey to be given for three periods, namely, for the time of King Edward, the moment when the Domesday possessor received the estate, and the date of the Survey, the *terra carucarum* entry seems almost necessary to fill the blank which would otherwise be left in regard to the T.R.E. status of the teams.

Are we then to take the clue for the *terra carucarum* entry from the reference to possible tillage and speak of team-lands, or from the comparison between T. R. E. and T. R. W., and speak only of the plough-teams in both cases? And how is one to solve the apparent contradiction between the two sets of passages if they are both admitted to have a real significance? It seems to me that it is quite out of the question to employ the T. R. E. number of the teams as a general clue for the *terra carucis* entries all through the Survey. In a very large number of cases the number of *terrae carucis* is a good deal larger than the number of teams (*carucae*), while the value of the estate T. R. E. turns out to be smaller—a most improbable contingency if *terra carucis* is taken to apply to the T. R. E. tillage.

A mere reference to teams does not explain the cases when the Survey expressly states that it has in view land sufficient for tillage.[1] Nor does it fit the cases when the

[1] Dd. i. 181 c: (Preston-on-Wye, Hereford) 'In Prestetune sunt vi hidae geldantes... De hac terra tenent ii clerici ii hidas et dimidiam, et una hida est wasta, hi habent vii uillanos cum iii carucis. Villani plus habent carucas quam arabilem terram.' Ib. iv. 490: (Ecclesia Glastiniensis, Wilts) 'de eadem ecclesia tenent milites iiii mansiones de xxvii hidis et preterea xxvii hide in mansionibus abbatis. In his sunt xvii carrucae in dominio, et xxxiiii uillani, et xviii bordarii et ix serui habentes xi carrucas... Hec terra sufficit septies xx et xvi carr. et dimid.'

*terra carucis* expression is turned into the equivalent *carucatae* or *carucatae ad arandum*.[1] It becomes evident in such instances that plough-lands are meant, and there is no escape from this affinity of the entries under discussion and those of geld carucates. It is impossible to evolve the latter out of the team, but it corresponds naturally to the plough-land, whether real and measured or estimated by approximation. But how is one to deal with the Leicestershire and kindred entries?

Methods of estimating team-lands.

The way out of the difficulty does not seem hard to find after all, when one reflects that it is not only the general question in regard to land fit for tillage people had to consider in such a case, but also the means by which it could be solved. All investigators of Domesday have to recognize that there was a wide gulf between the formularies of questions addressed to commissioners and juries, and the actual returns made by them. The Ely formulary, for instance, is anything but a complete instruction followed unswervingly throughout the realm. A number of items crop up in the inquiry, to which there is not the slightest allusion in it: the *bordarii* and a number of other classes, for instance, are simply passed over in this document, although they form such an important item in the Survey itself. The estimates of surface and the enumeration of cattle forming such an important feature of the East Anglia inquiry do not correspond to anything in the Ely

[1] Dd. i. 151 b: (Turweston, Bucks) 'Turuestone, pro v hidis se defendit Terra est viii carucis, praeter has v hidas. In dominio sunt tres carucatae terrae, et ibi una caruca, et adhuc ii possent esse, et vi uillani cum iiii bordariis habent v carucas.' Cf. 152 b (Hamescle). 211 a: (Bolnhurst, Beds) 'Bolehestre. Abbas de Torny tenet ii hidas et i uirgatam terrae. . . Terra est v carucis. In dominio est i carucata terrae, extra ii hidas et uirgatam et ibi est i caruca, et ix uillani habent v carucas.' 212 a: (Clapham) 'Clopeham, pro v hidis se defendit. Terra est xxx carucis. Preter has v hidas sunt in dominio x carucate terrae, et ibi sunt viii carucae et adhuc ii possent esse.' 219 c (probably in Stamford, v. Vict. County Hist. Northants, i. 278) 'Rex habet in dominio de Portland ii carucatas et ii partes terciae carucatae.' Cf. 127 b (In Hundredo de Heletorne, Middlesex); 205 d (Couintune, Hunts). Cf. 75 d: (Charminster, Dorset) 'Cerminstre . . . In ipso manerio habet episcopus tantum terrae quantum possunt arare ii carucae'; iv. 230 (Tregoin).

list of questions. On the other hand, the threefold notation enjoined by it is scarcely ever followed out in practice: the *quando recepit* numbers are given only exceptionally, and as for the contrast between T. R. E. and T. R. W., it is treated in a very different manner in divers localities. Altogether, even the slightest acquaintance with the Survey is sufficient to convince one that the cadastre was executed in a very different way in various counties, according to the lights of the local juries and of the commissioners.

From this general digression let us turn again to the concrete question underlying the *terra carucis* entries, namely, for how many ploughs was there land in a particular estate?[1] The subject is quite on a par with the approximative estimates of the quantity of land in a manor or under pasture, or in a wood, and in view of these last it would be strange indeed if the number of plough-lands or team-lands should not have been attended to. But neither of these questions was easy to answer, and in regard to the estimates of area or economic value of pastures and woods we are not astonished to find different methods employed in various districts. Sometimes a very rough estimate in square leagues and furlongs is given, sometimes the number of head of cattle which could feed on the territory, sometimes, again, the revenue it might bring in.[2] Anyhow, the juries did not approach this part of the inquiry in the same manner, and some actually omitted it altogether.

No wonder that something of the same kind happened in regard to the arable. In order to make an estimate of the potential capacity of the land for tillage, the jurors

[1] Dd. i. 230b: (Croxton, Leics.) 'Rex tenet Crohtone. Ibi sunt xxiiii carucatae terrae. In dominio sunt ii carucae et v serui, et xxii uillani cum ii bordariis habent ii carucas dimidiam et xxx sochemanni habent viii carucas.' Cf. ib. Cnipetone, Herstan; 337c (Bodebi, Lincs.); ii. 164a (Lurlinga, Norfolk); iv. 76 (Braunton, Devon), 'Brantona ... defendit se pro i hida, hanc possunt arare xl carruce. Inde habet rex i carrucatam terre et i carrucam, et uillani habent xxx carrucas.'

[2] Some particulars will be given in the section on husbandry of the second essay.

naturally turned in many places to the data of the Confessor's time, especially in cases where the amount of ploughed land had in the course of time become less. On other occasions the return as to plough-lands was made as a rough estimate very much at haphazard; it is actually said of a district in Cornwall that it was appreciated at 15 *or* 30 plough-lands, or from 15 to 30 as we should say nowadays.[1] But in most cases a more accurate valuation was attempted. It proceeded evidently on the assumption that 120 acres ought to go to the normal plough-land. As this is the average composition of the geld-hide the potential plough-land must have been thought to be of a similar size, but the very approximate character of the estimate is expressed, among other things, in the noteworthy fact that fractions are very seldom given, and when mentioned at all they are expressed only in the main subdivisions of a plough-land into oxgangs. *Terra x boum*, or *x bobus* occur sometimes, but acres do not appear, a fact which in itself speaks strongly against the theory that *Terra carucis* entries are references to Edwardian numbers. Of course, the computations as to arable when formulated in the shape of estimates in plough-lands may have been arrived at in different ways. It is not absolutely necessary that they should have been guesses made with the help of the naked eye, although many such guesses may have been transmitted to posterity, especially in provinces laid waste by war and pillage.[2] In other instances, on the contrary, the plough-land computation may have rested on the solid basis of actual tillage, presenting the sum of extant holdings by the side of the numbering of geld units. Anyhow, in the eyes of the government, the plough-land entries represented a general estimate of available arable land, on the standard of 120 acres to a plough, as the plough-team entries took stock of the beasts of burden actually employed in tillage on the standard of eight oxen to the plough. This being so, one might say that the

[1] Ludusham, Dd. i. 122 d. Similar cases occur in Staffordshire on a smaller scale.

[2] Dd. i. 181 b: (Berchelincope, Hereford.) 'Ibi ii hidae wasta fuerunt et sunt. Terra est iv carucis.' Cf. iv. 209 (Tremethereht).

plough-lands of Domesday are a medium term between the purely artificial geld units—the hides and carucates of the geld—and their real counterparts in the fields. In fact, the introduction of the carucate unit in the north of England may have taken the shape of a conversion of ideal plough-lands of the kind mentioned in Domesday into fiscal carucates, as it was not the real and actual plough-holding that was taken as taxable area, but a normal and average group of 120 acres. This is reflected in the gradual passage from *terra carucis* to *carucatae ad arandum* and from these to geld carucates.[1] A doubt has been expressed as to the possibility of finding room for the plough-lands mentioned in Domesday in the arable territory of England, but I do not think the actual figures warrant such a doubt, and, after all, it would not be easier to locate the long hides of 120 acres in some provinces, if the same strict rules were adopted in regard to them. The plough-land numbers fit better, as a matter of fact, because, being approximate, they allow of the inclusion of a good deal of uncultivated land within the area of estimation.

Correspondence of terms.

4. The best means of testing theories in regard to the meaning of the several Domesday expressions is to examine rather carefully their mutual correspondence in the Survey. It is clear that they are not likely to coincide in most cases, although there may be cases where the land taken up for tillage by teams of eight oxen amounted to the entire area available for such a purpose, and was taxed at a number of geld units exactly identical with the number of teams and imaginary plough-lands.[2] By the side of such cases of complete coincidence stand numberless instances where the assessment for the geld is heavier or lighter than the number of plough-lands or of teams would lead one to expect;[3]

[1] Dd. i. 324 a: 'In Dimelton sunt v carucatae terre ad geldum et totidem ad arandum . . . In Aldenburg habet Ulf ix carucatas terre ad geldum, ubi possent esse x carucae' (Yorks).

[2] Dd. i. 65 a: (Compton Chamberlain, Wilts) 'Contone . . . pro x hidis geldabat. Terra est x carucis. In dominio sunt ii carucae et ii serui, et xxviii uillani et ii bordarii cum viii carucis.'

[3] Dd. i. 65 a: (Rushall, Wilts) 'Rusteselve . . . geldabat pro xxxvii hidis . . . Terra est xxvii carucis et dimidiae: In dominio sunt xix

cases easily explained by some deficiency in the estate, or by some privilege, or, on the contrary, by some features of additional value. Then, again, on many occasions the number of teams is not sufficient to till the available plough-lands.[1] Such discrepancies are easy to explain, and, in fact, they are necessary consequences of the adopted principles. But there is one by no means unfrequent combination which seems puzzling, and requires some attention on the part of inquirers. I mean the cases where the number of teams is larger than that of the available plough-lands: the stock on the estates appears to be in excess of its needs, and one may say of the manors and townships described in such a way that they are 'over-stocked'.[2] What lies at the root of such combinations, which, let it be noted, present the same difficulties to all the theories propounded by students of Domesday? Several explanations may be attempted, and they may all be justified to a certain extent. To begin with, we must reckon with the possibility of some of the teams mentioned being in truth batches of eight oxen, each employed not for tillage, but for carrying loads or any other purpose, or even collected for sale, or kept as a reserve for eventual needs. Then, again, the plough-lands mentioned may have been dispersed among a great many holders striving to keep their separate teams, in which case the quantity of stock employed on the estates would of course come to exceed

hidae et ibi xii carucae et xxxvii serui. Ibi xxviii uillani et xl bordarii cum xiiii carucis.' Cf. 67 b (Coleburne); 38 b (Meon (East) Hants), 'Menes . . . Stigandus tenuit T. R. E. Tunc fuerunt lxxii hidae et geldabat pro xxxv hidis et una virgata. Terra est lxiiii carucis. In dominio sunt viii carucae et lxx uillani et xxxii bordarii cum lvi carucis.' Cf. 344 a (Welletone, Lincs.); 136 b (Canesworde, Herts).

[1] Dd. i. 243 a: (Aston, Warwick.) 'Estone . . . In dominio est terra vi carucis, sed carucae ibi non sunt.'

[2] Dd. i. 2 d: (Faversham, Kent) 'Favreshant, pro vii solins se defendit. Terra est xvii carucis. In dominio sunt ii. Ibi xxx uillani cum xl bordariis habent xxiiii carucas.' Cf. 16 c (Stanmere, Sussex); 77 c (Odeham, Dorset); 117 b (Withechenolle, Devon); 155 b (Dorchecestre, Oxon); 241 b (Walecote et Wilebene et Caldecote, Warwick.); 278 d (Stantun, Derby.); 294 a (Ridlington, Rutland), 'In predicta terra (Redlinctune) . . . In ipsa eadem eius terra possunt esse viii carucae, et tamen ibi arant xvi carucae'; iv. 101 (Wincheleia, Devon).

the purely economic requirements of the situation.[1] One more possibility seems worthy of consideration, namely, the existence of forms of cultivation more complicated and intensive than the usual methods of tillage, and therefore requiring a larger stock. The 120 acres usually assigned to a team of eight small oxen yoked to a clumsy plough might turn out to be inadequate, even in the case of a three-field system, with some manuring and a two-fold tillage for winter seed and a breaking up of the fallow, not to speak of more complex systems.

However this may be, it is almost impossible for us to trace the exact course of such an influence. There is nothing to show that the contrast between a two-field and a three-field system was reflected in the ratio between geld units and plough-lands. Indeed, the imposition of geld units was determined by considerations which had nothing to do with the open-field shift of townships. It would have been preposterous to inflict on three-field townships a heavier burden because they were cultivated rather better than the two-field ones, nor is there the slightest support for a construction of the carucate as the quantity of arable cultivated at one time in one year. But it deserves notice that there is a series of interesting entries in Yorkshire which show that the relation of the geld carucates to the plough-lands, to the *terra carucis*, was not made out for each single case separately. Canon

[1] Dd. i. 16 b: (S. Malling, Sussex) 'Mellinges ... T. R. E. defendit se pro quater xx hidis. Sed modo non habet archiepiscopus nisi lxxv hidas, quia comes moritonii habet v hidas extra hundredum. Terra totius manerii 1 carucis. In dominio sunt v carucae, et cc et xix uillani cum xxxv bordariis habent lxxiii carucas et xliii croftes.' 17 b: (Steyning) 'Staninges, Heraldus tenuit in fine regis Edwardi et tunc se defendit pro quater xx hidis et una, et insuper adhuc xviii hidae et vii acrae foris rapum quae nunquam geldauerunt. Modo lxvii hidae. In rapo de Harundel sunt xxxiii hidae et dimidia, et aliae in rapo Willelmi de Braiose, et tamen abbas tenet omnes modo. Terra totius manerii xli carucis. In dominio sunt vii carucae, et clxxviii uillani cum lxiii bordariis habent xlviii carucas.' Cf. 17 b (Rameslie); 241 a (Bertanestone, Warwick.); 274 d (Sudtune, Brailesford, Holintune; Derby.); 275 b (Duuelle); 280 b: (In Burgo Derby) 'ad ipsum burgum adiacent xii carucatae terrae ad geldum, quas viii carucae possunt arare. Haec terra partita erat inter xli burgenses qui xii carucas habebant'; 321 b (Coningesburg, Yorks).

Taylor has[1] collected data to show that this relation may be almost always reduced to one of two simple ratios: the number of carucates is either exactly equal to or exactly double that of land used for ploughs. Even putting on one side incorrect assumptions about the carucate as plough-land and the *terra carucis* as plough-teams, or the theory about the two- and three-field shift in use at that time in the Yorkshire manors, we cannot disregard the remarkable neatness of the ratio between carucates and land for ploughs, and the striking opposition between the two ratios amounting to a duplication of the fiscal burden. A closer examination shows that this neatness has been somewhat exaggerated, and that we have rather to start from the fact that in a great many cases the land for ploughs is a good deal less than the number of geldable carucates, and that in most of these cases it amounted to one-half of the latter. These proportions are exemplified by the comparison of townships on the heavy clay soil of Holderness, where the two terms are equal, with those on the lighter soil of the Wolds, where we encounter the double ratio. If we reject Canon Taylor's hypothesis as involving us in difficulties on all sides,[2] the most plausible explanation seems to be that the juries, in their approximate estimation of the capacity of the district for cultivation, wanted to impress on the government the view that certain parts of it were incapable of bearing the burden of taxation which lay on them from the preceding age. Yorkshire was an especially devastated county, and the inquiry of the Domesday commissioners was in many respects directed towards different aims from that of neighbouring territories. The notice *terra ad x carucas* occurs in a great many cases without any reference to actual cultivation, to the *carucae* or teams.[3] The values affixed in the margin are very small, and refer to an undetermined time. Even on the occasions when we get regular surveys

[1] Domesday Studies, i. 150 ff.

[2] W. H. Stevenson, Engl. Hist. Rev., Jan. 1890. · Round, Feudal England, 89.

[3] Dd. i. 300 c, d; 301 a, b.

of manors, similar to those of other counties, traces of waste are apparent everywhere. The alleviation of fiscal burdens was not as yet carried out. The geldable units are everywhere marked in full as of old, and the returns were seemingly designed to prepare the way for reductions by stating roughly where the imposition was warranted by the state of things, and where it ought to be largely reduced. The juries did not say so in as many words, but they hinted at the necessity by reducing the number of supposed plough-lands.[1] This was not in keeping with the use of the plough-land term in other parts of the country, but it was an effective way of stating the case, and likely to attain the purpose in view.

Survey of Middlesex.

5. The survey of Middlesex and a few entries in other counties disclose another important aspect of these investigations as to units of assessment and tillage. The three usual statements referring to geld-hides, plough-lands, and plough-teams occur there, as everywhere else, but there is one interesting supplementary feature, namely, the enumeration of the holdings of the tenants estimated in fractions of the hide—in half-hides, virgates, and acres. It is clear at once that these fractions were intended to be subdivisions of the hides at which the manors are rated for the geld.[2] But the numbers do not always correspond: in some cases the holdings exceed or fall short in their aggregate in comparison with the number of plough-lands and of geld units.[3] This being so, we have to take the

[1] E. g. Dd. i. 325: (Yorks) 'In Ferebi x carucatae terre ad geldum. Terra est ad v carucas. Radulfus habet ibi nunc xiv uillanos cum iii carucis . . . T. R. E. ualebat c sol., modo lx sol. Ad hoc Manerium pertinent Le Bereuu, etc.—Simul ad geldum vi carucate et dimidia. Terra est iv carucis. Wasta sunt praeter quod in Hase sunt iv uillani cum i caruca.' Cf. Hundemanebi, f. 326 b, etc.

[2] Cases of correspondence: Westminster (128 b); in Hampstead (ib.) 3½ hides are charged to the demesne out of a total of 4 hides, while the remaining half hide is distributed between a villain and 5 *bordarii*. The case of Staines is very striking. Out of 19 hides 11 go to the demesne, villains hold 3 hides 3 virgates, *bordarii* 3 hides 1 virgate and 90 acres, cottarii 29 acres; altogether 18 hides and 29 acres, or 19 hides less 1 acre. This cannot be a mere coincidence: the repartition of the holdings squares with the total with but one acre's difference. Cf. Suneburie, Greneforde, Hanewell, &c. (128 c).

[3] Instances of excess: Coleham, Hillendone, Chenetone (f. 129 a, b).

estimate of the tenants' land to refer not only to artificial units, but to the field holdings, the hides, virgates, and acres of agrarian occupation. This means, of course, that the soil of the manors comprised a certain number of units called hides, virgates, acres, which did not coincide with the fiscal units imposed on it. A geld-hide may have corresponded to one hide and a half or two hides distributed among the rustics. While in most cases this agricultural basis remains concealed in the Survey, it is clearly set before us in the Middlesex survey. The description of Sawbridgeworth, in Hertfordshire,[1] and some data in the Cambridgeshire inquest, contain also direct references to holdings estimated in fractions of hides.[2] Of later surveys, the Burton cartulary follows exactly the same lines, and supplements its statements as to the number of fiscal units by particulars referring to the units of actual agrarian occupation.[3] As the Middlesex instances present the fullest data about the relative value of the different Domesday notes on the cadastre, I may be allowed to examine them at some length. In doing so I will designate the entries as to geldable units as term I, those referring to land fit for tillage as term II, the numbers of teams as term III, and the details as to holdings as term IV.

Distribution of teams.

The results, as far as they can be clearly ascertained, are tabulated in an appendix. In the first table the number

Reduced occupation: Handone (128 d); Hermodesworth (ib.); Tiburne (ib.).

[1] Dd. i. 139 d (Sabrixteworde). The number of holdings in repartition is in excess of the geld units. Against 24½ hides of the latter stand 15 hides in demesne, half a hide of the reeve, 1 hide of the priest, 2½ of free tenants, 7 hides 3½ virgates belonging to villains, 1 hide 3½ virgates to *bordarii*, 1½ virgate presumably to socmen (*predicti villani* in the text seems to point to the four socmen mentioned in the beginning and below). Besides these were 413 acres distributed among various smaller holdings. The virgate is certainly reckoned at 30 acres, as is shown by the rent of the socmen—17*s.* 4*d.* for 1½ virgate and 9 acres, exactly 2d. per acre. The whole comes to about 28 hides instead of 24, and the balance is not restored even if we subtract the 2½ hides held by the free tenants.

[2] The *bordarii* are often entered in the Inquisitio Cantabrigiensis with the number of acres assigned to them. E. g. Eueresdona, p. 84 (Hamilton).

[3] Burton Cartulary (William Salt Society, 1884), 18, 19. The holdings of the tenants appear considerably in excess of the geld units.

of geld-hides imposed on the estates is compared with the aggregate sums of hides and virgates distributed among the demesne and the tenantry. In nineteen cases out of seventy-six the sum of geld-hides corresponds, or nearly so, to the sum of actual holdings: the sum total of the hides enumerated in these instances of correspondence is (*a*) geld-hides against (*b*) field-hides in demesne and tenants' holdings. In four cases only term I turns out to be considerably less than term II. In fifty-three cases the sum of geld units is considerably larger than that of hides in actual holdings. In Harrow (Herges), for instance,[1] 100 hides are reckoned for the geld, while the domain and tenants' holdings comprise only 60½ hides and 13 acres. In Harmondsworth (Hermodesworth)[2] there are 30 hides to the geld, and only 18 hides and 2 virgates in actual possession. In Bedfont[3] 3 hides, 2 virgates, and 13 acres are distributed among the holders, although ten hides are charged to the geld. The inference from these figures seems to be that the county was, as a rule, assessed in a much heavier manner than the occupation of the soil at the time of Domesday would have warranted. The value of the estates shows generally a decrease for the time of the Survey in comparison with King Edward's reign, but this decrease is not very great. It is noteworthy, however, that there is a very marked falling-off between the T.R.E. notation and the moment when the manor was taken up by its Norman holder. These data are significant, especially as they are gathered from a good many entries. They indicate that the original distribution of units between the estates, effected in round numbers, contemplated a state of greater prosperity in the country. The Norman Conquest produced, as an immediate result, a very sharp fall of values and an actual diminution of population and of agrarian occupation, expressed in the very low figures of the 'valet' clause in regard to the time when the estates were distributed

[1] Dd. i. 127 a. [2] Ibid. 128 d, 129 a.
[3] Ibid. 129 b, 130 a (bis).

among Norman lords, that is, mostly soon after 1066. In 1086 the number of holdings was still very inferior to that of former days, but the income of the lords had risen almost to its former level, presumably in consequence of the imposition of much heavier duties.

Plough-lands in Middlesex.

Turning to Table II, we get the relation between the actual holdings of 1086 and the presumed plough-lands. We find only one instance where both numbers are in complete agreement—Hampton,[1] a manor of St. Peter of Westminster, in which the 16 plough-lands correspond exactly to 10 hides in domain and 6 hides held by the tenants. It is curious that this equilibrium is supported, notwithstanding the fact that out of the 16 plough-lands only 11 are provided with full teams, and there could be five more teams on the land of the peasants. There is a falling-off in value from 12*l.* T.R.E. to 8*l.* T.R.W., with a corresponding diminution in the number of actual hides against the geld-hides of ancient assessment (16 against 20). The inference seems to be that in this case the decrease in the area of cultivation was counter-balanced by an increase in the exploitation of the remaining impoverished tenants. Although Hampton is the only case of exact correspondence, there are about eighteen other instances out of sixty-nine, where the numbers, though not identical, show a very great similitude between II and IV. In the case of Kensington,[2] the 10 hides of assessment correspond exactly to the 10 plough-lands, and the manor must have comprised some 1,200 acres of arable. There were 4 ploughs in domain and 5 teams belonging to the villains, with the deficiency of only 1 plough. The value had sunk for a time, but it had been brought up again T.R.W. to the same height as T.R.E., namely, to 10*l.* At first glance this seems to disagree entirely with the startling fact that only 3 hides and 3½ virgates are distributed among the villains, and no hides are charged to the domain. But as there are 4 teams actually at work in the lord's land, the disagreement comes

[1] Dd. i. 128 d (Handone). [2] Ibid. 130 d (Chenesit').

out to be only an apparent one, and in reality the instance is one of nearly complete equilibrium. In most cases, however, the numbers of possible plough-lands and of actual occupation vary greatly, and, what is even more remarkable, the variations arrange themselves on both sides of the balance. In about an equal number of cases there are considerably more plough-lands than actual agricultural hides, and, on the other hand, more hides of actual occupation than plough-lands. On the one side we get, for example, as extreme instances, such entries as Isleworth (Gistelsworde), with 55 plough-lands and only 31 hides, 1½ virgates, among tenants and domain; Staines, with 24 plough-lands and 18 hides in actual occupation; while on the other are to be found, e. g., Northalt, with 15 hides of actual occupation as against 10 plough-lands; Fulham, with 49 field-hides and land for 40 ploughs. If we examine these selected instances a little closer, we find that Isleworth[1] had about 6,600 acres of arable land on the computation of 120 acres to the plough, but instead of 55 ploughs to till them it possessed only 34. These were in the possession of the demesne (6), some knights holding 4 hides, and of more than 100 peasant householders, with 24 hides 3½ virgates between them. Notwithstanding the insufficiency in the number of ploughs, of which there could be 11 more, the value had decreased only from 80*l.* T.R.E. to 70*l.* T.R.W. The existing teams and holdings were evidently able to perform the necessary work, and to render dues wellnigh to the same extent as in the age of Edward the Confessor, but the manor was considerably below the level of its original assessment. Staines,[2] a manor of Westminster, was rated only at 19 hides, evidently on a very privileged scale. It contained land for 24 ploughs, that is, approximately, 2,880 acres of arable. As a matter of fact, there were 24 teams to plough the land, of which 13 belonged to the domain and 11 to the peasants. 11 hides were charged to the domain and nearly 8 hides to villains; these last were

[1] Dd. i. 130 a (Gistelesworde). [2] Ibid. 128 b.

subdivided in a number of holdings, the *bordarii* being especially numerous. The value had gone down from 40*l.* to 35*l.* The aggregate of the holdings is thus considerably less than the number of ploughlands and of teams (19 against 24), while the numbers of the geld hidage and of the holdings coincide. There is, however, a clear indication as to the manner in which the balance was restored in this case. Staines was not merely an agricultural settlement, but also a considerable town, containing forty-six burgesses. Although the rent paid by them was not large—40*s.*, the existence of the urban settlement is sufficient to explain the smaller number of hides in the rural holdings. Kingsbury [1] (Chingesberie), the manor of Ernulf de Hesding, shows a decrease in value from 6*l.* to 4*l.*, and has only 2 teams in demesne and some 3 hides belonging to the villains on a territory of 7 plough-lands (840 acres); two field-hides are wanted to make up the full complement of holdings. It is not impossible that the five plough-teams undertook all the labour necessary for the tillage of the 7 plough-lands, thus reaching an average of about 148 acres per team, but it is more likely that part of the arable remained without cultivation: hence the diminution in value.

Consuetudines Villae.

Let us now look at the instances where the number of hides in the holdings turns out to be larger than that of available plough-lands. Northalt [2] possessed land for 10 ploughs, and yet it was charged to the geld at 15 hides, and there were 15 hides distributed among its various holdings, 8 being in demesne and 7 in the hands of the peasants. As for teams, there were only 2 on the domain and 6 on the land of the villains; there could be two more on this last portion. The value of the estate had gone down from 12*l.* to 10*l.*, and this seems quite natural in view of the decrease in the number of teams. But how is the large number of field- and geld-hides to be accounted for? As the field holdings were in this case in exact correspondence with the geld-hides, we have to assume that

[1] Dd. i. 129 d, 130 a. [2] Ibid. 129 d (Northala).

the distribution of land among the population of the manor was based on a subdivision of the fiscal shares and not of plough-lands. The average of the field-hide would thus fall short of the 120 acres in regard to arable, and even more in regard to the land actually cultivated by the teams. There would not be more than 80 acres per hide in the arable, and not more than 64 acres under actual cultivation by teams. These averages would be deceptive in their roughness, however, because the strongest contrast is to be found in the case of domanial land where 8 hides correspond to 2 teams only, while on the land of the peasants the proportion is 7 to 6. This observation brings us to an inference of great importance. The hides charged to the domain cannot be considered in the same light as those enumerated in the land of the rustics. These last are evidently taken as real holdings, and stand therefore in a close relation to the plough-lands and plough-teams, whereas the domanial part is charged with hides to express its share in the burdens of the estates. Its hides are therefore in many instances, if not in all, the result of artificial computation; they stand in a closer correspondence with the fiscal numbers, and, on the contrary, swerve very greatly from the number of teams assigned to them. One circumstance comes out very forcibly in regard to this portion. While the holding of the peasant and the work performed in it determine the economic value of the peasant's land and its share in taxation, the economic and fiscal significance of the domain depends on two factors—on the work of the teams and labourers of the home farm and on that of the tenants, the *adiutorium villae*, the *consuetudines villae*. The importance of this consideration will be made even clearer later on, when we come to consider the two portions in their separate relations to the system of holdings.

Let us now take the bishop of London's manor of Fulham.[1] It is rated at 40 hides, and contains land for 40 ploughs (4,800 acres). There are 4 teams in demesne

[1] Dd. i. 127 c (Fuleham).

and 26 peasants' teams, and there could be 10 more. The value has decreased from 50*l.* to 40*l.*, and the domanial description again gives only a small number of separate ploughs (4, and 4 might be added), leaving us to infer that a good deal of the work was performed by the peasants. In actual distribution there are 13 hides charged to the domain, 14 held by peasants, and 23 of peasant land ceded to French soldiers and burgesses—altogether 50 hides. It is quite clear in this case that the distributed holdings do not fit either into the aggregate of geld units or into the numbers of ploughlands, at least according to the normal reckoning of 120 acres to the hide. We have to infer that the shares in the field were smaller—about 100 acres to the hide if we include the demesne hides, some 112 acres if we reckon only 4 plough-holdings for the domain. Another explanation of the larger number of holdings might be that some of them were of a lesser size; for instance, those occupied by burgesses, while the rest roughly corresponded in shape to the normal standard. This second explanation is, of course, particularly adapted to some of these Middlesex places in their immediate vicinity to London, but it is hardly sufficient by itself to meet the numerous instances of congestion of holdings recorded in our second table.

Demesne teams and hides.

Table III treats of the teams on the domain in relation to the hides in domain. It may serve to illustrate further the notion exposed in connexion with the Northalt case. There are only two instances where the number of teams exceeds that of the hides assigned to the domain, and only four where both numbers are equal, while in thirty-two cases, where both domain hides and teams are recorded, the latter are more or less in excess of the first. In some instances the excess is very great. In Harrow, e. g., only 4 ploughs are mentioned on the domain, while 30 hides are put to its reckoning; in Haminton[1] of Walter de S. Waleric there are 3 teams to 18 hides. In the second case the whole manor was rated at 35 hides, and there

[1] Dd. i. 130 b (Hamntone).

was land for 25 ploughs, that is, 3,000 acres on the 120 acres standard. The villains held 17 teams in holdings amounting to 10½ hides, and there could have been 5 teams more on the peasants' land. It is clear that most of the work on the lord's land was performed by the peasants' ploughs; in fact, that the rustic part of the manor ought to have occupied fully 2,640 acres out of the 3,000, although the hidage of the domain was over one-half of the whole geld hidage of the manor, and almost twice as much as the aggregate of actual villain holdings. The almost constant predominance of hides over teams is, in fact, quite characteristic for the domain, which drew its income and labour largely, not from its own resources, but from those of the dependent population.

Peasant holdings.

Table V, illustrating the relation between plough-teams and peasant holdings, is more complex in its character. In two cases the numbers are equal, and in about ten cases nearly equal, but there are eleven cases where there is more land in the holdings than teams, and not less than twenty where, on the contrary, there are more teams than holdings. The group of cases in which the aggregate of holdings is too large for the number of teams is easy to explain by an insufficiency of stock on the holdings, and on the whole the discrepancies in this respect are not very striking, the most glaring instance being presented by the already quoted description of Fulham, with its peasant 36 hides against 26 teams. This and kindred instances are easily accounted for by a diminution of stock and a corresponding decrease in value.

But we hear much more often of manors in which there were a good many more teams than would have been necessary for the holdings. Let us take Edmonton[1] (Adelmetone), a manor of Geoffrey de Mandeville. There was land for 26 ploughs (3,120 acres), and there were exactly 4 teams in demesne and 22 belonging to the peasants, so that every acre of available land had been utilized. The domain was charged with fully 16 hides,

[1] Dd. i. 129 d.

and the villains held among them twelve hides and a half. It is impossible to suppose that there were 1,920 acres in the domain portion and 1,500 in the peasant portion, because this would bring up the total to 3,420 acres of arable, instead of 3,120. The discrepancy between the 22 teams assigned to the peasants and the 12½ hides held by them is even greater. There does not seem to be any way out of these difficulties but the supposition that the peasant holdings in this case were cut larger than usual, so that some of the hides practically contained 2 teams each or not much less, in fact the peasant portion was clearly overstocked. On the other hand, the hides in demesne evidently comprised not only plough-lands, but also a certain number of ideal shares meant to express the additional work performed by the auxiliary ploughs of the township. The slight discrepancy in the aggregate, amounting, if expressed in terms of plough-land quantity, to about 300 acres, or a total of 3,120, may have been produced by the loss of time and energy consequent on the transmission of peasant work to domanial land. Similar instances are presented by the surveys of Stibenhead, Totenham, &c.

# CHAPTER II

## FISCAL IMMUNITIES

1. HITHERTO we have treated of taxation and fiscal estimates as if they were always directed to ascertain what fair share of the revenue from a particular estate had to be levied for the needs of the commonwealth. But the fiscal burden was not always divided fairly and equally between the different members of the community; there were many cases and grounds of privilege and exemption. Besides these variations from the standard, we have to reckon with other reductions produced by the gradual or sudden changes in the economic condition of certain districts and properties; impositions, which were quite fair and reasonable at one time, got to be too heavy at a later time, on account of some disturbing influence: the assessment had to be revised and reduced or increased accordingly.[1] All these features and processes have left traces in the Survey, and we have to mention shortly how these modifications of normal returns were effected and recorded. Beneficial hidation.

So-called beneficial hidation is often to be noticed on the strength of internal evidence, the geld unit assigned to a place being evidently too insignificant in view of other facts enrolled. Medeveld[2] in Staffordshire may be taken as a very moderate instance of privileged or beneficial hidation.

[1] Dd. iv. 277: (Mockham, Devon) 'Mansionem que uocatur Mogescoma quam tenuit Alcerlo ea die qua rex Edwardus fuit uiuus et mortuus, et reddidit Gildum cum supradicta mansione (Carmes) pro i uirga ita quod iste due mansiones adquietabant se ad Gildum regis pro i uirga, et modo computantur pro ii uirgis.' Cases of increase are rare in Domesday. Cf. i. 73 c: (Colcutt, Wilts) 'Colecote. Ibi sunt v hidae. T. R. E. geldabat pro dimidia hida. Terra est iir carucis. De ea sunt in dominio iiii hidae et dimidia. Ibi i uillanus et iiii bordarii cum i seruo habent i carucam.'

[2] Dd. i. 246 c.

It is rated with its belongings at one hide, and yet there is land for 12 ploughs in it, and there are actually four teams on that land—one in domain and three in the hands of the tenants. Evidently it had been taxed much too lightly, and one may suspect that this was done on account of the influence exerted by its owners—at the time of Edward the Confessor, at any rate, it was owned by Algar, a great thane. There are many glaring instances of such beneficial hidation on the estates of great men [1] and of the Church.[2]

Sometimes we are told expressly that a reduction of the burden has taken place. Bastedene, Berks, e. g., was charged to the geld for 20 hides T.R.E., and only for 6 hides T.R.W. In Henret, Berks, the hidage of one portion of the township which had belonged to Alwin had been reduced from 5 hides to 2 hides, while another portion formerly held by seven freemen for 5 hides was taxed T.R.W. at only 30 acres. In the case of Stanford, in the same county, there had been two reductions. It used to pay geld for 40 hides; King Edward had reduced the assessment to 30 hides, and at the time of the Survey it was charged only for 6 hides, although there were 12 actual teams on the land, 3 belonging to the domain and 9 to peasants.[3] A curious case is presented by a manor called Five-hide, in the fief of Henry de Ferrers in Berkshire. One would have thought that its very name pointed to an estimate at 5 hides. Yet we hear that the assessment used to be 10 hides, and it was brought over to 5 only in the reign of King Edward. There was land for 6 ploughs in the place, which is nearer to 5 hides than to 10. Judging from this and from the name, it may be supposed that the 10 hides assessment was not the original one, but rather an attempt to increase the burden of the estate, and that it was restored to its former valuation in the age of King Edward the Confessor.[4]

[1] Dd. i. 21 a: (W. Firle, Sussex) 'Isdem comes (Moritoniensis) tenet in dominio Ferle. Abbatia de Wiltun tenuit T. R. E. et tunc se defendit pro xlviii hidis. Modo pro nihilo.' Cf. ib. Wilendone.

[2] Dd. i. 2 b (St. Martin's of Dover).

[3] Dd. i. 57 a: (Bastedene, Berks); 60 a (Henret); 60 d (Stanford).

[4] Dd. i. 60 d: (Fyfield, Berks) 'Isdem Henricus tenet Fivehide, Godricus tenuit de rege Edwardo, et tunc se defendit pro x hidis, et modo

It is to be noticed in passing that the reduction of hidage was by no means always a sign of deterioration of the estate. An instance like the following would by no means be an isolated one. The Archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Aldintone in Kent was taxed at 21 sulungs in the time of King Edward, and at 15 in the reign of William the Conqueror. It was an enormous estate, with land for 100 ploughs and 190 villains' holdings, besides the cottages of 50 *bordarii* on the land. Its value had, as a matter of fact, increased from 62*li* T.R.E. to 100*l*., 20*s*. T.R.W. It seems clear that the reduction of 6 sulungs on a tax of 21 is to be attributed to the pressure brought to bear on the Exchequer by the owner, and not to a fall in value.[1] There are also instances where a change in the taxation of an estate is produced merely because some part of it had got into the hands of a new owner.[2]

But, of course, in many cases the reduction was called for by the devastation of the province, or some mishap which had befallen a particular estate. A most characteristic entry in the Hampshire Survey tells us of the lightening of the fiscal burden of Farnham from 30 to 20 hides by King Edward on account of the ravages of the Vikings.[3] It has been shown that sweeping reductions were made in Northamptonshire and Staffordshire in consequence of the devastation produced by the war of the Conquest.[4]

Numbered hides.

Some Hampshire instances are remarkable because they introduce us to a terminological distinction between num-

pro v hidis quia rex E. sic condonauit ut hundredum testatur. Terra est vi carucis. In dominio sunt ii carucae, et viii uillani et iii bordarii cum ii carucis.'

[1] Dd. i. 4 a; cf. 5 b (Apeldres), 5 c (Bronlei, Mellingetes, Totescliue, Esnoiland).

[2] E. g. 11 d: (Hastingleigh, Kent) 'Rogerius filius Anschitil tenet de feudo episcopi (Baiocensis) Hastingelai quod tenuit Vlnod de rege Edwardo, et tunc defendit se pro uno solin, et modo pro iii iugis quia Hugo de Montfort tenet aliam partem intra diuisionem suam.' Cf. 136 d (Watone, Herts).

[3] Dd. i. 40 c: (Farnham, Hants) 'Fernham . . . T. R. E. et modo se defendit pro xx hidis. Tamen sunt numero xxx hidae. Sed Rex Edwardus ita donauit causa Wichingarum quia super mare est.'

[4] Round, Feudal England, 49; Victoria County History, Northamptonshire, i. 260. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 426, 457.

bered hides and fiscal hides. This distinction occurs both in the description of Farnham just quoted and in that of the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Waltham.[1] Thus by the side of hides paying geld or entered as fiscal units there were hides which had nothing to do with geld, but were real enough nevertheless.[2] The Survey often insists on the difference between these two kinds, and implies clearly enough that the fiscal valuation was not the basis of the distribution into hides, but superadded to it. The hides continue to exist even when they do not appear as fiscal units. A manor or a district is said to be defending itself for so many hides, while the actual number of hides in it may be quite different.[3] There is an intricate entry in the Survey of the possessions of Abingdon in Berkshire. Beedon defended itself T.R.E. for 10 hides, and T.R.W. for 8 hides only. In reality there were 15 hides, and King Edward had conceded to the owner to hold it for 11 hides. The further reduction to 10 hides is challenged by this verdict of the jurors as illegal.[4]

The most striking example of the contrast between fiscal

[1] Dd. i. 40 b: (Waltham, Hants) 'Ipse episcopus (Wintoniensis) tenet Waltham in dominio ... T. R. E. et modo se defendit pro xx hidis quamuis sint ibi xxx hidae numero.'

[2] Dd. i. 12 c: (Mongeham, Kent) 'Ipse abbas (S. Augustini) tenet Mundingeham, pro duobus solins et dimidio se defendit. Terra est v carucis. In hoc manerio terra quam tenent monachi nunquam geldauit, et Wadardus tenet ibi terram quae T. R. E. semper geldauit, et illo tempore erat manerium in simul.' Cf. 26 a (Ramelle, Sussex); 165 b (Estoch, Gloucs.); 174 a (Fepsetenatun, Worcs.); 179 c (Maurdine, Hereford); iv. 181: (Cornwall) 'Matela ... reddidit gildum pro i hida sed tamen ibi est i hida et dimidia'; ib. Trigel (Tregelly) 'In ea sunt xii hide. Iste reddiderunt gildum pro ii hidis t. r. E.'

[3] Dd. i. 138 a: (Miswell, Herts) 'Mascewelle pro xiiii hidis se defendit T. R. E. et modo pro iii hidis et ii uirgatis et dimidia, tamen sunt semper xiiii hidae.' 149 b: (Oakley, Bucks) 'Achelei pro v hidis et iii uirgatis se defendit. Terra est vii carucis ... Hae v hidae et iii uirgae sunt viii hidae. De his tenuit Aluuid puella ii hidas quas potuit dare uel uendere cui uoluit et de dominica firma regis Edwardi habuit ipsa dimidiam hidam quam Godricus uicecomes ei concessit quamdiu uicecomes esset, ut illa doceret filiam eius Aurifrisium operari. Hanc terram tenet modo Robertus filius Walterii testante hundret.' Cf. 16 b (Boseham, Sussex); 65 a (Cosseham, Wilts).

[4] Dd. i. 58 d: (Beedon, Berks) 'Bedene ... Tunc se defendit pro x hidis, modo pro viii hidis. Tamen fuit pro xv hidis, sed rex Edwardus condonauit pro xi hidis ut dicunt.'

hides and numbered hides is presented by the description of Cornwall. It contains a series of double entries about hidage, the hides of assessment being distinguished from hides paying geld T.R.E. Pawton [1] is a good example. It paid geld for 8 hides, but there were 44 hides there. There was land for 60 ploughs, and actually 43 ploughs on the land, between demesne and tenants' land. In the geld inquisition of the county in 1084 the same information is imparted on the strength of evidence given by the English jurors.[2] In this and similar cases there can be no talk of a liberation of domanial hides—this comes under another rubric. The point is that of roughly 400 hides in Cornwall only about 128 paid geld. What were the rest reckoned for? It seems clear that, as in the case of the East Anglian shires, the ordinary hides must have served for the assessment of other duties—fyrd, churchscot, suit of court, &c.[3]

Sometimes we can actually get a glimpse of the process by which single hides or estates obtain exemptions from geld. The whole county of Gloucester testifies that out of 15 hides which used to pay geld in Siward's manor of Lecelade, 6 were exempted by the king himself.[4] In Hampshire, Alwi the thane is able to produce a writ under seal of King Edward in respect to a yardland which had been freed and exempted.[5] In Lancashire, 3 hides are mentioned expressly as free, because their geld had been conceded by the king to the thanes that held them.[6] Nor

[1] Dd. i. 120 c. Cf. ib.: 'idem episcopus tenet manerium quod uocatur ecclesia Sti. Germani. Ibi sunt xxiv hidae. Ex his xii hidae sunt canonicorum quae nunquam geldauerunt, et aliae xii hidae sunt episcopi et geldabant pro ii hidis T. R. E. In hac parte episcopi Terra est xx carucarum. In dom. sunt ii car. et iiii serui, et xxx uillani et xxii bordarii cum xvi car.'

[2] Dd. iv. 66.

[3] Similar instances in other counties: Dicelinges (Sussex) Dd. i. 26 b; Beddinges (Sussex) i. 728 a; Menes (Hants) i. 38 b; Waltham, i. 40 b.

[4] Dd. i. 169 a: (Lechlade, Gloucs.) 'Henricus de Ferreres tenet Lecelade. Siuuard bar. tenuit. Ibi xv hidae T. R. E. geldantes. Sed ipse rex concessit vi hidas quietas a geldo. Hoc testatur omnis comitatus, et ipse, qui sigillum regis detulit.' Cf. 165 b (Escetone); 168 a (Hantone); 163 c (Fitentone); 165 d (Malgeresberiae).

[5] Dd. i. 50 b (Rocheborne).

[6] Dd. i. 269 c: (West Derby, Lancs.) 'Hoc manerium Derbei cum

can there be any doubt that other cases in the same district, where the tenants are free from the geld, go back to such royal grants.[1] Altogether, there are many instances in which the origin of the exemption, though not expressly stated, is hardly traceable to any other cause.[2]

An important group of exemptions is formed by certain lands, to which immunity from geld had been granted because they belonged to churches. Of course, not all the ecclesiastical estates were free from geld—every page of Domesday speaks to the contrary, but a good deal of land was exempted even from the geld in order that it might serve exclusively for the needs of religion and of the clerical profession. These special exemptions are often entered in the Survey.[3] We even hear of 'all geld and foreign service' being conceded to a church.[4] A most interesting feature of such concessions is that they were supposed to place ecclesiastical estates in the same position as those of the king himself. Nor is there a lack of information to the effect that royal manors were in principle held to be exempted from the payment of geld because they were subjected to the king's farm,[5] that is, included in the domain

his supradictis hidis reddebat regi Edwardo de firma xxvi lib. et ii solidos. Ex his iii hidae erant libere quarum censum perdonauit teinis qui eas tenebant.'

[1] Dd. i. 269 d (Otringemele et Herleshala et Hiretun); 270 a (Salford).

[2] Dd. i. 12 a (Lanport, Kent); 56 d (Celsea, Berks); 182 d (Bruntune, Hereford.); 255 a (Saleurdine, Shropshire).

[3] Dd. i. 58 d: (Benham, Berks) 'Beneham. ii hidas ... pro tanto se defendit tunc et modo ... Haec terra non fuit in abbatia T. R. E. sed est quieta regi.' Cf. 176 b (Eslei, Worcs.); 252 c (Wenloch, Shropshire); 343 d (Lundetorp, Lincs.); iv. 169 (Bulfestra, Devon); iv. 491 (Ecclesia Glastoniensis, Somerset).

[4] Dd. i. 165 c: (Barton, Gloucs.) 'Sanctus Petrus de Glowecestre tenuit T. R. E. manerium Bertune ... Hoc manerium quietum fuit semper a geldo et ab omni regali seruitio'; ib. Hinetune (Hinton-on-the-Green) ... 'Hoc manerium quietum est a geldo et ab omni forensi seruitio praeter aecclesiae.' 174 a: (Fepton, Worcs.) 'Ad hoc manerium pertinet i Bereuuich Crohlea ... Simundus tenuit, de dominio fuit, et inde reddebat episcopo omne seruitium et geldum et nusquam se cum hac terra uertere poterat.' iv. 183: (Lanhydrock, Cornwall) 'Sancti Petrochi canonici habent i mansionem que uocatur Languihenoc ... nusquam reddidit Gildum nisi ad opus ecclesie.' Cf. ib.: 'Rieltona (Rialton) quam tenuit ipse sanctus immunem ab omni seruitio.'

[5] Dd. i. 60 c: (Bagshot, Berks) 'Bechesgete. ... Duae hidae non

of the sovereign, ministering to his private needs, and first of all providing food for his household. There are cases where whole hundreds were of old exempted from the geld, and these sweeping privileges can hardly be accounted for by any other consideration but that the hundred dues went into the private treasury of the king, or of some person of his family.[1] Later on we find similar exemptions extended to churches, and the analogy of these cases with that of royal domains is expressly insisted upon.[2]

Thus we are led to consider a number of instances where land was not subject to geld, and was yet divided and estimated in the same way as other land paying geld. Hides not liable to geld are to be met with at every step, and their immunity is often asserted as a privilege conferred on them from the very beginning.[3] This means that the original grant constituting the estate liberated it from all dues to the king, including geld, or was construed to do so. It is important to find the many traces of such complete exemption in Domesday, as they enable us to connect the Domesday system of taxation with previous periods. If anything, we should expect such immunity to be even more frequent.

Besides the notices mentioning exempted hides, or manors

geldabant quia de firma regis erant et ad opus regis calumniatae sunt.' Cf. 56 d (Waltham); 184 c: (Hereford) 'Lestret (?) Rex Edwardus tenuit. Ibi i hida cuius medietas erat in dominio regis et non geldat, alia medietas geldat. Hanc terram de firma regis dedit W. comes Ewen Britoni.'

[1] Dd. i. 18 d: (Havochesberie Hd., Sussex) 'In Belingeham habet comes (de Ow) . . . nunquam geldauit.' Cf. 19 a, Belingham, Herlintone, Lestone, Hechestone, &c.; 19 b, 'In Essewelle Hundredo. Hoc hundredum nunquam geldauit.' Cf. Ailesaltede Hd., 20 a.

[2] Dd. i. 174 c: (Pershore, Worcs.) 'Ecclesia S. Petri Westmonasterii tenet Persore. Rex Eduuardus tenuit hoc manerium et eidem ecclesiae dedit ita quietum et liberum ab omni calumnia sicut ipse in suo dominio tenebat. Teste toto comitatu, Ibi cc hidae, de his in Persore sunt ii hidae quae nunquam geldauerunt T. R. E.'

[3] Dd. i. 6 b: (Farningham, Kent) 'tenet Wadardus dimidium iugum in eadem uilla (Ferningeham) quod nunquam se quietauit apud regem.' 57 a: (Wantage, Berks) 'Wanetinz . . . Tunc et modo iiii hidae. Nunquam geldauit.' 166 c: (Rowell, Gloucs.) 'Rawelle. Ibi x hidae . . . Hoc manerium nunquam geldauit.' iv. 159: (Glastonbury, Somerset) 'Glaestingeberia. In qua sunt xii hidae terre que nunquam gildum reddiderunt.' iv. 183: (Bodmin, Cornwall) 'Bodmine. In ea est i hida terre que nullo tempore reddidit Gildum.'

and hundreds surveyed in hides but not charged to the geld, we find two groups of data disclosing interesting principles of the Old English system of taxation as received by Domesday. Firstly, it appears that royal manors liable to the king's farm were sometimes not estimated in hides, or not divided into hides,[1] as the Survey expresses it. This expression is noteworthy—it may be taken as one of the many indications of the fundamental fact that hides were not ideal shares only, but real entities, a fact from which many consequences resulted, as we shall soon see. Evidently the methods of collecting the farm were, in some cases at least, of such a kind that a subdivision into hide shares was deemed unnecessary. Another case when hides were not formed was, of course, that of newly reclaimed or occupied districts.[2] The geld carucate ought to stand in regard to these eventualities on a par with the hide, but the Survey mostly speaks of hidage only, evidently drawing a distinction between the ancient repartition into hides and the more modern measurement of land in carucates.

Indeed, and this is the second interesting feature of the system of exemptions, it is quite common to find that agrarian shares freed from the payment of geld are termed carucates, and opposed, as such, to the hides. These would be field-carucates, *carucatae ad arandum*, and they are currently described as being outside the hides or besides the hides—*extra hidas, praeter hidas*.[3] In this sense the carucate

[1] Dd. i. 38 a: (Neatham, Hants) 'Ipse rex tenet in dominio Neteham. Rex Edwardus tenuit. Quot hidae sint ibi non dixerunt.' 38 b: 'Wimeringes (Wymering) nunquam hidatum fuit.' 39 b: (Basingstoke) 'Basingestoches. Regale manerium fuit semper. Nunquam geldum dedit, nec hida ibi distributa fuit.'

[2] Dd. i. 258 a: (Clunbury, Shropshire) 'Picot tenet Cluneberie. Suen tenuit. Hoc manerium nunquam geldauit nec hidatum fuit.' 267 d: (Hundredum Tunendune, Cheshire) 'Unus seruiens comitis tenet unam terram in hoc hundredo. Haec terra nunquam fuit hidata.' 269 b: (Rhuddlan, N. Wales) 'Omnes hae Bereuuichae supradictae de Englefeld iacebant T. R. E. in Roelent et tunc erant wastae . . . Terra huius manerii Roelend et Englefeld uel aliarum Bereuuicharum supradictarum ibi pertinentium nunquam geldauit neque hidata fuit.'

[3] Dd. i. 2 c: (Middleton, Kent) 'Rex tenet Middletune pro quater xx solins se defendit. Extra hos sunt in dominio iiii solins.' 77 a: (Stoke Abbas, Dorset) 'Stoche. T. R. E. geldabat pro vi hidis et dimidia. Terra est vii carucis. Praeter hanc sunt ibi ii carucatae terrae quae

appears as the plough-land of a similar composition to the hide, but distinguished from it as a purely agrarian unit exempted from payment of fiscal dues.[1] Or, if the relation is considered from another side, the hides turn out to be, as it were, plough-lands acquitting the carucates in regard to geld or defending the whole manor as to its payment.[2] It is not always made clear what part of the manor was put outside the fiscal hides in this way, but sometimes we get information about this point, and it appears that the exempted carucates are to be found on the domain land of churches and great men,[3] and that these privileged domains are, in

nunquam diuisae sunt per hidas.' 130 d: (Tottenham, Middlesex) 'Toteham ... pro v hidis... In dominio sunt ii carucatae terrae preter has v hidas.' 148 d: (Newport Pagnell, Bucks) 'Neuport, pro v hidis ... In dominio iiii carucatae terrae.' 204 a: (Bluntisham, Hunts) 'Bluntesham ... vi hidas et dimidiam ... et exceptis his hidis in dominio terram ii carucis.' Cf. ib. Sumersham, Spalduice. 204 b: (Stukeley, Hunts) 'Stivecle . abbas de Ramesy vii hidas ad geldum... Exceptis his hidis in dominio terram ii carucis.'

[1] Dd. i. 316 c: (Yorks) 'In Tateshale sunt xvi carucatae terrae sine geldo, ubi possent esse viiii car. Hoc manerium habuit rex.' Cf. 337 d (Grantham, Lincs.); 270 a (Lailand, Lancs.); iv. 490 ('Ecclesia Glastiniensis ... in Dorseta').

[2] Dd. i. 163 c: (Tewkesbury, Gloucs.) 'Quater xx et xv hidas quae pertinent ad Tedechesberie quinquaginta hidae supra memoratae faciebant quietas et liberas ab omni geldo et regali seruitio.' Cf. 2 b: (Kent) 'In inland S. Martini manent vii bordarii cum dimidia caruca ... In communi terra S. Martini sunt cccc acrae et dimidia quae fiunt ii solinos et dimidium. Haec terra nunquam reddidit aliquid consuetudinis uel scoti quia xxiiii solini haec omnia adquietant.'

[3] Dd. i. 77 a: (Sherborne, Dorset) 'In hoc manerio Scireburne preter supradictam terram habet episcopus in dominio xvi carucatas terrae. Haec terra nunquam per hidas diuisa fuit neque geldauit... De hac quieta terra tenet Sinod de episcopo i carucatam terrae et Eduuardus aliam ... In hac eadem Scireburne tenent monachi eiusdem episcopi ix carucatas terrae et dimidiam que nec per hidas diuisae fuerunt nec unquam geldauerunt.' 77 c: (Sturminster Newton, Dorset) 'Ecclesia S. Marie Glastingberiensis tenet Newentone. T.R.E. geldabat pro xxii hidis. Terra est xxxv carucis. Praeter hanc est terra xiiii carucis in dominio ibi quae nunquam geldauerunt.' Cf. Inquisition of Glastonbury Manors (Roxburgh Club), p. 134: 'Niwetona. Aluredus de Nichole tenet duas hidas apud Bakeber libere et quiete saluo seruicio Regis. Idem tenet iiii hidas apud Hacford libere et quiete saluo seruicio Regis.' Dd. ii. 106 a: (Colchester, Essex) 'Hamo dapifer i domum et i curiam et i hidam terrae et xv burgenses, et hoc tenuit antecessor suus Thurbernus T. R. E. Et hoc totum praeter suam aulam reddebat consuetudinem T. R. E. et adhuc reddunt burgenses de suis capitibus. Set de terra sua et de hida quam tenent de Hamone nuncuam reddita consuetudo. In hida i car. tunc, modo nulla.' i. 205 b: (Fletton, Hunts) 'In Fletun habuit Abbas de Burg

a way, placed in the same position as the royal domain.[1] This leads to further observations.

Inland and warland.

2. A substantial difference is made, in regard to these cases, between land held by a church, a monastery, or a lord for his own sustenance, and land held from him by his tenants, be these free or servile in their tenure. The first is the *inland* of the owner, the other his *warland*. The first ought to be free from geld because it provides for the maintenance of the knights or the clerics who are performing military service or religious functions, of which the king and the public stand in need.[2] The second category

v hidas ad geldum. Terra viii carucis. Ibi nunc in dominio ii carucae. In una hida et dimidia huius terrae.' iv. 108: (Tawton, Devon) 'Episcopus habet i mansionem que uocatur Tautona. In ea sunt xii hide de quibus ix reddiderunt Gildum T. R. E. et alias tres remanentes habuit episcopus in dominio et nunquam geldauerunt.' iv. 161: (Taunton, Somerset) 'Episcopus (Wintoniensis) habet i mansionem que uocatur Tantona quam tenuit Stigandus archiepiscopus . . . et reddidit gildum pro liiii hidis et dimidia et dimidia uirga . . . exceptis his predictis hidis habet ibi episcopus terram ad xx carucas que nunquam reddidit gildum, et in hac terra habet episcopus xiii carrucas in dominio.'

[1] Dd. iv. 13: (Wilts) 'In hundredo de Ailestebba sunt lxxiii hidae et viii carrucate nunquam geldantes, has habet rex in dominio.' Cf. iv. 6 (Hd. de Dolesfeld) 'lxx hidae dimidia uirga minus et iii carrucate nunquam geldantes de terra regine Edit. Has habet Rex in dominio.' 18 (Hd. de Westberia; Hd. de Colingeburna).

[2] Dd. i. 43 d: (Ovington, Hants) 'Ipsa abbatia (S. Mariae de Wintonia) tenet Ebintune . . . Tunc se defendit pro una hida et dimidia, modo pro nichilo quia de uictu monialium est.' 44 a: 'Ipsa abbatia (de Warwelle) tenet in ciuitate Wintonia xxxi masuras de quibus habet omnes consuetudines quietas excepto geldo regis. A quo etiam geldo est quieta propria domus abbatissae.' Cf. 127 d (Heruluestune, Middlesex); 155 c (Wicham, Oxon); 155 b (Eglesham, Oxon). 159 a: (Newnham Murren, Oxon) 'Neuham. Ibi sunt xvi hidae . . . Praeter inland habet ii hidas et unam uirgatam de terra uillanorum.' 163 b: (Tewkesbury, Gloucs.) 'In Teodechesberie fuerunt T. R. E. quater xx et xv hidae. Ex his sunt in dominio xlv et erant quiete ab omni seruitio regali et geldo praeter seruitium ipsius domini cuius erat manerium.' Ib. 'In Glouuecestre erant viii burgenses reddentes v solidos et iiii denarios et seruientes ad curiam.' 165 d: (Sherborne, Gloucs.) 'Ecclesia S. Mariae de Wincelcumbe tenet Scireburne. Ibi xxx hidae. Ex his x sunt liberae ad curiam pertinentes.' Cf. Cerletone (ib.). 167 d: (Guiting, Gloucs.) 'Getinge. Ibi x hidae geldantes, praeter dominium quod non geldat.' 203 b: (Hunts) 'In Herstingest Hd. sunt dominicae carucae quietae de geldo regis. Villani et sochemanni geldant secundum hidas in breui scriptas. Excepta Broctone ubi geldat abbas cum aliis pro una hida.' Cf. 243 b ('Listecorne,' Warwick.). 254 c: (Leigh, Shropshire) 'Caput huius manerii tenet de

has to defend or acquit all the taxes imposed by the state. Hence its name, as *wara* corresponds literally to *defensio*, and the defence meant is undoubtedly the acquittal of all dues to be levied from a district or manor.[1] These are the fundamental lines of the distinction often employed in Domesday, and recurring in other documents in regard to the terms *inland* and *warland*. The corresponding *ware*, *acreware*, &c., are easily explained[2] once this fundamental contrast between exempted domain and land acquitting the dues is grasped. Nor must we let this guiding thread slip from our hands when we discover that these terms, and especially *inland*, are sometimes used in a somewhat different and derived sense. *Inland* occurs very often in the Danelaw, especially in Lincolnshire, and there it is taken mostly as the equivalent of domain whether exempted or not,[3] or even of a township in which there is land cul-

comite Rogerio Rogerus uenator, et terram eius quae est inland defendunt a geldo ii hidae quas tenet Azo.'

[1] Dd. i. 160 d: (Cowley, Oxon) 'Couelie. Ibi sunt iiii hidae et dimidia. Terra x carucis. Ibi i hida de warland in dominio.'

[2] Dd. i. 132 c: (Westoning, Beds) 'Westone ... Sed wara huius manerii iacuit in Bedefordscire T. R. E. in hundredo de Maneheue et ibi est manerium et fuit semper et post mortem Regis Edwardi non se adquietauit de gildo regis.' 211 d: (Beds) 'Hanefelde ... Haec terra iacuit semper in Chenebaltone sed warram dedit semper iuste in Bedefordscira.' 212 a: (Milton Ernest, Beds) 'In Middeltone habuerunt ii sochemanni xvi acras terrae et suam Warram in eadem Middeltone dederunt, sed terram suam cui voluerunt dare uel uendere potuerunt.' 212 b: (Sandy, Beds) 'Sandeia ... Hic reclamat Eudo iii acras siluae super Hugonem Belcamp quas Ulmarus tenuit, sed Radulfus quando erat uicecomes eum desaisiuit, ideoque Eudo noluit dare Warras de eadem silua.'

[3] Dd. i. 347 d: (Burton Coggles, Lincs.) 'Burtune (Hundret) habuit Radulfus Stalre xiii carucatas terrae ad geldum in dominio et v carucatas terrae ad geldum de soca.' Cf. 348 a (Beningtun); 377 a (Clamores in Chetsteven, Lincs.), 'Dicunt pertinere ad ecclesiam de Grantham decimas et ecclesiasticas consuetudines de Winebruge Wapentak et de Treos Wapentak de omnibus socis et inlandis quas rex habet ibi.' Cf. 344 c (Dunesbi); 337 c, d (Colebi); 339 c (Cucualt); 340 a (Stalinburg); ib. (Dusebi); 340 b (Belingei); 340 c (Harduuic); 340 d (Chirchebi); 341 b (Screnbi); 341 c (Tiichingheham); 342 c (Chelebi); 369 b (Bliburg). Cf. 301 b: (Holme, Yorks) 'Holne ... ii carucatas ad geldum ... Hanc terram alii dicunt inland, alii socam in Wachefeld.' Cf. 301 c: 'Useburne (Ouseburn) . Inland et soca in Chenaresburg.' 317 a: (Notton) 'Notone, vi carucatae terrae ad geldum ... De hac terra sunt iiii carucatae in soca de Tateshalla et ii carucatae inland. Ibi tamen habuit Godricus aulam.' Cf. 321 d (Vlsitone).

tivated for the lord—a manor with a hall, or a berwick.[1] The opposite is *soca*—land held by free tenants under the jurisdictional patronage of the lord.[2] On the other hand, in other counties, like Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, we find sometimes a distinction made between domain and *inland*, only the exempted domain being reckoned as the latter.[3] This may be partly explained by the fact that, in some cases, plots which had been originally *warland* may have been taken in the lord's hand, so that by the side of the originally exempted old domain there grew up another category of domain soil which could not claim the nature and privileges of *inland*. Altogether, there can be no doubt that a large portion of the domain lands did pay geld—whether by compulsion, or in consequence of agreement with the tenantry, it would be impossible to say. This circumstance made it quite reasonable that there should be attempts to draw a distinction between domain and inland. In the way of derived meanings, it may be worth while to notice that both *inland* and *wara* are used as names of places.[4] It is certainly not strange that the terms mentioned should have gone through a kind of organic growth, and developed offshoots which did not coincide in their ramifications with the direction of the main branches. But there can be no misunderstanding in regard to the

[1] Dd. i. 309 c: (Carkin, Yorks) 'In Cartun sunt ii carucatae ad geldum, et est inland in Aldeburne.'

[2] E.g. 317 a: (Stainborough, Yorks) 'Stainburg, alia soca pertinens ad Tateshalla.'

[3] Dd. i. 155 b: (Banbury, Oxon) 'Banesberie. Ibi sunt l hidae. De his habet episcopus in dominio terram x carucis, et iii hidas preter inland. Homines uillae xxxiii hidas et dimidiam.' Cf. ib. (Tame, Cropelie); 155 d (Stantone); 158 a (Watelintone). 158 b: (Eaton) 'Etone. Ibi sunt v hidae. Terra v carucis. Praeter has hidas habet de inland iii hidas et dimidiam quae nunquam geldauerunt.' 204 d: (Hemingford, Hunts) 'alia Emingeforde . . . v hidae ad geldum, . . . De his fuit i hida inland et super hoc ii carucae in dominio.' 219 c: (Whitfield, Northants) 'Witefelle. Ibi sunt ii hidae, et inland ii carucis et hominibus terra v carucis. In dominio sunt ii cum i seruo.' Cf. ib.: 'Falelau (Fawsley). Inland est ad iiii carucas. Ibi sunt ii carucae . . . In alia terra extra dominium sunt vi uillani cum preposito habentes iiii carucas.' Cf. Hardingestorp (ib.).

[4] e.g. Dd. i. 80 c (Inlande, Dorset); 138 b (Wara (under Wesmele) Herts); 214 a (Wares, Beds); 242 c (Wara, Warwick.).

fundamental terminological distinction, and this is the really important point.

Early geld inquests.

Thus we have to reckon in the Domesday Survey with the idea that the domain land of the military and clerical class should be free from geld. Two documents preceding the Survey by a few years bear out this view in a much more complete manner than the Domesday Survey itself. I mean the Geld Inquest of the south-western counties of 1084, and the Survey of Northamptonshire previous to 1075. Both are returns in regard to the collection of geld, and both group their data according to hundreds. The south-western Inquest tells us how much money was actually collected; who among the owners or tenants of estates had failed to pay, and who could claim exemption.[1] The Northamptonshire document mentions the composition of the hundred in hides, and points to exemptions and to failure of payment without giving the sums actually levied.[2] These are trifling differences after all, and the general arrangement of these documents, separated by an interval of some ten years, is remarkably alike. They are probably fragments of much more comprehensive returns relating to the execution of fiscal measures. The king's land does not pay,[3] but, besides,

[1] Dd. iv. 18: 'Dorseta. In hundreto Etheminstre sunt xlvii hidae, et tantum terrae habet ibi Saresberiensis episcopus quantum possunt arare vi carucae. Inde habent barones in dominio vi hidas et i uirga, et vi carucatas. Inde habet episcopus vi carucatas et Rogerus arondellus iii hidas et i uirgatam, et Bristuinus prepositus iii hidas, et de xl hidis i uirgata minus habet rex xii libras, decem et octo denarios, et i obolum minus, et de dimidia hida quam tenet Urso de Arnulfo de hesdinc nunquam habuit rex W. gildum, et de dimidia hida quam tenet dodemanus de comite de Moretonio non habuit rex gildum hoc anno. Sed xii solidi prescriptorum denariorum qui deberent esse redditi ad primum terminum, non sunt redditi usque ad extremum.' Observe the use of 'vi carucatae' as an equivalent to 'terra quam vi carucae arare possunt.'

[2] Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, i. 184: 'Ðis is into Suttunes hundred þat is an hundred hida. Swa it wæs on Æduuardes deige kinges, and þer of is gewered an and tuenti hide and twadel an hide, and fourti hide inland, and 10 hide wes kinges ahhen ferme land, and 28 hide weste and þriddel an hide.' Cf. 185: '... Egelweardesle hundred ... and æt nortune seueðe (seuenðe) healf hide ne com nan peni of þæt ah Osmund þes kynges writere.'

[3] Ib., p. 185: 'Wilebroc hundred ... þæt healfe hundred eal unwered þæt heah se kyng.'

a large proportion of the hides belonging to each hundred is set apart in both cases; they are exempted as belonging to the domain of the barons.[1] On closer examination it turns out that these liberated lands do not coincide with the carucates put outside the hides in the Survey; these latter appear by themselves in the south-western Inquest, but form only a small fraction of the total of exempted lands. In the Northamptonshire return it is quite common to find that 40 hides out of a hundred are liberated as 'inland', and as besides those there is a very large quantity of waste, and the royal manors have also to be taken off, what remains as geldable is generally much less than half the hundred. This is hardly to be explained by the devastated condition of the county. The waste hides are noticed separately, as has been said, and the south-western exemptions, though not so sweeping, still present a most striking diminution of the fiscal burden. One inference only remains open to us, namely, that these documents, both previous to the Domesday Survey, accept and follow out consistently the principle that two shares ought to be made of the land on which the fabric of the commonwealth of those times was resting—one share being geldable to the king, and the other ministering to the wants of soldiers and priests who were serving state and society in their respective callings. It is noteworthy, however, that, to judge by the south-western Inquest, which gives particulars, the demesne lands of the military and clerical classes were not considered as *eo ipso* exempted. Some of them are and some not, and we cannot perceive now why some were admitted to take advantage of immunity while others were not. Whether a special list was drawn up for each occasion—which is quite unlikely—or whether certain customs had formed themselves in this respect and what these customs were, we cannot say. We can just notice that the churches seem to have been more favoured than the lay fiefs, at any rate

[1] Dd. iv. 1: 'In hundredo dolesfelt sunt lxvii hidae et dimidia et dimidia uirgata. Inde habent barones in dominio xxxv hidas et uirgatam et dimidiam.'

in the south-west. The uncertain character of the exemption is well in keeping with the fact that it is not mentioned in the Domesday Survey. This last is a general cadastre in which all the estates stand, or ought to stand, according to their estimated value. And it is the more noteworthy that the extra-hidal carucates and the non-hidated manors are duly entered in Domesday book. This shows that the ground for exemption was a special and a more absolute one; evidently also the more ancient, as it breaks not only through fiscal liabilities, but even through the usual terminology and metrology of the Survey. Its origin has to be sought in the division of the land into farm-rendering and geld-paying areas, not in the contrast between the geldable and the demesne land of lay and ecclesiastical barons. The first is certainly an Old English institution, the latter is clearly feudal, although it may have its roots in Old English history. In order to understand its bearing we must recall to memory the later separation of the geldable from franc fiefs. The Crown made great efforts to restrict immunities and to introduce extraordinary taxes obligatory for all classes, but it did not succeed in getting rid of the principle of the immunities, nor of their practical application. On the other hand, the claim allowed by King Henry I's charter that all knights defending their fiefs by the hauberk should not pay geld for them was never carried out in full. Still, it is characteristic of the principle underlying the claims for exemption on the part of people who did enjoy the privilege. The limitation embodied in the Inquests of 1075 and 1084 is to the effect that immunity should be granted, not to all knights, but to the barons; and the details as to exemptions show that this view was, to a great extent, carried out in practice, although not all baronial land was granted the privilege, and, on the other hand, some people of lower standing shared in it.[1]

[1] Dd. iv. 65: (Cornwall) 'In hundreto Conarditonae sunt xxxiii hidae. . . . Rex et barones sui habent in dominio xiv hidas . . . et homines comitis (Moretoniensis) iv hidas quae nunquam gildauerunt . . . secundum testimonium hundremannorum.'

History of exemptions.

The history of the terms 'wara', 'warland', and 'inland' allows us some insight into the earlier evolution of a system of taxation based on a distinction between the ruling military class and the taxed labouring class. Most of our information comes from ecclesiastical documents, and some of them are by no means above suspicion, but the continuity of terminology and institutional development cannot be doubted, and from the point of view of the present inquiry it is not the fact that this or the other instrument is genuine or forged that is really important; a product of a forger when well in keeping with the legal requirements of the age is quite as valuable as a genuine charter. It is clear from a series of charters that the churches claimed and enjoyed immunity from all taxation and service for some of their estates. The reason assigned is the necessity of providing for prayers and ecclesiastical functions. The franchise does not consist merely of a liberation from dues to the king, but in the assignment of dues and profits, which might have accrued to the king, to the use of the churches themselves. As a consequence, regalities of tax and service passed into private hands, and were converted into claims of private rents and labour services.[1] At the same time it was not asserted that the church, as such, was free from taxes, or that particular sees and monasteries were exempted from them in regard to all their possessions. A division was made between land subjected to the taxation of the government and land enfranchised from it; the first

[1] C. D. 1346: (Eadweard), (cf. 915, Latin): 'ic an eke frédámes ðán hálegen kinge seint Eádmunde só forð só be fermest hauede intó ðére stówe ðe he onrestet. An so wille him ðat se frédóm stonde on his welde, ðat so fele siðe so men gildeð hire gilde tó heregilde, oðer tó schipgeld, gilde ðe túnschipe só óðere men don tó ðe abbotes néde and ðére moneke ðe ðer binine schulen for ús seruen. . . . And ic han hem al here túne sókene of hale here londe.' Ib., 729 (Cnut, 1019), (vol. iv. p. 5): 'ut liberum permaneat ipsum monasterium cum omnibus praediis illi concessis, et cum omnibus rebus ad eum rite pertinentibus, id est campis, pratis, pascuis, siluis, uenationibus, piscariis, ab omni regali et saeculari grauedine maiore aut minore, exceptis assiduis orationibus, nisi sola expeditione et pontis constructione; et si aliquid pro expeditione, aut pro aliquo regali tributo reddatur, detur monasterio.'

had to bear the burden of dues for the latter.[1] This was the defence of the land, and 'defended land' appears as a standing expression[2] in Old English charters in the same way as defence as to geld is a standing term in the Domesday Survey. Inasmuch as defended, *gewered*, land must be under proper cultivation, *gesett*, colonized, cultivated, appears as the corollary of *gewered*. The opposition between *inland* as demesne and *sett* and *gewered* land may be traced before the Conquest.[3] As a variation of it

[1] Thorpe, Diplomatarium, 443: 'Indicium donationis aecclesiae Westbyriae quam Wlstanus episcopus usibus' monachorum huius aecclesiae dedit, 1093.... Et quia terra quae iure ad aecclesiam pertinebat impedita et direpta erat a laicis hominibus, inito congruenti consilio, auxilio bonorum hominum, partem praedictae terrae, legali iure recuperatam, partem pecuniae meae redemptam praetio, iuri et ditioni aecclesiae restitui, scilicet ii hidas et dimidiam hidam et dimidiam virgam in Uuestbiria, partem etiam terrae quae concluditur ambitu ipsius monasterii, et vii acras terrae in orientali parte monasterii, partem quoque silvulae Æscgraf, et xii acras prati, liberas dedi ab omni tributo et vectigali, omnique servitio regali et episcopali, pro remedio animae meae, et redemptione animarum praedecessorum sive successorum meorum, quicumque hanc nostram elemosinam illesam servaverint, aut in aliqua re augendo emendaverint. Hanc libertatem ideo dedi, quia, hac terra excepta et libera permanente, omne regale servitium, quod de meis circumiacentibus terris iure debetur, expleri potest, et persolvendum locavi et statui.'

[2] C. D. 628 (Brihtríc Grim, 964–80): 'Brihtríc Grim gean ðes landes æt Rimtúne intó Ealdan mynstre æfter his dege mid ðére hide ðe he syððan begeat intó ðám lande, and ágyfð ða bóc ðe Eádred cyning him gebócode intó ðám Ealdan mynstre tó ðære ealdan bæc ðe Æðelstán cyning ær gebócode, on ðet gerád ðet be hæbbe ðone bryce ðes landes swá lange swá his tyma sý, and gange syððan intó ðære stowe swá gewered swá hit stande mid mete and mid mannum, and mid ælcum þingan.' Ibid. 642 (Æthelred, circa 984); cf. Dd. i. 41: 'Æðelred cynig grét Ælfríc ealdorman, and Wulmær and Æðelweard, and ealle ða þegenas on Hámtúnscire frunlíce, and ic cyðe ðe and eow eallum ðæt Ælfhéah biscop sende tó me ðæs landes bóc æt Ciltancumbe, and ic hi let rédan ætforan me.... Nú wille ic ðæt hit man on eallum þingon for áne hide werige, swá swá míne yldran hit ær gesetten and gefreodan, sý ðér máre landes, sý ðér lesse. Ðus mycel is ðæs landes into Ciltecumbe; ðæt is ealles án hund hida, mid ðám ðe ðer á búton lið.' Ibid. 1323 (Cnut, circa 1036): 'ic wylle ðæt Æðelnóð arcebisceop werige his landáre intó his bisceoprice nú ealswá he dyde ær Ægelríc wære geréfa.' Cart. Sax. 1148 (King Edgar to Winchester): 'þæt land on eallum þingon for ane hide werode, swa swa his yldran hit ær gesetton and gefreodon wære þær more landes wære þær læsse.'

[3] Edgar, ii. 1, § 1: 'ægðer ge of þegnes inlande, ge of geneatlande.' Earle, Land Charters, 376: Cf. Divisiones et Consuetudines in Dyddanhamme: '30 hida: 9 inlandes and 21 hida gesettes landes.... To

appear the expressions of *inwaru* and *utwaru*, the defence of an estate as against its owner being contrasted with its defence in respect of the king.[1] The Low Latin expression corresponding to *utwaru* would be *servicium forinsecum*, but whereas this latter in process of time began to be applied mainly to feudal military obligations, the *utwaru* of earlier times evidently comprised all services due to the king, in distinction from what had to be performed for the landlord.

The twofold division of land into *inland* and *warland* is reflected, among other things, in the Geld Inquest by frequent reports about peasants who were remiss in paying their contributions to the tax.[2] The inference is that the failing dues were imposed directly on the *warland* of the estates. It is easy to see that the construction of landed property connected with such a system of taxation faced two ways. In a sense, the land owned by the barons and by the tenants was separated into two portions, the *inland* being distinct from the *warland*. In another sense they were closely united because the *warland* defended the *inland* as regarded taxes, and, as a matter of fact, supported its husbandry by the payment of rents and the performance of services. Historically, two origins are to be assigned to such a double-faced system; there is, firstly, the liberation of home farm or of central estates from services which were formerly incumbent on them along with other portions of the same estate; and there is, secondly, the combination into one whole of originally distinct settlements—of seignorial estates with plots belonging to small statesmen, as they

Cyngestune 5 hida sind 13 gyrda gafollandes and 1 hida bufan dic ðæt is nu eac gafollandes, and ðæt utan hamme is gyt sum inland, sum hit is ðan scipwealan to gafole gesett.' Earle, Land Ch. 235: '3 hida to inware and oðerhealf to utware.'

[1] Dd. i. 254 c: (Berrington, Shropshire) 'Beritune . . . Thoret tenuit de S. Andrea per seruitium dimidiam hidam in hac uilla. Praeter hanc dimidiam hidam tenuit ipse ii hidas geldantes.' Cf. Liber Niger de Burgo (Camden Ser.), 159, 160: 'in Estona sunt 3 hidæ ad in Waram . . . Hæc villa adquietat se erga Regem pro dimidia hida.'

[2] Dd. iv. 13: (Hundredum de Stapla) '. . . De 5 hidis de terra Haroldi quam tenent uillani regis non habet rex geldum.'

said in the north, small freemen charged with public duties. It may be that the well-known enactments of Ine's laws, about the responsibility of royal *gesithcundmen* as to the settlement and cultivation of districts, apply to this second process of social growth.[1] The lord, a royal follower or thane, gets a district of ten hides; he is responsible for at least six hides of it being defended in a proper manner, that is, provided with settlers paying taxes; the four remaining hides would be his *inland*, and cultivated for his farm. Of 20 hides, 12 ought to be *warland*; of three, one and a half. In certain charters we catch glimpses of the colonizing activity of lords who had obtained grants of hidated estates, and the result of such activity was quite as much to provide the State with *gewered* hides as to ensure the prosperity of the lord's farm.[2] However this might be, the deep-going social influence of a system arranging public obligations, according to the principle that one class has to pay and another class to fight and to pray, can hardly be exaggerated. And when we have once thoroughly realized this fundamental distinction we shall be in a position to understand and to appreciate fully a point which has hardly been taken at its full value in the existing works on Anglo-Saxon institutions, namely, the usual exemption of bookland from all service to the king, with the exception of the *Trinoda necessitas*. This exemption surely means that no taxes were to be levied from owners of bookland, and the franchise clause is repeated over and over again in the numberless grants creating bookland property. Now, what was the aim and the extent of such emancipation? It was certainly intended to free the owners from all ordinary rents, taxes, provender dues, the quartering of soldiers and messengers, &c., and this is sometimes expressed in so many words,[3] while in other cases a general

[1] Ine, 64, 65, 66.

[2] Thorpe, Dipl. 162: 'Þonnæ his þæs londæs hundseofeortig hida and is nu eall gewæred, and ðа hit æst min laford mæ to læt, þa wæs hit ierfælæas and mid æðnum folce aburod. And ic ðа seolf þæt ierfæ togestrindæ þæt ðær mon siððan bi wæs.'

[3] C. D. 812 (A. D. 1062): 'Haec est interim illa libertas quam ut perpetualiter . . . constituo. Hoc est v mansas in situ eiusdem mona-

reference is all that is given in the charters. The population settled in the districts comprised in the bookland franchise had henceforth to serve the grantee instead of paying and performing services to the king; it passed from a status of subjection to a public power into that of subjection to a private lord, although the sharpness of the contrast and the consequences it involved may not have been clearly realized at the outset. On the other hand, it is evident that these bookland franchises did not involve by themselves an immunity from extraordinary taxation, of which the Danegeld was the chief expression. The bookland grants are too numerous, they pervade too much the whole region of landownership, to allow of an exemption of bookland owners from such extraordinary impositions. These latter would have defeated themselves if they had put up with such exceptions. But, although bookland and *inland* are not identical, they proceed from the same principle—from the wish to place the fighting and praying portions of the community in a privileged position. The fiscal immunities from geld come as a second instalment of a policy already embodied in the freedom of bookland estates from ordinary taxation, from *gafol* and *feorm*.

Repartition.

3. Important features of every fiscal system are its method of collection and scheme of repartition. In regard to the last, it is clear from many passages in Domesday Book that it was the result of two processes which counteracted and checked one another. The more apparent of the two is the subdivision of the total sum of the tax, first among the counties and hundreds, then within each hundred or wapentake among the estates attributed to it, in a certain fixed or customary proportion, ultimately within each estate among the hides or geld-carucates and their fractions.[1]

sterii... quas ab omni regali tributo liberas esse concedo.' C. D. 817 (A. D. 1065): '... ab omni mundiali iugo ... et omnibus geldis et consuetudinibus; concedo etiam ei libertatem plenariam.' C. D. 828 (A. D. 1066): 'Scotfre and gauelfre.' C. D. 806 (A. D. 1051-60): 'Walecote ... semper sit libera sicut omnes aliae quae sunt ipsius liberrimae.'

[1] Dd. iv. 489: (Somerset) 'In Hundredo Frome sunt ccc hidae ii minus, de his habet rex de gildo suo l libras et xviii solidos et vi

The process is especially clear in the case of the Suffolk and Norfolk assessment, where each manor is charged for so many pence of every pound to be paid by the hundred. But in a different way it ought to hold good also in the scheme of repartition exemplified by the south-western Geld Inquest, when each hide had to pay *6s.*

The hides of the geld, the fiscal hides for which land has to defend itself, are grouped into hundreds which ought to correspond to their names, and it has been shown that hides are indeed distributed in hundreds, double hundreds, triple hundreds, half hundreds, and hundreds and a half, within the country, and that these numerical divisions correspond to territorial districts. In the Danelaw the hundreds appear as artificial combinations not of hides, but of geld-carucates, oddly enough twelve to the hundred, the hundred being in this case 100 tofts or mantals. We find even that the single townships or manors are rated in very even numbers as groups of 5 hides or 10 hides in what may be termed Saxon England, and groups of 6 carucates, being halves of the hundreds of 12, in the Danelaw.[1] Fractions and combinations appear, of course, but they mostly resolve themselves into one or the other scheme—a decimal grouping or a duodecimal grouping of geld units. These artificial subdivisions were not only employed in taxation, but also for police purposes, as we may gather from the division of hundreds into the police tithings of frankpledge, which are identified with townships in the same manner as the ten and twelve groups of the geld.[2] If we keep our eye

den. pro clxix hidis et iii virgis, et barones regis habent in dominio c hidas et xv dimidia uirga minus.'

[1] Round, Feudal England, 44 ff., 69 ff.; Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 121.

[2] Feudal Aids, iv. p. 293: (Derleghe, Somerset) 'Item dicunt quod quidem (*sic*) Odo de Derleghe quondam tenuit villatam de Derleghe de honore de Trobrugge, et solebat tethinga inde esse geodabilis (*sic*) dicto hundredo, que subtrahitur per eundem Odonem,' &c. Rot. Hund. ii. Bla: (Somerset) 'Item medietas decennae eiusdem uillae de Balbekary subtracta est a dicto hundredo (de Cattessass).' Ibid. 127 b: '"quatuor theghing" que solebant facere sectam ad hundredum predictum sunt subtracte et fuerunt per Ricardum Comitem Gloucestrie et Gil-

particularly on the latter, we are led to consider the territorial divisions of the land as results of a scheme of repartition of hides proceeding from top to bottom, and naturally working itself out in round numbers and even fractions, which seem preposterously inadequate to represent the actual grouping of population and property. One feature, which had better be noted at once, is the fact that the schemes of repartition from above, as far as they can be traced, start from the hundred as a combination of townships and not of manors.[1] This surely means that the arrangement according to manors or estates was a later—a superadded—one, while in their original composition territorial districts reckoned with townships. This fact cannot astonish us, the more so as even during the whole manorial period the townships or vills remained in most respects the mainstays of police administration in the country.

And yet in the light of the data collected about exemption, reductions and actual hides, in contrast with geld-hides or geld-carucates, we may well doubt whether any explanation of Old English local arrangements which reckons only with these facts of repartition may be accounted sufficient. If it suits the state of a county after reductions, it will not suit its condition before them; if it holds good for the original scheme of distributing the fiscal units, it will be disarranged by any considerable change in this distribution. Indeed, no assessment can afford to disregard entirely the matter-of-fact condition of estates and villages, and the surest proof that the government had to reckon largely with such conditions is given by the compilation of the Domesday Survey itself, by this attempt to draw up a cadastre on a gigantic scale. The well-ascertained duality of the hide census,[2] the contrast between geld-hides and numbered hides or actual hides, gives us the

bertum filium suum.... Dicunt eciam quod idem liberi homines et eedem decenne solebant facere sectam bis in anno.'

[1] Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 131 ff.

[2] Dd. i. 149 b: (Clifton Reynes, Bucks) 'Clistone. iiii hidas.... In hac uilla Clistone tenent Siuert et Turbert iii uirgatas quas Willelmus et Rogerius habent occupatas et celatas super regem ut homines de hundredo dicunt.'

clue necessary to solve these contradictions. The enumeration of the hides of a district presents the complex result of several processes, of a rough-and-ready assignation from above, of a much-discussed repartition among the parties affected by it, of rectifications and alienations, of a good deal of tinkering and wrangling. As a result, although in some cases the lines of governmental approximate assessment are still visible, in most we have to face a scheme much distorted and blurred in its symmetrical outlines.[1]

Collection.

4. As for collection and responsibility, they are to a certain extent dictated by repartition. A lump sum is laid on the town of X and the manors subjoined to it. The town undertakes to collect and pay in three-fifths of the sum, and the manors the fourth and last of these fifths.[2] In ordinary cases the repartition would proceed from the hundreds to the townships, but the manors would not be alien to collection; the concentration of private dues and the existence of a central force in the manor render it a welcome help in collecting geld and other taxes.[3]

[1] The East Anglian scheme gives a good example. In its most recent expression it gives up the hide computation for entire estates and appraises them in pence. Yet carucates, virgates, and acres occur all through this part of the Survey. They must be remnants of older computations which had lost their value for some purposes. Their numbers square more or less with the repartition into hundreds (e.g. Babenbergh and Blackburne Hundreds). As the possessions of the small freemen and socmen are minutely reckoned out in acres, it may be supposed that the carucate computation was kept up according to townships, while the estates were rated at so many pence in the pound. Cf. Dd. ii. 133 b: (Happisburgh, Norfolk) 'Hapesburc . . . tenuit Edricus T. R. E. xiii carucatas terrae . . . et xxi sochemanni lxxxvi acras . . . et xii liberi homines de quibus habuit Edricus commendationem tantum iiii carucat. terrae. . . . Istos liberos homines addidit Radulfus comes huic manerio et in eodem sunt adcensati modo. . . . Tunc totum ualuit vii lib. et liberi homines xl sol.'

[2] e.g. Dd. i. 337a: (Torksey, Lincs.) 'T. R. E. reddebant Torchesiy et Harduic in Lincolia quintum denarium de geldo ciuitatis. Ad hanc quintam partem dabat Torchesyg ii denarios et Harduic tercium. De hac Torchesig habebat Morcar tercium denarium de omnibus consuetudinibus. In Harduic . . . cadit tercia pars geldi regis quod rex non habet de illa quae pertinet ad Dorchesyg.'

[3] Dd. i. 28a: (Washington, Sussex) 'Willelmus (de Braiose) tenet Wasingetune. Comes Guerd tenuit T. R. E. Tunc se defendit pro

The manorial lord would be rendered responsible for the collection of the geld; there were even instances when the possession of estates depended on the payment of the tax.[1] When the manorial system became general, shares in the scot were distributed among the estates.[2] But behind this repartition according to estates stands the more ancient and symmetrical one according to townships, and at the time of the Geld Inquests and of Domesday the direct incidence of the geld is still distinctly traceable.[3]

Local hides.

5. The fact that taxation had to be adjusted to the real features of landholding corresponds to the value of the fiscal units in husbandry. We have treated of hides

lix hidis. Modo non dat geldum . . . De hac terra tenet Gislebertus dimidiam hidam, Radulfus i hidam, Willelmus iii uirgatas, Leuuinus dimidiam hidam, qui potuit recedere cum terra sua et dedit geldum domino suo, et dominus suus nichil dedit.'

[1] Dd. i. 141 a: (Libury, Herts) 'In Stuterehele tenet Petrus (de Valòngies) dimidiam uirgatam et x acras . . . Hanc tenuit quidam sochemannus R. E. et uendere potuit et de consuetudine iiii$^{tam}$ partem unius Auerae uel unum denarium inueniebat uicecomiti regis per annum. Hanc terram sumpsit Petrus uicecomes de isto sochemanno R. W. in manu eiusdem regis pro forisfactura de gildo regis se non reddidisse ut homines sui dicunt. Sed homines de Scira non portant uicecomiti testimonium quia semper quieta fuit de gildo et de aliis erga regem quamdiu tenuit testante hundret.'

[2] Dd. i. 163 c: (Forthampton, Gloucs.) 'In Fortemeltone ix hidae pertinebant huic manerio (Teodekesberie) . . . Has duas terras (Fortemeltone et Hanlege) tenuit W. comes et geldabat propter Tedekesberie.' 172 a: (Worcester) 'Quando comitatus geldabat, pro xv hidis se ciuitas adquietabat. De eadem ciuitate habebat ipse rex (Edwardus) x lib. et comes Eduinus viii lib. Nullam aliam consuetudinem ibi rex capiebat praeter censum domorum sicut unicuique pertinebat. Modo habet Rex Willelmus in dominio et partem regis et partem comitis. Inde reddit uicecomes xxiii lib. et v sol. ad pensum de ciuitate et de dominicis maneriis regis reddit cxxiii lib. et iiii sol. ad pensum. De comitatu uero reddit xvii lib. ad pensum, et adhuc reddit x lib. denariorum de xx in ora aut accipitrem Norresc, et adhuc c solidos reginae ad numerum, et xx sol. de xx in ora pro summario. Hae xvii librae ad pensum, et xvi lib. ad numerum sunt de placitis comitatus et Hundretis, et si inde non accipit de suo proprio reddit.' Cf. 4 d (Pecheham, Kent); 9 d (Rannulfus de Columbels, in Estre Hd.); 11 c (Estrei Hd.), 'Wibertus tenet dimidium iugum quod iacuit in gildam de Dovere, et modo defendit se cum terra Osberti filii Letard et ualet per annum iiii sol.'

[3] e. g. Dd. iv. 14: (Hund. de Cepeham, Wilts) '. . . de xiiii hidis et dimidia de terra Tosti quas tenent uillani regis non habet rex geldum.' Cf. 13, 5 Hund. de Calna; 18 Hund. de Westberia, &c.

and carucates hitherto mainly as units of assessment, and in this sense they appear most prominently in the Domesday Survey. But we have already had to note in several instances that hides and carucates are not merely fiscal units, but also shares in the land itself. In fact they were real, actual shares, and not ideal portions with rights in the arable, in pasture, and woods assigned to them.[1] Let us take for a starting-point the reference to a contest between Ivo of Taillebosc and Robert of Todeni about two carucates less 30 acres in Lincolnshire.[2] The verdict of the jurors is that the parties should proceed to the place and divide the land in accordance with the repartition of the geld; the field measures have to correspond exactly to the fiscal units. Or, again, there were in Dunwich two carucates that had belonged to Edric in the time of King Edward. Now Robert Malet holds one, and the other has been submerged by the sea.[3] The different hides of an estate may be given away separately to the daughters of a landowner as marriage portions, or divided among co-heirs.[4] In some cases a minute reckoning has to be made, and acres and tofts are subtracted from the main body of the holding.[5] In fact, acres appear sometimes in combinations which leave no doubt as to their indicating real measures and not fiscal counters.[6] By the side of them, *culturae*, cultivated areas which could evidently be identified

[1] Villainage in England, 263.

[2] Dd. i. 377 a: (Clamores in Chetsteven, Lincs.) 'Ivo Taillebosc calumniatur super Robertum de Todeni ii carucatas terrae xxx acras minus in Stanuualt unde ipse dat geldum. De hoc dicunt rectum esse ut ipsi eant super ipsam terram et partiantur eam recte sicut dant geldum.'

[3] Dd. ii. 311 b.

[4] Dd. i. 30 d: (Dorking, Surrey) 'Quidam Edricus qui hoc manerium tenuit dedit ii hidas filiabus suis, et potuerunt ire quo voluerunt cum terris suis. Ex his hidis habet Ricardus de Tonebridge unam quae nulli manerio pertinet . . . Aliam hidam tenet Herfridus de Episcopo Baiocensi.' Cf. 138 c (Stanestede, Herts).

[5] e. g. Dd. i. 141 a (Escelueia, Herts); 145 a (Latesberie, Bucks).

[6] Dd. i. 138 d: (Graveley, Herts) 'Grauelai . . . De hoc terra tenuit Alestan de Boscumbe i uirgatam et iacebat in Westone et Lepsi dimidiam uirgatam . . . de hac dimidia hida (*sic*) iacebant viii acrae et una Toft in Stigenace quam Rex Edwardus dedit S. Petro de Westmonasterio.' Cf. 215 a (Chauelestorne, Beds).

by the local people, may be mentioned.[1] In many cases the 'numbered' hides in opposition to the geld-hides may have gone back to such real units. Every now and then one comes across attempts to distinguish the field-hides as carucates,[2] evidently because the term 'hide' had been too much used in the sense of a fiscal unit and had ceased to afford a sufficient clue in respect of agrarian occupation. When the hides, carucates, and sulungs lie in compact plots, which is often the case, they appear with distinct local names. In a manor of St. Augustine, Canterbury, for example, we find a sulung called Bevesfel (Bevesfield),[3] in Sussex a half-hide receiving the characteristic designation of Halfeeldene[4] (Half-field-den). The name of Fifehide[5] (and Fyfield?) points to estates rated at 5 hides, and there are quite a number of instances where the holding appears in its most ancient aspect of *Hiwisc*,[6] probably meant to designate originally an agricultural settlement estimated as a household-land in a country of wood and moors. These *hiwiscs* are, of course, apt to grow and to belie their ancient name, which remains significant nevertheless. In Anglo-Saxon documents the very boundaries of hides and virgates are frequently given.[7]

The quality of the local hides is sometimes noticed. In the same estate some may be better and some worse,

[1] Dd. i. 375 d: (Clamores in Nortreding) '... pro xxx acris prati quas Aluredus clamat in Vluesbi debet habere in eadem uilla unam culturam terrae.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 1027 (Grant by King Eadwig to his 'homo' Eadheah, 958): '... partem terrae id est duas mansas et dimidiam et insuper xxv segetes illic ubi Anglica appellatione dicitur æt Escforda ⁊ æt Byohylle.'

[2] Dd. i. 203 b: (Huntingdon) 'Huntedun Burg defendebat se ad geldum regis pro quarta parte de Hyrstingestan hundredo pro l hidis sed modo non geldat ita in illo hundredo postquam rex Willelmus geldum monete posuit in burgo. De toto hoc burgo exibant T. R. E. de Landgable x lib. inde comes terciam partem habebat rex duas ... Ad hoc burgum iacent ii hidae (carrucatae) et xl acrae terrae et x acrae prati unde partiuntur censum rex ii partes comes terciam.'

[3] Dd. i. 12 c. [4] Dd. i. 22 c. [5] Dd. i. 65 c.

[6] Cf. Dd. iv. 372 (Heuuisa, Devon); ibid. 453 (Milehyuis); i. 113 c (Odehiwis).

[7] C. D. 618 (Oswald, 978): 'Ðis is ðære áre hide landgemæru to Smitan.' Ibid. 682 (Oswald, after 972): 'Ðis sindon ðæs landes gemæra ðe gebyriað intó ðære Westmestan hide æt Witleáge feldlondes and wudulandes.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 721 (Topsham, Devon),

as, for example, in Horton, Dorset, where the two best hides out of seven had been appropriated by the king for his forest of Winborne.[1] Again and again hides and their subdivisions are said to be laid waste. In Molland, Devon, one-half of a virgate is tilled by three oxen and the other half is entirely devastated.[2] In Mullacot, Devon, a thane holds one ferling out of half a hide, while the rest of the land is laid waste and used as pasture.[3] The hides paying geld and the waste ones may be directly opposed to each other.[4] A curious case is presented by the rural possessions of the borough of York. They were estimated at eighty-four carucates, of which every one paid geld like a house in the city, and was charged with the three obligatory public services in the same way as the houses. Of these carucates the Archbishop of York had six, and kept three ploughs on them. They were not provided with constant tenants, but cultivated in plots by the burgesses as leaseholds. A new pond made by the king had destroyed two mills on this land, and of arable, meadows, and orchards, a full carucate.[5]

Size of field-hides.

There are interesting references to the number of acres contained in field-hides and field-carucates. In Betminster, Somerset, 112 acres of wood had been taken from an estate by the Bishop of Coutances, and a priest cultivated them as a carucate (plough-land) for 20 shillings a year.[6] In Norfolk, 175 acres belonging to two socmen of St. Benet had been delivered as one carucate of land.[7] On the other hand, we come across a hide of 64 acres in

[1] Dd. i. 78 c: (Horton, Dorset) 'Ecclesia Hortunensis tenet Hortune T. R. E. geldabat pro vii hidis . . . Duas meliores hidas de his vii tenet rex in foresta de Winburne.' Cf. ibid. 186 b (Cuure, Hereford.).

[2] Dd. iv. 381: (Molland, Devon) 'Mollanda . . . reddidit gildum pro i uirga . . . Hanc possunt arare ii carrucae. Hanc tenet Bernardus de Tetbaldo. Inde habet Bernardus in dominio dimidiam uirgam et iii boues, alia medietas uirgo est tota uastata.'

[3] Dd. iv. 434: (Mullacot, Devon) 'Molacota . . . reddidit gildum pro dimidia hida . . . De supradicta dimidia hida tenuit quidam tegnus i ferlinum . . . et alia terra iacet uastata ad pasturam.'

[4] Dd. i. 172 d (Chemesege, Worcs.); ibid. 181 d (Vllingwic, Hereford.); 183 d ('in marcha de Wales' (Terra Radulfi de Mortemer, Hereford.)).

[5] Dd. i. 298 a. [6] Dd. iv. 489. [7] Dd. ii. 158 b (Hobuist).

Gloucestershire, which seems Celtic, and finds its counterpart in Cornwall.[1] The Welsh hides mentioned in Herefordshire are characterized by peculiar rents, and kept distinct from English hides,[2] but, unfortunately, we are not informed about their composition.

A group of entries is made up of references to hides in wood and plain, the very term laying stress as much, or more, on the forest element in the hide as on its cleared, arable portion.[3] This 'plain' portion of the hide may be spoken of as 'land' (*terra*) in opposition to the wood.[4] Meadows were every now and then expressly mentioned as forming a part of the hide.[5] Acres are also entered as measurements of arable and meadow.[6] Such references fully bear out the main principle of the composite character of the holdings; these are not measures of land, but agrarian units usually including pasture and wood as well as arable. In fact, in estimates of the husbandry of a district or of an estate, pasture and wood are sometimes appreciated in terms employed primarily for agricultural purposes.[7] We hear sometimes not only of acres but even of hides of

[1] Dd. i. 165 b: (Gloucs., Bishop of Hereford) '. . . unum manerium de una hida . . . In ista hida quando aratur non sunt nisi lxiiii acrae terrae.'

[2] Ibid. 181 d: (Hereford.) 'In Caplefore (?) sunt v hidae anglicae geldantes, et iii hidae Waliscae reddentes vi solidos canonicis per annum.' Ibid. 182 c (More); cf. Cart. Sax. 1108 (Lamern and Oddingley, Worcs.).

[3] Dd. i. 135 d: (Abbot's Langley, Hereford.) 'Langelai . . . De hoc manerio tulit et occupauit Herbertus filius Iuonis i hidam inter boscum et planum.' Ibid. 174 c (Depeforde, Worcs.); 175 b (Beolege); 175 d (Ombersley, Worcs.) 'Ambreslege. Haec antiquitus pro iii hidis fuit libera sicut dicunt cartae de ecclesia, sed T. R. E. fuit numerata pro xv hidis inter siluam et planum, et iii hidae ex eis sunt liberae.' Thorpe, Dipl. 563: (Wulfgyth, 1046) 'Eldemes landes ⁊ þærto Hyekenes . þ ðær syn ealles fiftig æcera [on wude ⁊] on feld.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 1130.

[4] Dd. ii. 55 b (Wigheberga, Essex).

[5] Dd. i. 164 a (Cedeorde, Gloucs.).

[6] Dd. i. 179 c (Maurdine, Hereford.).

[7] Dd. ii. 43 a: (Wheatley, Essex) 'Wateleam . . . dimidia hida silue uastatae.' i. 49 d: (Oakhanger, Hants) 'Acangre . . . De hoc manerio calumniatur prepositus regis dimidiam hidam ad pasturam boum regis. Scira uero testatur quod non potest habere pasturam nec pasnagium de silua regis sicut calumniatur nisi per uicecomitem.' 58 a: (Reading, Berks) 'Henricus de Fereres habet ibi i hagam et dimidiam uirgatam terrae in qua sunt iii acrae prati.' iv. 213 (Chenowen, Cornwall).

pasture-land or woodland. It would be wrong to speak of a household rated as a hide as if it consisted of pasture, but pastoral units could be equated, as it were, to the standard of agricultural and mixed households. Such equations show, in any case, that dairy farming and forest pursuits were common in those days in certain districts, e. g., in the borderland of Wales. But the normal hide and the northern carucate corresponding to it were generally agricultural settlements, with pasture, meadows, and wood attached to them.

Connexion between geld- and field-hides.

In view of such evidence there can be no doubt as to the close connexion between field-hides or field-carucates and their fiscal counterparts. But how are these facts to be reconciled with the other series of observations tending to show that round numbers and artificial repartition played a great part in the imposition of the geld? Two considerations help us to find our way out of this difficulty. To begin with, there is the well-established contrast between numbered or actual hides and the defence of estates for the geld. The latter, when stated fully and correctly, does not refer to hides, but to taxation for so many hides, or as if there were so many hides. Any one who has been assessed for local rates or for land-tax at the present day knows that if he is assessed for 100*l.*, this does not mean that he pays 100*l.* house-rent to his landlord. It will be 120*l.*, or something like it, as a matter of fact. The pound in this case is a notional one, and professedly smaller than the real. Even so, the geld-hide or the geld-carucate was a notional one, and though certainly not created without any relation to reality, it had to be treated and computed as a notional entity. But behind it stood the numbered hide or carucate, which had to be accounted for in making out *scot* and *lot* for many duties and burdens, and which referred directly to the hides and carucates in the fields.

This is not sufficient, however, to explain the various facts brought to our notice by the evidence. There are clear indications that hides of a very unnatural, privileged

extent were used not merely as fiscal figures, but as actual areas. When a district is said to contain a certain number of fiscal or geld hides instead of being described as defending itself for so many hides, this cannot be treated as a mere terminological transfer. The point was that even the notional divisions were actually stuck on the soil, marked off by boundaries, and so made real. Preconquestual charters often show that land was granted on the strength of approximate estimates which had to be made good by subsequent colonization. Even an entirely waste tract, or a territory with very few inhabitants, might be granted for so many hides, according to the estimate of the men of the country,[1] and the actual settlements grew up afterwards in greater or lesser numbers, while the original badge of the grant was carefully kept up. In such cases the hides of the charters would be more akin—at any rate at the outset—to the *terra carucis* of Domesday than to its geld units. The whole estimation must have been a very rough one, and yet it led to real delimitation and assignment of agrarian shares. The grantees had mostly good reason to keep up the original numbers, and they clung so firmly to the localities that sometimes they gave them their very names. In some instances, however, they proved premature and impossible to fill up, and, of course, alleviations of fiscal burdens were eagerly sought and commonly obtained on such occasions.

Summary. 6. The principal conclusions reached in this chapter may be formulated in the following manner:—

(1) The fiscal units, as they appear in Domesday, are variously constructed in different provinces.

(2) The reduction of local varieties to common standards was effected in the Exchequer by the help of estimates of

[1] C. D. 1309 (Æthelred, 1014): 'Ruris quandam particulam, tredecim uidelicet ab incolis aestimatam mansiunculis in loco qui dicitur Corigescumb.' Cart. Sax. 866: (Stanmore, in Beedon, Berks) 'Magnitudo autem illius terre iuxta estimationem circa eundem locum degentium tanta esse asseritur quantum bis quinas mansarum spatium equa demensione fore cernitur.' Cf. ibid. 1287 (Corsantun, or Corston, Somerset); 1291. (Carta Edgari Regis de Bergh' facta walmer' ministro suo.)

ploughing strength in teams of eight oxen, and of the arable area in team-lands of 120 acres.

(3) The *inland* possessions of the kings, of the military and clerical class, were meant to be exempted from taxation.

(4) The repartition and collection of geld were originally in the hands of the townships, but the manorial lords were gradually made responsible for the latter.

(5) The fiscal units are based on real and local agrarian shares.

## SECTION IV

### GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY. GENERAL SURVEY.

Military systems.

THE government of England in the eleventh century presented all the symptoms of transition from one definite system to another. It was progressing towards feudalism, an arrangement of society on local lines under the guidance of a land-owning aristocracy. It was passing out of the stage of a federation of territorial communities of fyrd-worthy, mót-worthy, and fold-worthy men which had replaced the more ancient tribal arrangements. But the features of both systems were as yet intermixed in every sphere of life, and the elements of two widely different states of society were struggling everywhere, though the predominance of feudal tendencies was already manifest. From a historical point of view, however, for the purpose of tracing origins and determining causes, the features of the succumbing order are not less important than those of the victorious one. Thus, in the domain of military organization, we notice not only the decisive settlement of the armed force on the land as a means of providing for the necessary outfit and training of the typical soldiers of the time, the heavily equipped knights and the accompanying sergeants of light array. We have also to observe the remnants of previous military formations, thrust into the background, but still alive. Firstly, mercenary troops, which though very acceptable for their great mobility, better discipline, and good training, could not assume a leading part, on account of the lack of money in the royal treasury. On the other hand, the national levies of old have not been given up, but they have become a rare expedient, resorted to in times of great need; they were not efficiently trained, armed,

and organized for effective warfare. The connexion with hosts of freemen in the past is especially clear in the case of the Danish *here*, settled in comparatively recent times, but it is sufficiently apparent also in the *fyrd* of the southern and western Anglo-Saxon counties. As for the military land-owning aristocracy in the foreground, its antecedents have to be traced from the companions of the Conqueror, to the picked array of mobile troops provided by the counties for the king's expeditions on the one hand, to the military following of king and magnates—the thanes and gesith-cundmen—on the other. These personal attendants, especially valued for military purposes, live through the whole history of Teutonic nations, right from the time when Tacitus described them as the *comitatus* of the chieftains in his Germania. But while they played the part of a body-guard in the great wars and migrations of the tribes, they become more and more conspicuous and influential when the bulk of the tribesmen settle down to a quieter life, while the traditions of warlike prowess are still kept up in the immediate following of the chiefs and kings. The stamp is set on this development when the regular requirements of the king's expeditions come to be met chiefly by the service of military followers, and when these latter get more or less completely differentiated from the rest as a privileged land-owning class. This point seems to have been reached in most of the Anglo-Saxon provinces in the eleventh century. In the north and the east, however, the wider class of warlike freemen is still very clearly before us, but many of them have evidently to work hard for their existence, and have been subjected in many cases to the patronage and authority of the great, while others have lapsed into a more or less rightless condition.

Another aspect of the same process is presented by the history of jurisdiction. The popular courts experience a change in their structure and procedure as the aristocratic element of the good and lawful men, the elder thanes, becomes increasingly influential, and gets to be formally recognized in its leading position, in contrast with the

Jurisdiction.

majority of suitors who appear more for general support and special inquiries of a local kind than, properly speaking, for the administration of justice. But, what is of even greater moment, provincial jurisdiction gets to be broken up by franchises and private courts that crop up everywhere. It is evident that this movement made a thorough change in the position of the citizen classes of society. Instead of the simple, and, in a sense, democratic arrangement of the district court, discharging most of the juridical affairs of the free population, and conducting its business by means of the personal or virtual attendance of all the members of the local *here*, justice falls into the hands of numerous local potentates, who, though they have to administer it not individually, but through courts, turn this valuable regality into a means of exacting profits and grasping power. Suit of court must always have been irksome to those who had to attend, but when it came to be enforced by private lords it became a powerful lever for the reduction of smaller freemen into a state of subjection, which was not confined to a purely jurisdictional subordination, but constantly assumed the shape of tenancies burdened with rents and services. And, vice versa, tenants of great lords, liable to pay rents and to perform customary services, became naturally his subjects in respect of local justice and police. It is remarkable that the standing contrast between the Anglo-Danish north-east and the Anglo-Saxon south-west should have found expression, in this domain, in the special treatment of the *soke*, which remains specifically a free institution in the Danish districts, while it becomes amalgamated with other manorial franchises in the south and loses its distinct meaning of an institution derived from public authority over the free.

Taxation. The history of taxation is not less characteristic. Remnants of an ancient system based on personal progresses of kings, a collection of food rents, and an occasional commutation of such rents, are still clearly discernible on Royal domain and in newly acquired primitive districts. These rents were collected as a *gafol* from ordinary freemen, and

not only from the serfs and personal tenants of the king. But the struggle with the Danes, the necessity of paying tribute to them, and of keeping up the costly military and social arrangements formed in the course of the wars, led to the assessment of the geld, an extraordinary and general impost which came to be a regular though never quite a general tax. The tremendous burden of the geld undoubtedly pressed down the lower classes into a more complete dependence on the wealthy and powerful, who had more means to meet fiscal requirements, could render help at the price of commendation or subjection, and gradually assumed a position of responsibility and authority in regard to smaller tax-payers. It is most important in this connexion that the gathering of the geld, though it was originally effected by the townships themselves, gets to be more and more dependent on the action of the manorial lords. Here again a humble communal institution is driven into the background by the stress of circumstances, and influential private lords take its place.

In another sense the evolution of the geld is characterized by the gradual combination between inland and warland, the land of the privileged military tenants, and the land of the gafol- and geld-paying common freemen—ceorls sitting on gafol land, as they are called in one of the treaties with the Danes. The inland was originally exempt from the ordinary taxes, because it served the commonwealth in a different way, by providing for the maintenance of warriors and clerks. But as its holders exercise supervision and are admitted to draw profits from the adjoining tributary land the inland home-farms get naturally combined with the wara districts attached to them. In one way this process has unpleasant consequences for the holders of privileged land: it obliterates the distinction between the two kinds as to tax, and we find both classes in the same position in regard to the geld as described by Domesday. But, on the other hand, the closer the connexion between inland and warland became, the more they came to stand towards each other in the relation of demesne and tenant

land, the more closely was the yoke of the landlord riveted on holdings which may originally have been outside its economic influence.

Decay of free class.

The social results of the dismemberment of public institutions may be described in a few words: the decay of the class of small freemen, the rise of a landed aristocracy, the growth of a semi-servile rural population. It is impossible, at this stage of the inquiry, to estimate these phenomena at their full value and to fathom their bearing in every direction. There are economic influences and points of social organization which will have to be studied in due course in our second essay. But already the political processes on which I have dwelt hitherto afford some insight into the working of the evolution in question. It may be said that in a sense the lowest limit in the destinies of the free class was reached during the eleventh century. The desperate, though ineffectual, attempts of Anglo-Danish and Saxon kings to organize the commonwealth on the basis of thanehood led to a wholesale disestablishment of the twyhind class, of the ceorls who occupy such a conspicuous position in the earlier laws, and on whose shoulders the hundreds and wapentakes of the ninth and tenth century rested. These ceorls fall a prey to the colonizing sithcundman, to the ecclesiastical houses, and to the riding soldiers of the shires. In the southern and western shires they were almost entirely driven into the lower story of society, as peasants paying rents and performing services for their lords. In the Danish north-east a good number still survived, but they were losing ground daily, and the Norman Conquest came as a heavy blow to this particular part of the population, which was cut down, persecuted, and encroached upon, not only in the sharp social struggle for existence, but also as representatives of a stubborn and hostile nationality. After reaching the lowest point in its existence the free class rises again, and does so rapidly, but their new rise is connected, not with the traditions of popular institutions and ancient freedom, but with the economic superiority of the work-

ing population over feudal masters, with commutation of services, the growth of industry and trade, the spread of conventions and free agreements between masters and servants, the increased stability of social order and the increased force of governmental protection. It is not my business to speak of this tide of evolution in the present work, but it is not superfluous to draw attention to some of its most striking features in order to realize the very different meaning of the term 'free' in these distinct epochs and the importance of the feudal system which marks the watershed between them. The key to the earlier history is military organization, the key to the later is economic achievement, though husbandry evidently plays a great part in the earlier stage, and though the military factor is not eliminated from the later. Between the two epochs stands feudalism as an attempt to connect military organization directly with agricultural husbandry. As for the political institutions under the guidance of which both these epochs of national life went on, they may be contrasted on the lines of a predominance of the provincial organization of tribes and shires on the one hand, the predominance of the central power of the king and his council on the other. Again, by saying this we do not want to imply that provincial and local self-government did not play a great part in the political life of thirteenth-century and later England, or that national kings did not exercise a momentous influence before the Norman Conquest. But the main fact in the history of citizenship in Anglo-Saxon times is that it is derived from tribal and local associations, and succumbs with them. The main fact in the development of the State, manifesting itself roughly from the end of the twelfth century, is that the citizens are protected by central power and seek to obtain a direct share in the central power with its national councils and courts. Between the two epochs stands again the doctrine, and to a certain extent the practice, of feudalism, which throws local and provincial self-government into the shade, but considers the central organization itself as a federation of feudal potentates, and

the country as a territorial union of baronies. Needless to say, in real life all these contrasts were not so clearly formulated as they look when put before the reader in a short summary of the situation. But it seems material to underline the leading principles even at the risk of some artificiality and exaggeration, if it is clearly realized that in the domain of facts and details we have to reckon with all sorts of modifications and compromises.

Semi-servile peasantry.

One political feature of the semi-servile peasant class created at this time had better be noticed at once, namely, the tendency to rule this class by courts, and not by personal commands and personal servants. Whatever arbitrary personal sway may have been exercised in practice by masters, landlords, their stewards and officers of various names, the communal arrangement of administration, justice, and police is always considered as the right and regular means of governing the humbler classes of the nation. This certainly need not be attributed to liberal instincts and considerations on the part of the predominant race, but it turns out to be the outcome of properly understood interests and of the necessities of the situation. The master's rule over slaves must have been at the root of the relation of the feudal lord to many of his dependants, but although many of the incidents of villain tenure undoubtedly go back to these attributes of slave-holding, the management of the affairs of the peasantry as a whole is not derived from it. On the contrary, in every respect, in regard to criminal and civil justice, to police, to conveyancing and to economic arrangements, matters are referred for discussion and decision to moots and courts. The past of these collegiate communal rights is demonstrably a delegation of powers which formerly belonged to the public courts of the provinces. The court leet is, after all, nothing but a specially important moot of the *leta*, the fraction of the hundred or wapentake alienated into private hands. The conveyancing business of the later court baron is derived from the feudal principle that every over-lord is sur-

rounded by a court of his tenants in the exercise of his manorial rights. It is remarkable, however, that the undivided halimote of older days contains also the germs of the later customary court, both as to the conveyancing and voluntary jurisdiction of the villains, and to the economic management of rural affairs. Thus we have institutions and traditions of ancient freedom actually projecting into the sphere of semi-servile customs formed under cover of the manorial lordships.

The tribal system and the associations of freemen.

In conclusion a few words may be said about the moving forces of the different systems which are seen to displace each other in course of time. When we consider the traces and traditions left by more rudimentary organizations in the eleventh century they appear before us in a state of decay. In order to understand their prolonged existence and great hold on the people it is advisable to look back and to realize that the institutions which seem so disarranged and out of date in the eleventh century have had their time of strength and glory and their adequate *raison d'être*. The expressions freedom, provincial self-government, or the modernized 'citizens', have almost assumed a negative colouring in the eleventh century, and refer to exceptional facts, numerous undoubtedly, but less numerous and less powerful than the facts of coming feudalism. But the older traditions may be traced back with perfect continuity to tribal organization and custom: they start from the conquering tribes settling on the soil of Great Britain in the course of the mighty invasions and migrations of Germanic and Scandinavian warriors. Tribal feelings were thus creative factors of political life. Their clearest expression may be found in the wergelds and blood-feuds, the procedure of oath-helpers and the various attributions of the maegths in the domain of civil law—in succession, guardianship, restraint on alienation, marriage, &c. Socially, they testify to a settlement in groups connected by blood ties and powerfully knitted together by common friendship and common hostility. The Scandinavian representatives of the period

of migration, coming later than their German predecessors, and appearing for a long time as pirates rather than as regular settlers, show a much weaker sense of the ties of kindred, but they realized the necessity of joint action and neighbourly support quite as much as the earlier Germanic conquerors. With them the recognition of this social necessity takes rather the form of guilds or voluntary associations, with very strict rules as to the amount and character of mutual support to which the members pledge themselves. However this may be, in both cases the settlement on the land calls forth a modification of the earlier forms of solidarity; from being the product of blood relationship or of voluntary association they get complicated by neighbourly interests and the management of common agricultural affairs. Instead of the maegth and the guild, the township appears as the unit of social organization. for the superior class descended from the conquerors. In some cases the union is a loose one, as between more or less detached settlements, possibly connected only by the interests of common rights in woods and pastures, in others it assumes the features of a very close agrarian community. But anyhow the discussion and direction of neighbourly affairs appears in the foreground as far as the union of the township represents active forces and interests. The passive side of these communal organizations is not less important. They have to assume duties in regard to taxation, police, and justice, for which they are held responsible by the general government of the country, and this ensures their vitality and continuity of tradition not less than the sense of active solidarity and the conscious resolve to act together against every one else. The townships are the links of a chain which appears more completely and clearly in the action of the hundreds, wapentakes, and shires. Though humble in their functions the townships are well worth the consideration which has been bestowed on them by historians. Whereas the hundred and the shire are, after all, judicial and administrative superstructures, the keeping up of

which required a good deal of coercion by authority, the townships are directly grounded on the soil, and in most cases have to deal with tangible and everyday terests.

Weak sides of communal institutions.

The weak sides of all these collegiate and communal institutions were determined by two awkward facts: they could not be protected against the growth of overbearing and overwhelming individualities; they were necessarily mixed up with a quantity of relations and customs, derived, not from the conquering, but from the conquered classes. From the first point of view one has to note that the rudimentary guarantees set by restraints on alienation and testamentary disposition, or rather by the lack of these judicial forms, by the agrarian arrangement of holdings and commons, &c., were partly swept away, and partly over-ridden, by the progress of husbandry, the struggle for existence, the prowess of leaders and military followers, as well as by the decay and the overcrowding of the weaker members of the communities. Altogether the township organization undertook to watch over the allotment of shares, but not over the relation between land-holding and population.

The difficult problem of maintaining the balance between members of the community in this respect was never tackled by the Teutonic townships. There was nothing to prevent men from thriving in consequence of a concentration of shares, and, on the contrary, there was not much to prevent shareholders from decaying in consequence of a congestion of claims. Such customary methods as were practised in such cases did not go further than the elaboration of rules as to undivided succession. These traits of agrarian life will have to be discussed at greater length later on. What seems material now is to realize that individual enterprise and power was not checked by the free township communities, and that they were very liable to be thwarted and subjected by the strong and the wealthy.

On the other hand, there was no hard and fast line between the conquerors and the conquered, the free ceorls

or socmen and the geburs of base origin and custom. The two groups were dangerously near each other in rural life. It taxes our ingenuity how to draw distinctions between the various degrees of dependence and service—soke, commendation, tenant-right, semi-servile occupation, servile labour—and it is not to be supposed that it was much easier to do so in the reign of Edward the Confessor or William the Conqueror. The badge of wergeld was gradually losing its importance on account of the dismemberment of maegths, and of the introduction of new forms of punishment and responsibility. Thus while there was nothing in law to prevent entirely free and moot-worthy men from working with their own hands, contracting leases, working for other freemen by agreement or custom, as a matter of fact all these perfectly lawful practices led to a gradual debasement of the ceorls and socmen who had to resort to them, and prepared the way for that amalgamation of disparate classes in the mould of villainage which became the rule in feudal common law jurisprudence. No wonder that the political institution of the township itself, though originally certainly not servile in character, was drawn into subjection to the manor and treated by public authorities mainly from the point of view of a convenient machinery for the enforcement of obligations and the collection of dues and fines. But notwithstanding such historical deterioration, both the institution and the class for which it was devised did play a most important part in providing agrarian life with an element of independent right and traditions of communal action. Their meaning will be fully realized only when we come to examine more closely the conditions of rural life on their economic and legal side.

# SECOND ESSAY

# LAND AND PEOPLE

## SECTION I: LAND TENURE

### CHAPTER I

### THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK.

1. ONE of the advantages of the study of English land law is that its feudal arrangement starts from a sharp division—from the general collapse of the old order in consequence of the Conquest. The Domesday Inquest as a whole is a testimony to this fact, and special quotations are hardly needed to prove it. Still it is not without interest to notice that even the smallest holder of land might appeal to the clean sweep made by the French invasion. Godwin the beadle holds half a hide from the king in Soleberie, Bucks. It was held T. R. E. by Alric Bolest, and the new tenant had evidently to vindicate his possession against the old one or his heirs. He appealed to the fact that by the coming of King William the former owner forfeited his right.[1] If some Englishmen still held land it was by express grant from the king, and although, as a matter of fact, they would resume their former estates, the title under which they came to hold henceforward was a new one—it was derived from an express or implied grant of King William.[2] From a stray notice about the manor

Effect of Conquest.

[1] Dd. i. 153b: (Soulbury, Bucks) 'In Soleberie tenet Goduinus bedellus de rege dimidiam hidam . . . Alric Bolest tenuit T. R. E. et hoc dicit iste qui nunc tenet quod per aduentum R. W. fuit forisfacta.' Cf. Round, Victoria History, Essex, i. 354, 355.

[2] Dd. i. 62b: (Berks) 'Isdem Robertus (de Oilgi) tenet unam hidam quam Azor dispensator R. E. tenuit et cum ea ire potuit quo uoluit . . . Hanc terram tenet isdem Azor de Roberto sed homines de hundredo testificantur eum de rege debere tenere qm̄ [*sic* quoniam (?)]

of Stanton in Suffolk we learn that these partial resumptions were accompanied by heavy payments. In the time of King Edward this estate was held by a certain Ulwar in the soke of the king. At the time of the Survey it was in the hands of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds in mortgage for a loan of 2 marks gold, 'when the English redeemed their lands.'[1] It is not exactly clear what Engelric had to do with the loan, but the main fact that a large sum had to be paid at the time of the resumption of estates by Englishmen is sufficiently established. As regards the French, the counterpart of resumption were the grants and 'liveries' gradually effected by the Conqueror in the course of his acquisitions of the territory of England.[2]

Grant and livery.

There were various modes to confer title to land and to tenants possessed of land. We hear, for instance, that fourteen freemen in Lineforda and Iccheburc in the fief of Walter Giffard had been commended to the predecessor of Ralf de Waer (Ver), and were afterwards delivered (*liberati*) to Bodin de Waer on behalf of the king. But Ralf de Ver obtained possession over them as belonging to his fief, evidently on the strength of his having stepped into the shoes of his Saxon predecessor. Hervey de Ver held these freemen of Ralf when the latter forfeited his estates. Walter Giffard must have got them after this forfeiture from the king. Livery by the king and claim on the strength of rights derived from a Saxon predecessor are in collision in this case.[3] In another

rex W. apud Windesores ei reddidit et breuem suum inde ei dedit. Robertus uero tenet iniuste. Nemo enim eorum uidit breuem regis uel ex parte eius hominem qui eum inde saisissit.'

[1] Dd. ii. 360 b: (Stonham, Suffolk) 'Stanham tenuit Vluuar liber homo in soca regis et comitis lx acras . . . Ailboldus presbiter tenet. Hanc terram habet Abbas in uadimonio pro iibus marcis auri concessu Engelrici quando redimebant anglici terras suas.' Freeman, Norman Conquest, iv. 723, tries to get too much out of this passage.

[2] Dd. ii. 352 a: (Uledana, Suffolk) 'In eadem Goduinus liber homo x acras et ii boues commendatus Wisgaro antecessori Ricardi f. C. . . Ex hoc fuit saisitus Raimundus Giralt et Rogerus Pictauiensis eum tenet et Rogerus de Ramis de prima liberatione et hundredum testatur quod sibi prius liberatus fuit.' Cf. Round, V. C. H. Essex, i. 354.

[3] Dd. ii. 242 a: (Lyndford and Ickborough, Norfolk) 'In Lineforda

Norfolk case Godric held in Bradeham one-quarter of a carucate from William of Warenne. The land was taken into the king's hand when William de Warenne incurred forfeiture by treason. Robert Blundus held it in farm from the king, and Godric was marked in the Exchequer in the king's writ or breve for 20 shillings. And yet it was resumed by William de Warenne. But the hundred could not testify to having seen a writ or a king's messenger who delivered the said land to William.[1]

Kelvendun in Essex was held by a certain Ailricus in the reign of King Edward. He served on board Harold's fleet against the Conqueror, and on going back fell ill and gave the estate to St. Peter of Westminster. The Abbey held it at the time of the Survey, but they had no title from King William, neither through a writ nor through a message delivered by a king's servant.[2]

A similar dispute occurred in regard to Spersold, a manor in Berkshire held by Anskitill from the Abbey of Abingdon. The shire gave testimony that the estate had belonged, before the Conquest, to Edric, who held it of the king in alod. This Edric had given it to a son of his, who was a monk in Abingdon, on the understanding that he should hold it in farm and supply Edric with the necessaries of life from its income, and that after Edric's death the manor should go to him. The men of the shire did not think that it ought to appertain to the Abbey on the strength of such an arrangement, and they had never seen a royal writ or seal in testimony of its having been granted to the Abbey. The monks maintained, however, that they could produce a writ and seal of King Edward. Several legal points have to be noted in this case.[3] The transaction between the

et Iccheburc xiiii liberi homines . . . hii fuerunt commendati antecessori Radulfi de Waer, post liberati sunt Bodin de Ver ex parte regis. Postea derationauit eos ad suum feudum Radulfus et quum forisfecit tenebat eos Herueus de Ver de illo. Hoc testatur hundret.'

[1] Dd. ii. 276 b (Bradeham).

[2] Ibid. 14 b (Kelvenduna).

[3] Dd. i. 59 b: (Sparsholt, Berks) 'Spersold . . . De hoc manerio scira attestatur quod Edricus qui eum tenebat deliberauit illum filio suo qui erat in Abendone monachus, ut ad firmam illud teneret et

Saxon owner and his son is not deemed *prima facie* sufficient to create a title for the monastery. Is it because it was merely intended to transfer the property after death to a definite person, who, though a monk himself, was not identical with the monastic corporation of Abingdon? Hardly; if the transfer to the son in regular orders were recognized, very little would have been wanted to perfect the transaction by a further transfer to the Abbey. Besides, the contention is not between Abingdon and the heirs of this monk, but between the monastery and an outsider. The point in dispute was evidently whether sufficient confirmation of the devise, by the king, was extant. Edric had held in alod, that is, in free property, with the right of selling it. And it is very significant that the writ under seal required by the shire to make the transfer perfect was delivered, not by King William, but by King Edward. This means that royal grants, or private grants confirmed by royal seal and writ in favour of ecclesiastical institutions, were recognized after the Conquest on the strength of the ancient deeds. Confirmations are indeed frequent and important for practical purposes, but the Saxon royal grant is sufficient in law. The same may be gathered from a reference to the sake and soke of freemen in Suffolk, which was granted to Bury St. Edmunds by King Edward. The sheriff had infringed the privilege of the Abbey by fining one of them 4 shillings, but the hundred did not admit that Bury St. Edmunds could be disseised by right after it had received the grant from King Edward[1].

sibi donec uiueret necessaria uitae inde donaret, post mortem uero eius manerium haberet. Et ideo nesciunt homines de scira quod abbatiae pertineat. Neque enim inde uiderunt breuem regis uel sigillum. Abbas uero testatur quod in T. R. E. misit ille manerium ad aecclesiam unde erat et inde habet breuem et sigillum R. E. attestantibus omnibus monachis suis.'

[1] Dd. ii. 360 b: (Onehouse, Suffolk) 'In Anhus i liber homo Sancti Edmundi dimidiam carucatam terrae . . . tempore Edwardi fuit soca et soca (*sic*) et commendatio de istis omnibus Sancti Edmundi ex dono regis Edwardi sicut breuia et sigillum demonstrant que abbas habet; post concessit Willelmus Rex, sed prepositus Regis habuit propter socam de i istorum iiii solidos esset [corr. *set*?] iuste uel iniuste

An execution by King William of a writ under seal of King Edward is noticed in the Survey of Dorset. St. Mary of Shaftesbury recovered possession of Cheeseburne and of Sture, two manors appropriated by Harold, on the strength of a writ of King Edward ordering their restitution.[1] We have no means of judging in this and similar cases how far the documents appealed to were genuine. Many of the deeds produced by churchmen on such occasions were forgeries, but the point of importance for us is not the genuineness of this or the other charter, but the fact that a grant of King Edward was admitted in a court of King William as sufficient evidence of title. The mode of procedure adopted by the Norman king follows closely Old English precedents[2] in such matters. Writs.

The 'breve' appears in yet another sense, as we have already had occasion to notice in the case of Godric in Bradeham. It was applied to enrolments in lists of estates belonging to divers fiefs: 20 acres in Marsam in Norfolk are, for instance, enrolled and measured in the 'breve' of St. Adeldred.[3] It seems that official lists are meant, and it is not unlikely that, in regard to some of the fiefs at least, such lists may have been kept at the Treasury. The Liber Eliensis might be described as such if it had not been primarily made for the use of the lordship and not of the Crown. The compilation of Domesday rendered minor enrolments of this kind unnecessary.

The second great means of proving title after the Conquest was for a Norman baron to appeal to his 'antecessor', The 'antecessor'.

et nesciente abbate neque ministris suis, et hundredum testatur se nescisse Sanctum Edmundum postea fuisse dasaisitum postquam rex Edwardus dedit.'

[1] Dd. i. 78 d: (Chesilborne, Dorset) 'Ceseburne . . . Istum Manerium et Sture abstulerat Heraldus comes S. Mariae T. R. E. sed Willelmus rex eam fecit resaisiri quia in ipsa aecclesia inuentus est brevis cum sigillo R. E. precipiens ut aecclesiae restituerentur cum Melecome quem rex adhuc tenet.'

[2] C. D. 929: (Godwine and Leofwine) 'ða sende he (Æðelred) gewrit and his insegl to ðam arcebisceope Ælfrice and bead him ðæt he and his þegenas on East Cent and on West Cent hy on riht gesemdon, be ontale and be oftale.'

[3] Dd. ii. 205 b (Marsam, Norfolk).

to a Saxon into whose place he had stepped in regard to rights[1] of all kinds. This important mode of acquiring title is constantly referred to in the Survey, and need not be dwelt on at length, as it has received considerable attention from modern inquirers, and is not subject to controversy. Its special interest from a legal point of view consists in the fact that it ensured a wholesale reception of Old English land law by the French conquerors. This stock was considerably modified by foreign influences, but it was never entirely given up, and forms one of the distinct elements of English law even in later times.

Alienation.

The *tutor* mentioned in some few cases[2] appears on a very different plane. He is the warrantor, the *auctor* to whom those who have acquired derived possession have to appeal—the donor or vendor or lessor or over-lord, as the case might be. This standing to warrant leads us to a class of dealings which is independent of the original acquisition of estates by the conquerors or their resumption by the conquered. It belongs to a wide group of transactions concerning land. In regard to these we observe, firstly, the celebrated distinction between landowners who could sell or give their lands and those who could not; secondly, between those who could go with their land where they pleased and those who could not. Both distinctions are Old English. The second, derived from freedom of commendation, lapsed after the Conquest, as voluntary commendation ceased to be a recognized institution.[3] The first, dealing with freedom of disposal, disappeared in another sense, as all land-holding became tenurial, and therefore the consent of the lord was required in case of any alienation. This consent could be forced in most

[1] Dd. i. 48 a: (In Sunburne Hundred, Hants) 'Gislebertus (de Bretevile) tenet de rege unam hidam . . . Hanc hidam calumniatur Hugo de port dicens eam pertinere ad sua maneria Cerdeford et Eschetune et ibi eam tenuerunt sui antecessores et hoc testatur totum hundredum.'

[2] Dd. ii. 103 a: (Chawreth, Essex) 'In Ceauride . . . tenet Garnerus homo Ricardi et uocauit Ilbodonem ad tutorem et postea non adduxit tutorem.'

[3] Cf. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 68, 71, 72.

cases, on condition of paying a more or less heavy fine.[1] But the significance of the distinction rests mainly on its use in Old English times. In the passage to complete feudalism marked by the Conquest it led to the subjection of many tenants to lords on the strength of the assumption that if a person could not sell his land, his tenement was to be considered as a part of the estate to which it was appendant. As regards Old English law, the freedom to give and to sell was one of the distinctive features of the privileged mode of tenure created by book, and its history ought to be considered in connexion with that of book-land.[2]

Interference of kings.

The Domesday Survey discloses some cases of interference on the part of the king in the making of private grants which may be derived from the principles of privileged book-land. The cases in which it applies are, however, always instances of grants made to churches,[3] and it seems that the motive which led to the king's confirmation or concession was derived from the fact that the king lost some of his dues by the passage of property into the hands of an ecclesiastical body, a consideration similar to that which prompted the drawing up of the Statute De religiosis in Edward I's time. However this may be, the demand for royal confirmation shows that in such cases the right of the king to exert an influence over an estate which had been in private possession for some time had not disappeared and might be exercised occasionally. On the other hand, we find indications of a procedure reminding us of the *precariae verbo regis* in use at the beginning of the Carolingian dynasty: I mean cases where ecclesiastical institutions are driven to concede land to military tenants 'for the love of the king'.[4] Notwithstanding all reservations

[1] History of English Law, i. 311 ff.

[2] Cf. my paper, Romanistische Einflüsse im Angelsächsischen Recht: Das Buchland in a forthcoming volume of Mélanges Fitting.

[3] Dd. i. 166 a: (Gloucs.) 'Ecclesia S. Mariae de Cormelies tenet Noent. Rex Edwardus tenuit. Ibi vi hidae non geldauerunt. Rogerus comes dedit huic aecclesiae pro anima patris sui concessu regis Willelmi.' Cf. ibid. 345 a (Hacam, Lincs., St. Mary, Stow).

[4] Dd. i. 208 a: (Hunts) 'De altera hida (de duabus quas Radulfus filius Osmundi tenet in Emingeforde) dicunt quod Godricus tenuit eam

of right, this practice might evidently lead to the practical alienation of certain estates from the Church.[1]

An eventuality which may be noticed because we come across it in the sources, but which does not constitute a distinct mode of conferring title, is the 'exchange' (*escangium*). A person may, for example, receive some estate in exchange for another situated in Normandy[2] and presumably acquired by the king, or he may obtain a plot in exchange for another taken up for the building of a castle[3] or for inclusion in a forest.[4] Juridically these are only cases of receiving an equivalent, although, as a matter of fact, they may have been compromises after dispossession. The abuse of right is even clearer in the not infrequent cases where the tenant has nothing better to appeal to than the exercise of administrative discretion by the sheriff.[5] Freemen are accommodated in this way to estates of influential men from which they had previously been entirely independent. A number of the 'invasions' by great people are traceable to such exercise of arbitrary power.[6]

de abbate. Sed cum abbas (de Ramesy) esset in Danemarka Osmundus pater Radulfi rapuit eam a Sauuino Accipitrario cui abbas eam dederat ob amorem regis.'

[1] Heming, Cartulary, i. 248, 252.

[2] Dd. ii. 38 a: (Plumberrow, Essex) 'In Plumberga tenet Ranulfus de Willelmo (de Warenna) xxx acras quod tenuit i liber homo t. r. e. Tunc dimidia caruca, modo i. Tunc v sol., modo x. Has terras reclamat pro escangio de normannia.'

[3] e. g. Dd. i. 93 a: (Montacute, Somerset) 'Ipse comes (Moriton.) tenet in dominio Biscopestone et ibi est castellum eius quod uocatur Montagud. Hoc manerium geldabat T. R. E. pro ix hidis et erat de abbatia de Adelingi et pro eo dedit comes eidem aecclesiae manerium quod Candel uocatur.' Cf. 32 a: (Sudwerche, Surrey) 'pro excambio unius domus'; 43 a: (Aultone, Hants) 'pro excambio domus regis.'

[4] Dd. i. 51 d: (Milford, Hants) 'Aluric tenet de rege Melleford de excambio forestae.' Cf. 12 a: (Garrington, Kent) 'Warwintone ... dedit episcopus baiocensis (abbati S. Augustini) pro excambio parci sui, pro dimidio solin et xlii acris terrae se defendit.'

[5] Dd. ii. 393 a: (Badley, Suffolk) 'Badeleia ... Huic manerio additi sunt T. R. Willelmi xxvi liberi homines ... hos omnes tenuit Ricardus ad hoc manerium quod tenuit fint (*sic*), et ipse phin tenebat eos per accomodationem uicecomitis, ut ipse uicecomes dicit.'

[6] Dd. ii. 112 b: (Holt, Norfolk) 'Ad Holt est additus i liber homo Ketel post mortem regis.' 133 b: (Happisburgh, Norfolk) 'Hapesburc ... Istos liberos homines addidit Radulfus comes huic manerio et in eodem sunt adcensati.' 282 a: (Suffolk) 'Haminghelanda ... i liber Aluuinus commendatus Gueit ... Ulmar prepositus adiunxit

Before leaving the question of title I should like to revert to the fact that the practice of grants in military tenure was to a large extent conducted by ceremonial feoffment without any charter.[1] This led to a great deal of uncertainty in the status of such tenants, and to the necessity for the Crown to draw up special feodaries and to demand formal returns. From a juridical point of view it was important, because it led to the employment of inquests and of recorded proceedings in the feudal courts. One of the reasons for the speedy formation of regular courts baron must have been the necessity for securing the legal establishment and transfer of title.

Feoffment without charter.

But the practice is not feudal in its origin. It may be traced to distinct precedents in the Old English and Scandinavian public courts. It was, in fact, the necessary outcome of the requirements of alienation in an age and in a society which were not much conversant with writing, and had to rely on public declarations and on the memory of witnesses to keep up the validity and the legal tradition of acts.

One more eventuality has to be considered in connexion with title, namely, settlement in the case of disputed claims. The judicial treatment of such cases needs no consideration, as it is not more peculiar to the eleventh century than to any other. But the procedure of the Domesday, following on wholesale appropriation and transfer of property, brought with it the necessity of summary adjudication between rival claimants, and thus Domesday Book itself gets to be not merely a statement of fact as to the distribution of property and fiscal dues, but also a record of title. We need not

Adjudication.

hunc liberum hominem ad firmam regis de Brunfort, et Roger uicecomes est ei Warant.' 282 b: (Ringfield, Suffolk) 'Ringesfella. (In Wanneforda Hd.). . . lxxx liberi homines, et iii sunt additi de hoc hundret ad manerium de Montfort, tempore regis Willelmi, de quibus sunt supradicti xii qui non reddiderunt ullam consuetudinem ad istud supradictum manerium tempore regis Edwardi, sed modo reddunt xv lib. et istam consuetudinem constituit illis Aluricus prepositus in tempore R. Bigot.' Cf. 307 b (Rimdham, Suffolk); 314 b (Strattuna, Suffolk); 333 a (Lokesfort, Suffolk).

[1] On preconquestual practice see my paper, 'The Transfer of Land in Old English Law,' in the Harvard Law Review, May, 1907.

speak of the important issues which turned at a later time on the entries as to the Ancient Demesne of the Crown. But it is to be noticed that the *Clamores* and *Invasiones* which are noticed throughout, and sometimes brought together in separate columns, were materials for actual adjudication, and in a few cases we actually catch glimpses of these quasi-judicial proceedings occasioned by the Inquest. One of the most characteristic is the notice in the Exon Domesday relating to the manor of Olwritone in Devonshire. It was in the hands of the Abbey of Tavistock at the time of the Survey, and the Abbot rested his claim on the fact that an antecessor of his had held the estate before him. But the barons sent by King William to inquire into the state of land-holding in England disseized the Abbot because the English jurors gave witness that Olwritone did not belong to the Abbey on the day when King Edward was quick and dead.[1] The entry is curious in many ways. It shows, to begin with, that the Exon copy of Domesday had been written for the use of the Abbey of Tavistock, or, at any rate, by scribes prejudiced in its favour, and this at a time when all the operations connected with the Survey had come to a close; it is retrospective in its character, and tinged by a certain prepossession. And, incidentally, it gives direct evidence as to the power of the barons of King William, his commissioners, as we should say, to disseize a tenant, that is to settle in a decisive way disputed questions of title and to transfer possession. They act in accordance with the evidence tendered by the English, that is, evidently, of the English jurors of the hundred, and the latter evidently had given their verdict on the strength of the tradition as to title preserved in the hundred.

[1] Dd. iv. 165: (Werrington, Devon) 'De mansione que uocatur Olwritona erat saisitus abbas Tauestochensis ea die qua rex Willelmus misit barones suos ad inquirendas terras anglie et antecessor suus ante eum fuerat inde saisitus, et per barones regis inde desaisitus fuit propter hoc quod testati sunt angli quod ad abbatiam non pertinuit ea die qua rex Edwardus uiuus et mortuus fuit.' For the judicial power vested in the Domesday Commissioners cf. Round, in Domesday Studies, ii. 541.

Long leases.

2. Before discussing the main characteristics of tenure as shaped by the Conquest, I should like to say a few words about transactions which did not transfer ownership nor constitute tenant-right. Leases were frequent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although not so frequent as nowadays. The law of *mortmain*, by which the Church with its immense possessions was ruled, produced an exuberant system of long leases, and the disabilities of entail and privileged tenure further developed the peculiar growth of long leases in English law. Taking our stand on the Domesday Survey, we notice of course only a few of these transactions, as the object of the cadastre was to describe tenure, income, and fiscal liabilities, and not flitting incidents of possession. Yet we catch some glimpses of the features and tendencies of the law as to leaseholds. To begin with, we find in operation a practice famous in its Continental parallels under the name of *precaria remuneratoria*. Its object is to attract certain plots of land into the possession of the Church by granting estates of the latter for temporary use, with a reversion of both to the institution granting the lease.[1] Sometimes the reciprocity of obligations is not apparent on the surface. The grant of a piece of land assumes the form of a one-sided concession of usage,[2] but it is hardly likely that the Church should have been guided on such occasions by purely benevolent intentions; the gain to her corresponding to the concession made must have consisted, in these cases, in indirect advantages, such as the protection and help of an influential person, a sheriff,

[1] Dd. i. 208 a: (Hunts) 'Terram Alurici de Gellinge et Emingeforde testantur fuisse S. Benedicti et eas fuisse concessas Alurico in uita sua tali ratione quod post mortem suam debuerant redire ad aecclesiam et bocstede cum eis. Ipse autem Aluricus occisus fuit in bello apud Hastinges, et abbas recepit terras suas donec Albericus de Ver desaisiuit eum.' Cf. ibid. ii. 361 b (Pachenham, Suffolk); ibid. i. 376 a ('Terra Ingemund,' Lincs.).

[2] Dd. i. 45 d: (Amport, Hants) 'Anne . . . Huic manerio pertinent v hidae quas tenet Radulfus de Mortemer. Quidam frater Edrici tenuit tali conuentione quod quamdiu bene se haberet erga eum tam diu terram de eo teneret et si uendere uellet non alicui nisi ei de quo tenebat uendere uel dare liceret. Hoc testatur hundred.' Cf. 47 a (Suantune).

for instance,[1] or in the need to avert greater losses. The clause guaranteeing reversion was in any case intended to preclude too gross encroachments on the rights of the Church. A very characteristic group of conventions is formed by leases for three lives, which seem to have been especially common in the estates of the see of Worcester.[2] This is again a form of land-holding which played a great part on the Continent, especially in Italy.[3] It was a kind of compromise between the tendency towards concentration of property in the hands of a few great potentates, and the dissemination of profits among a numerous class of their retainers and servants. The Church brought this particular form of lease into practice on her territory in order to secure at least some supervision of her rights and interests in cases which would have led otherwise to the constitution of downright freehold and military tenure. The obligations incumbent on the tenants for three lives instituted by Bishop Oswald of Worcester were those of knights and sergeants, but the holdings conferred on them were subjected to a clause of reversion after three lives which put the bishop in a position different from that of an ordinary feudal lord in regard to his tenants.[4]

Short-term leases.

Leases on short terms were unusual in those troubled times; they did not give sufficient security either to the

[1] Dd. i. 173 a: (Worcs.) 'De ipso manerio tenet Ailricus archidiaconus i hidam ad Bradelege . . . Eldredus archiepiscopus praestitit suo preposito T. R. E. et quando uoluit iuste ei abstulit.'

[2] Dd. i. 66 c: (Hannington, Wilts) 'Eadem aecclesia (Glastingberiensis) tenet Hanindone . . . De hac eadem terra iii hidas uendiderat abbas cuidam taino T. R. E. ad aetatem trium hominum et ipse abbas habebat inde seruitium et postea debebat redire ad dominium.' Cf. ibid. 72 b (Hiwi, Wilts); ibid. 46 d (Ordie, Hants). Heming, Cartulary (ed. Hearne), p. 123 (968): 'Ego Oswald ergo Christi crismate presul iudicatus Dominice Incarnationis anno 968 annuente regi Anglorum Eadgar Aelfereque Merciorum Comite, nec non et familie Weogornenis ecclesie, quandam ruris particulam, duas uidelicet mansas, in loco qui celebri uocatur a soliculis æt stoce vocabulo, cuidam ministro meo nomine Æthelweardo, perpetua largitus sum hereditate, et post uite sue terminum, duobus tantum heredibus immunem derelinquat; quibus defunctis, aecclesie Dei in Weogornaceastre restituatur.' Cf. 125, 126, 127, 128, 215, &c.

[3] Pertile, Storia del diritto, iv. 303 ff.

[4] Domesday Book and Beyond, 309 ff.

tenant or to the owner. Besides the difficulty of enforcing covenants and of getting suitable lessees, the tendency of the tenants was decidedly to install themselves in conditions as like perpetual tenure as possible. It was the position which answered best to the investment of capital in land on the part of the tenant, and to a husbandry working more for consumption than for the market. Short leases were also inconvenient for the great landowner, because of the difficulties of administration. It is very characteristic of the steady change for the better, in regard to social protection and intercourse, that short leases become more and more common from the end of the thirteenth century, and begin to transform the economic system based on hereditary tenant-right. We shall have to revert to these phenomena when the time comes for discussing the husbandry of our period. Now we have to take into account on the juridical side that such contracts as the Italian *libellos*,[1] commonly concluded for twenty-nine years, are out of place in the England of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nor is the *colonia partiaria*, based on the division of profits between the tenant and a lord providing the implements and capital of exploitation, reflected in the sources. Leases at rack-rents occur but rarely, and they are mostly produced by efforts to get waste land under some kind of cultivation.[2] Here again Continental practices present instructive parallels. The hospitality offered by ecclesiastical institutions and great men in Capetian France to settlers (*hospites*) started generally from an entirely precarious tenure, but led in many cases to the development of thriving colonies with privileged tenant-right for the 'guests'.[3] Although this kind of hospitality

[1] Pertile, Storia del diritto italiano, iv. 291 ff.

[2] Dd. i. 314 b: (Hildreschelf, Yorks) '4 carucatas terre ad geldum. Terra 4 carucis. Nunc Berenger habet ibi iii censarios cum ii carucis.' Cf. Hotun, ibid. Dd. i. 270 a: (Blackburn, Lancs.) 'Blacheburne ... ibi sunt tot homines qui habent xi carucas et dimidiam quos ipsi concesserunt esse quietos usque ad iii annos et ideo non appreciatur modo.'

[3] Luchaire, Institutions Monarchiques, pp. 128 ff.

was not quite so much in fashion in England, both the term and the thing existed there.[1]

The fief. 13. The terms *feudum, fevum* were imported into England by the French phraseology of the conquerors. They do not appear before the Conquest, though one may certainly speak of Old English land tenure as to a great extent feudalized even before the invasion of the Normans. Still, the terms and the corresponding definite legal rules were certainly taken over by these latter into the conquered kingdom. The most usual sense of the term *feudum* or *fevum* is, indeed, the complex of estates held by a lord after the Conquest: there is, for instance, a fief of Frederic, the brother of W. de Warenne,[2] or a fief of the Bishop of Thetford.[3] But such general mentions show, according to French mediaeval ideas, that the estates were held of somebody; in the case quoted, and in most of those which occur expressly, they are held of the king. The term 'feudum' implies the feudal nexus, and the virtual repartition of the whole of England into fees amounts to the admission of the famous rule formulated later on by the lawyers of Northern France: *nulle terre sans seigneur*—'no land is held without a lord,' as we might describe it more lengthily in modern English. This rule, though not expressed in as many words in the Survey, is indicated in several passages. There is, e.g., a claim of a certain Norman Crassus in regard to a house in Lincoln. It belonged formerly to the Abbey of

[1] Dd. i. 184 c: (Hope, Hereford) 'Ibi ii hidae geldantes. Terra est iiii carucis. Ibi sunt homines reddentes x sol. et viii den. pro suis hospitiis. Nil aliud ibi est.' Ibid. (Lenehalle), 'De quibusdam hominibus ibi hospitatis habentur c denarii quamdiu ipsi uoluerint.' Cf. Letune, 184 d.

[2] Dd. ii. 170 b: (Holkham, Norfolk) 'In Holcham tenet Galterius dimidiam carucatam terrae, semper i bordarius et pertinet ad Brunaham et est de feudo frederici et ibi est appreciata.' Cf. 171 b (Gersam); 277 a: (Invasiones in Nordfulc) 'In Toddenham iiii liberi homines dim. car. terrae de feudo fedrici commendati suo antecessori.' Cf. Freeman, Norman Conquest, iii. 470.

[3] Dd. ii. 379 b: (Thetford, Norfolk) 'Feudum episcopi de Tedfort. In Seilanda i liber homo Stigandi. ii carucatae terrae & xii bordarii et ii carucae in dominio. Tunc iiii carucae hominum. Modo ii.' Ib. i. 32 d (Surrey).

Peterborough, but the Abbot omitted to pay geld for it, and it was taken over in mortgage (*in vadimonio*) by Godred, the Saxon predecessor of Norman Crassus, in payment for 3½ marks of silver. The transaction is interesting in yet another way, indicating, as it does, the burden of the geld; but the point to which I should like to call attention on the present occasion is the fact that Norman claims the house as of the king's fee,[1] and this can hardly mean anything else but that he was enfeoffed on behalf of the king with the estates of Godred. We have here an interesting clue, showing that the feudal principle was introduced by the very process of the original distribution of land after the Conquest. This is also expressed indirectly in two disputes between Roger Bigod and Roger de Ramis as to land in Suffolk. The latter challenged the possession by Bigod of the land which had belonged to Wicolf, and all the freemen whom Warenger held of Bigod, asserting that the estates in question had been delivered to him earlier than to Bigod. The hundred did not know what to say, because Warenger, who had evidently been the Saxon owner, held of both litigants. Warenger himself, now sunk to the position of an under-tenant, gave witness in favour of Bigod, but Roger de Ramis did not submit, and contradicted this testimony by all legal means.[2] In Staham seventeen freemen had been 'added' by Bigod to the manor in the reign of King William, although his Saxon predecessor had not had any right in them. Roger de Ramis contended that they did belong to his fief before Bigod got any land in Suffolk; the hundred testified, however, that

[1] Dd. i. 336 b, c: (Lincoln) 'Domum de qua abbas de Burgo ... non dedit geldum, ipsam clamat Normannus Crassus de feuo regis. Ipsam enim habuit Godredus antecessor suus in uadimonio pro tribus markis argenti et dimidia.'

[2] Dd. ii. 338 a, b: (Hunston, Honington, Suffolk) 'Totam terram Wicolfi, et hos omnes liberos homines quod (*sic*) tenet Warengerus de Rogero Bigot calumpniatur Rogerus de Raimis et dicit quod sibi liberatum fuit priusquam Rogero Bigot. Et hundret nescit ex hoc uerum dicere, quia ille Garengerus de utroque tenebat, sed tamen ille Warengerus reuocat ad feudum Rogeri Bigot, et Roger de Ramis hoc contradicit omnibus legibu

Roger Bigod had received them in connexion with his fief before Roger de Ramis.[1] Not only the collision in regard to feudal rights derived from delivery by the king is to be noticed, but the fact that these rights were conceded, not piecemeal, but *en bloc*, by reference to Saxon predecessors. This involved the application of a double rule: the extent of the estates comprised in the new tenure was regulated by the limits and incidents of the old preconquestual one; at the same time the character of the tenure incurred a change, for instead of the various forms of land-holding known to Saxon times the uniform feudal tenure appeared. We see that, e.g., a relation based on mortgage (*vadimonium*) is converted into an ordinary feudal tenement.

Feudal tenures.

This does not mean that the fiefs derived from the new feudal nexus were not beginning to be differentiated in their turn: frankalmoign, burgage, socage, sergeanty develop by the side of the main military tenure, and all these varieties have roots in the past as well as in the more modern feudal law. But whereas in Saxon times they grew without any direct and necessary reference to the king's grant, as results of independent legal forces, the introduction of fiefs transformed all these relations into varieties of one main feudal group. Taking frankalmoign as an example, we find, on the one hand, an exceptionally privileged tenure based on the substitution of prayers and ecclesiastical performances for material service, while in the preconquestual period the freedom from *gafol*, *geld*, and various other public obligations is an immunity of certain churches, or estates, or parts of an estate, and not the basis of any specific tenure. Indeed, these immunities fluctuate

[1] Dd. ii. 337 b: (Suff.) 'Staham tenuit idem Brun pro manerio lx acrarum t. r. e. modo Warengerus de Rogero. . . . In eadem xvii liberi homines sunt additi huic manerio t. r. Willelmi de quibus nichil habuit antecessor Rogeri Bigot. Istos liberos homines calumpniatur Rogerus de Ramis tenuisse ad suum feudum antequam R. Bigot terram recepisset in Sudfolc, sed hundret testatur quod Rogerus Bigot eos recepit prius ad suum feudum, et hoc contradicit Rogerus de Ramis omni lege, et habet lxviiii acras. Ex his fuerunt v commendati antecessori Ranulfi Piperelli. scilicet Saxo.'

according to times and reigns, sometimes amounting to an assertion of the exemption of all Church property, while on other occasions they are restricted to a few emphatic cases of exemption.[1] Burgage tenements are indeed specialized by their position and obligations from Saxon times, and the Norman invasion did not make them more peculiar than before,[2] but socage tenure, or non-military freehold, does not appear as a feudal tenure at all before the Conquest. The freemen who could sell their land to whom they pleased were not feudal tenants in the later sense, though many of them may have been commended to one or the other magnate, and though the rest held under the king, but not from the king in the feudal sense. It is perhaps the best place here to notice a legal fallacy which comes to play a great part in the social history of England. I mean the treatment of small freemen as king's tenants in the counties where such small freemen were still very conspicuous. Sometimes this is done in such a way that we perceive at once the late introduction of the feudal principle into their condition.[3] In other cases, however, they are described as king's tenants or freemen on the king's estates, as though this were already their specifically feudal condition T. R. E. and before. In truth this sliding into the feudal groove is only one of the expressions of the general growth of aristocracy culminating in the Conquest. Its seamy side was the absorption of such small freemen by great lords and church institutions. I am not speaking of the economical evolution involved in this process, nor of the numberless acts of violence by which it was characterized, but of a juridical element connected with it, namely, the

[1] Domesday Book and Beyond, 235 f. Cf. Thorpe, Diplom., 443, 660.

[2] Domesday Book and Beyond, 198.

[3] Dd. ii. 272 b: (Norfolk) 'I . . . sunt homines liberi regis . . . In Stalham habet Ailmarus filius Goduini vii liberos homines de 1 acris . . . In Ludham tenet isdem iiii liberos homines xii ac. . . . Et in Eccles iiii liberos homines xx ac. . . . In Wactanesham iii liberos homines x ac. . . . In Horseia iiii. xx ac.' ii. 447 b: (Suffolk) 'Inuasiones super Regem . . . Ricardus filius Gisleberti comitis. In Bradeleia iiii liberi homines.' 448 a: 'In eadem (Kauanadis) inuasit Ricardus de Clara liberum hominem regis Edwardi sed antecessor suus nichil omnino in eo habuit.'

introduction of the feudal nexus into relations which were matter of the public law of citizenship before. The contrast I am trying to express may be too pointed when reduced to such very modern definitions, but I hope my meaning will not be misunderstood when I use them to substantiate this contrast.

Alod. It is from the point of view of Old English and not of postconquestual tenure that another celebrated term used in the Survey must be explained, namely, *alod, alodium.* The term is again French, and is celebrated in the history of Continental law for the opposition presented by it to the term *feudum.* But then no such opposition is traceable in the English common law after the Conquest. All ownership of land resolves itself into tenure, and is derived ultimately from a royal grant in consideration of service. There is no independent property in English feudal law, nothing like the *dominium* of Roman law, or even like the *aleu* of Southern France, where the maxim 'nul Seigneur sans titre' obtained, that is, the rule—no one is deemed a lord unless he proves it. Why should, then, the French lawyers of the Conqueror speak of alods in England? Evidently because they came across forms of land-holding in the conquered country which struck them by their resemblance to the *aleu* of France. At the time of the Survey it may have been even doubtful whether such forms should not continue to exist in the new kingdom, because the county courts and the hundreds were still more familiar with them than with the feudal productions of the Conquest. The possibility of such a development was cut short by the jurisprudence of the central royal courts, which systematically enforced and developed the feudal doctrine. But it is interesting to note how often the great Survey appeals to alodial law, in order to characterize the land-holding of its time. The direct references to land held in alod are always to T. R. E., usually with the adjunct *de rege.*[1] Thus it is assumed that the land was held

[1] Dd. i. 43 c: (Winchfield, Hants) 'Abbatia de Certesyg (Chertsey) tenet Winesflet et Walterus Fitz Other de Abbatia. Aluuinus tenuit in

of the king. But it would be wrong to say that the alod meant land held of the king as opposed to land held of other persons. To begin with, there are numbers of cases when land is held of the king without any alodial qualification; in fact the majority of the *tenentes in capite* held of the king without any reference to *alod*, and were meant to hold fiefs. Nor were their Saxon predecessors described as normally holding *in alode*. The mere *tenuit* certainly does not imply it. In some cases *alod* is said to be held of the king and even of private persons.[1] Once, although *alod* is not directly mentioned, an expression is employed which seems taken as an equivalent to it: it is '*in propria libertate* de rege Edwardo'. This is opposed to *in presto*,[2] 'by lease,' 'in concession,' which applies to another manor held by the same person. The three manors held '*in propria libertate*' in his own franchise, or perhaps 'in free ownership', seem to have been at the full disposal of the owner, while, of course, in regard to the fourth he had only a conditional use. And this can be applied, as it seems to me, to the other cases where *alod* is used, or, to express it more cautiously, to most of these cases. *Alod* is the land in the full and free disposition of its owner, the *terra testamentalis* of the charters, the *terra quam vendere potuit cui voluit* of the Domesday Survey. Such land ought, of course, to be normally under the direct supremacy of the king, and the feudalists of the Survey put it as if it were held of the king even T. R. E. They might have

alodium de rege Edwardo et nunquam pertinuit abbatiae.' (Soanesfelt [Swallowfield] & Selingfelle [Shinfield?] Berks) i. 57 b.

[1] Dd. i. 11 a: (Solton, Kent) 'Isdem Hugo tenet Soltone de episcopo. ... In hoc Manerio mansit Godricus et tenet xx acras de alodio suo.... Ansfridus tenet de feudo episcopi in Leueberge dimidium iugum, et ibi habet i uillanum et i bordarium. . . . Ibidem mansit quidam Altet qui tenuit de rege Edwardo duas acras in alodium, et tenuit eas de Ansfrido.' i. 39 d, Nonoelle (Nunwell, Hants); i. 50 b, Sotesdene (Shoddesden in Kimpton, Hants).

[2] Dd. i. 376 c: (Scotton, Scotter, Lincolnshire) 'Scira testatur quod Aschil habebat ea die qua rex Edwardus fuit uiuus & mortuus & postea, haec tria maneria—Scotune, Scotre & Ragenaltorp in propria libertate de rege Edwardo. Similiter habebat Muscham in Snotinghamscire. Et unum manerium Malmatune (Maunton) tenebat de fratre suo Brand in presto.'

pleaded for their treatment of this *derived* alodial possession, that it had its roots in royal grants, and that the king's confirmation or additional grant is often resorted to when it comes to the eventuality of making use of the owner's full powers. Still the language of the charters, if we read them right, does not warrant the feudal assumption of the compilers of the great Survey.

One or two small but curious results of the difficulty experienced by feudal lawyers, when they came across non-feudalized tenures, may be noticed in the description of Middlesex. We find in Osulvestone Hundred 12 acres termed 'de nanemaneslande[1]'. Their value is and was five shillings a year. It is entered as held by King William, and is said to have been held in the same way by King Edward. No man's land would stand directly in the king's power under any *régime*, but perhaps the identity in the way of 'holding it' attested by the Survey was not quite a literal one. The same expedient of assigning the king as lord has to be resorted to in regard to persons who have no actual lord to appeal to. In this same Middlesex hundred are to be found 30 cotters who are said to belong to the king, although they are not assigned to any manor. They pay altogether 14*s.* 10½*d.* a year. Two more are to be found in Holborn paying 20*d.* a year. All these small people, possibly squatters, at any rate scattered tenants with infinitesimal holdings, are in the custody of the Sheriff of Middlesex.[2] They are mentioned outside the boundaries of the king's estates. Yet they are said to belong to the king, and

[1] Mr. W. H. Stevenson calls my attention to the fact that the term was used as the name of a place of execution by the wall of London (Annales Paulini, pp. 291, 321). The derivation of the local name does not admit of a doubt and is characteristic.

[2] Dd. i. 127 a: (Middlesex) 'In Osuluestane Hundret tenet Willelmus rex xii acras terrae et dimidiam de nanesmaneslande. Haec terra ualuit et ualet v solidos. hanc habuit rex Edwardus similiter. In eodem hundret habet rex xxx cotarios qui reddunt per annum xiiii solidos & x denarios et i obolum. Ad Holeburne habet rex ii cotarios qui reddunt per annum xx denarios uicecomiti regis. T. R. E. Hos cotarios custodiebat semper uicecomes de Middelsexe.'

this is surely the most appropriate way of defining their position in a feudalized State.

Service.

4. Let us look at some consequences of the feudal assumption. The principal is that land is always held for service. There is no use of land to which corresponding service is not annexed. Therefore 'tenet' and 'servit' are two sides of any tenure. We hear, e. g., of a 'remuneratory' concession on the land of St. Bennet of Hulme. Edric holds two carucates in 'Haninga' of the Abbey. Of these one-half belonged to the Abbot, and he conceded it to Edric, while Edric in return gave to the Abbot the other half out of his fief, and the whole of Huningham was then held by him of the Abbot and acquitted of service.[1] It happens sometimes that several brothers are possessed of an estate; it is a common thing in such a case that the juniors should serve the senior representing the fief.[2] The view that every tenement should be justified by service places jurors into perplexity when it has to be extended to preconquestual condition. In Warram, Lincolnshire, the title of Walter d'Eyncourt goes back to the possession of Tori T. R. E., but a certain Norman held it after him at the same time, and the men of the locality and of the wapentake do not know by what pact 'he had it, as they did not see him do any service for it'.[3] The passage admits of different construction in its details. The *post eum* may be literally after him in point of time, Norman taking the place of Tori, and it being uncertain

[1] Dd. ii. 219 b: (Honing, Norfolk) 'In Haninga ii carucatas terrae tenebat Sanctus Benedictus tempore regis Edwardi. et Edricus de eo. ita quod abbas ei dederat dimidiam de suo dominio. et ille concesserat abbati aliam medietatem de suo feudo. et totum ita tenebat de abbate et deseruiebat.' i. 49 b (Hatch Warren, Hants).

[2] Dd. i. 341 b: (Bishopthorp, Lincs.) 'In Biscopetorp habuerunt Godric et ii fratres eius iii carucatas terrae ad geldum. Duo seruiebant tercio. Nunc ii homines episcopi. Terra vi carucis.'

[3] Dd. i. 361 a: (Somerby?, Lincs.) 'In Summerdebi habet Tori ii carucatas terrae et ii bouatas ad geldum. Terra xviii bobus. Ibi Raynaldus homo Walterii (de Aincurt) habet ii carucas et v uillanos cum una caruca et dimidia . . . Walterus habet Warram. . . . Hoc manerium tenuit Tori T. R. E. et Norman post eum eodem tempore. sed homines patrie et de Wapentac nesciunt quo pacto habuit, quia nullum seruitium inde uiderunt illum facere.'

by what service he came to hold the manor of the king. *Eo tempore* would then merely stand for T. R. E., while *pacto* would have to be taken in a general sense 'in what way', 'in what manner.' On the other hand, one may construe *pacto* and *eo tempore* literally—'by what convention' and 'at the same time'. In this case *post eum* would have to be taken in the sense of 'behind him'; Norman would be a mesne tenant, what the French called *arrière vassal*, and what the Germans, in a rather lower range of relations, termed *Hintersasse*. This seems the more probable explanation to me, but, in any case, the doubt of the jurors remains characteristic; they thought they had to look primarily to service in order to determine the quality of the tenure.

Looking back to the reign of King Edward, it is found that the 'service' chiefly implied in the tenure of estates held directly under the king was military service, in fact the military service of the *fyrd*, which came to rest primarily on the landowners.

The following passage hardly admits of any other explanation. The brothers Chetel and Turver held an estate in Covenham in inheritance from their father. They had divided it, but Chetel had to acquit it as a whole of the service of the king, not, however, without assistance from Turver.[1] Another case of the same kind occurred in Swanetone, Lincoln: Alsi and Athelstan held there one carucate to the geld, and Alfric their brother had soc over them in Hazebi, only in regard to the king's service.[2] It seems obvious that this passage also refers to a joint

[1] Dd. i. 354 a: (Covenham, Lincs.) 'In Covenham habuerunt Alsi et Chetel et Turuer iii carucatas terre & dimidiam ad geldum. Terra iiii carucis. Ibi habuit Willelmus in dominio iii carucas et xviii uillani & xvii sochmanni cum quinque carucis et dimidia. . . . Chetel et Turuer fratres fuerunt et post mortem patris sui terram diuiserunt. Ita tam ut Chetel faciens seruitium regis haberet adiutorium Turuer fratris sui.'

[2] Dd. i. 357 c: (Swaton, Lincs.) 'In eadem uilla habuerunt Alsi et Adelstan unam carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra x boum. Aluricus frater eorum habebat socam super illos in Hazebi (Ashby) solummodo in seruitio regis.'

performance of the king's service, mainly consisting in military obligations, by three brothers, the one in Hazebi acquitting himself of the main part of it, probably in person, while the two others in Swanetone did suit to him in assistance. The character and quantity of the service might be left uncertain and dependant on fluctuating agreements. The absence of any service is noted as quite exceptional, when it refers to the reign of King William, and is not explained by frank-almoign; it is hardly anything but failure to undertake or to perform a duty. This seems to be the most natural explanation of the Bedfordshire case of Godwin, the burgess of Bideham.[1] In the preconquestual period the absence of service may mean an arrangement transferring the duties incumbent on a plot of land to some person other than the tenant.[2] Such a case could not exist under feudal law. If anybody wanted to hold land securely he had to join the series of interdependent tenures by a nexus of service, even though it were nominal. But the Domesday Survey recognizes sometimes that it might be otherwise before the Conquest; a person could hold land without being liable to any service. A case in point may be quoted from the survey of Worcestershire (Biselie).[3] It is characteristic, however, of the bent of mind of the com-

[1] Dd. i. 218 b: (Biddenham, Beds) 'In Bideham ... tenet Goduinus burgensis de rege unam hidam et quartam partem unius uirgatae. Terra est i caruce & ibi est pratum i caruce ... Dimidiam hidam de hac terra iste qui nunc tenet tenuit T. R. E. quam potuit dare cui uoluit. Dimidiam uero hidam & quartam partem unius uirgatae emit postquam rex Willelmus in anglia uenit, set nec regi nec alicui inde seruitium fecit, nec de ea liberatorem habuit.'

[2] C. D. 805 (Ealdred. B. 1046–1060): (Worcester) 'Ad aecclesiam quae sita est ... in Uuigornaceastre, ita eam liberam trado sicut eam liberam ipse (Aki) tenebat et ego eam liberam ab eo accepi, tam a seruitio villae episcopalis Breodune, ad quam dicebatur antiquis temporibus pertinere debuisse, ... quam a caeteris cuiuscumque hominis seruitiis, praeter, ut diximus, regis, iuxta morem patriae. Sit autem ... haec terra libera a Breodune, ab omni seruitio tam aecclesiastico quam saeculari et episcopali etiam, cum saka et socne, tolle et teame, ciricsceatte et decimis, et omnibus redditibus.'

[3] Dd. i. 180 d: (Bushley, Worc.) 'Rex tenet Biselie . Brictric tenuit . qui et emit illud a Liuingo episcopo Wirecestre . iii markis auri . simul et unam domum in Wirecestre civitate . quae reddit per annum markam argenti . et simul unam siluam una leuua longam et tantum-

pilers of the Survey that in such a case they would enter the land under the general rubric of the king's possessions. The freedom referred to in the description of Photestorp, Norfolk, seems of another kind: it is freedom from subjection to the Church, in fact an assertion of independence which would make the owner a tenant in chief performing service to the king.[1]

Recognition.

One of the consequences of this doctrine as to service is the value of the latter as a recognition of tenure, quite apart from its material importance. Everybody knows the significance attached to the payment of a pound of pepper or the presentation of a rose, from this point of view. We can trace the practice in Domesday. There was a complicated dispute in Norfolk about the tenure of 30 acres in Mundeham. Alfric had held them T. R. E. from Archbishop Stigand. He was outlawed, and the king's reeve, Ulketel, seized the land into the king's hands. Roger Bigod obtained the possession of it from King William, but Count Alan claimed the holding as having belonged to Earl Ralph (Guader) in his manor of Rumburgh. In giving evidence on the claims, the men of the hundred made statements about the recognitions and services performed by Ulketel, who, evidently, had kept the plot in his direct use. He had recognized once a year Count Ralph before the latter forfeited his estates, and in the same way he had once performed service in Rumburgh after the forfeiture; but, on the other hand, they had heard Ulketel say that he owed service to Roger Bigod.[2]

dem latam. Hoc totum ita emit & quiete tenuit . ut inde non seruiret cuiquam homini.'

[1] Dd. ii. 213: (Norfolk) 'In Photestorp i carucata terrae & iii uillani & ii bordarii . semper i carucata in dominio & dimidia carucata hominum. . . . Hanc terram calumpniatur esse liberam Ulchetel homo Hermeri, quocunque modo iudicetur uel bello uel iuditio, et alius est presto probare eo modo quod iacuit ad ecclesiam die qua rex Edwardus obiit, sed totus hundredus testatur eam fuisse t. r. e. ad socam Adeld.'

[2] Dd. ii. 176 b: (Mundham, Norfolk) 'In Mundaham tenuit Aluricus liber homo sub Stigando . t. r. e. xxx acras terrae . . . Iste Aluricus ut lagauit et prepositus regis Ulketel saisiuit terram in manu regis, et Rogerus Bigot rogauit a rege, et concessit ei. Hanc calumpniatur

A special recognition was due in case of a change of tenants—the beginning of relief.

It would be difficult to say whether it began to be in use in Edward the Confessor's reign. It is noticed about a Hampshire thane that he omitted to make the customary recognition to the king after the death of his Uncle Godric, who held the land before him.[1] The men in question are Saxons, and hold from the reign of King Edward, but the change of tenant may have occurred after the Conquest.

Recognition of lordship in regard to land and corresponding service as rent occurs certainly before the Conquest.[2] There is a curious entry in the narration of the Acts of the Monastery of Worcester. A Dane of the name of Simund, a thane (*miles*) of Earl Leofric of Mercia, is said to have devastated Crohlea, an estate of the monastery, and to have nearly deprived it of cultivators. The Prior at last gave him the land to hold during life on the condition of performing the *fyrd* service for the abbey by land and sea, and of making recognition of the lordship of the Prior by the yearly presentation of a horse or of money instead.[3] The

comes Alanus quod tenuit comes Ranulphus ad Rombort manerium suum, et homines hundredi audierunt istum Ulketel cognoscentem una uice per i annum antequam Ranulfus se forefecisset et postea quam forefecisset una uice similiter quod iste Ulketel deseruiebat in Romboro . et ad ultimum audiuit hundredus istum eundem dicentem quod deseruiebat erga Rogerum Bigot. Homines comitis Alani uno quoque anno habuerunt inde x solidos praeter iiii annos ultimos.'

[1] Dd. i. 50c: (Redbridge Hundred, Hants) 'Alricus tenet . . . dimidiam hidam. Hanc tenuit pater eius de rege Edwardo. Sed hic regem non requisiuit post mortem Godric sui auunculi . qui eam custodiebat.'

[2] Dd. i. 174a: (Hallow-in-Grimley, Worcs.) 'De eodem manerio (Halhegan) tenet Hugo Grentemaisnel dimidiam hidam ad Lappewrte (Lippard) . fuit et est de soca episcopi. Ibi sunt iii uillani et ii bordarii. Ibi presbiter et unus uenator . . . De hac terra per singulos annos redduntur viii denarii ad aecclesiam de Wirecestre . pro cirsette et recognitione terrae.' i. 175b: (Pershore, Worcs.) 'De hac terra tenet Urso unam hidam et dimidiam . . . Hanc terram tenuit Azor et inde seruiebat ecclesiae, et pro recognitione dabat in anno monachis unam firmam aut xx solidos . et erat conuentio ut post mortem eius et uxoris suae, rediret terra ad dominium aecclesiae. Hic uiuebat die obitus regis Edwardi et ita terram tenebat. Postea uero uxore sua iam mortua . factus est Utlagh.'

[3] Thorpe, Diplom. Saxon. p. 450: (Crowle, Worcs.) 'Simund quidam, genere Danus, miles Leofrici, comitis Merciorum, possessor existens alte-

narrative may excite suspicion as to details, but the institutional features of it are hardly likely to have been devoid of foundation in matter of fact usage.

Feudal incidents.

Some of the casual incidents of feudal tenure appear in rudimentary form in the Survey. We hear, for instance, that a lord gave away land held of him together with the daughter of a deceased tenant[1]; this evidently refers to the marriage of an heiress in case of failure of heirs male. The material part of another transaction is not so clear: it may be prompted by the desire to provide for the aged widow of the deceased. Or else the widow herself may get married to the new tenant of the fief.[2] But we see that the marriage right of the lord is neither a formality nor a mere pretext for levying a fine. The payment of *heriot* is, of course, Old English, but it is quite distinct from the relief of a particular estate or fief. The latter is a payment for renewed investiture, the former a resumption by the lord of part of the equipment or stock conferred by him on a retainer.

The heriot varies greatly with the status of the vassal, while the relief, after a long period of struggle and arbitrary exactions, settled down into a kind of tariff graduated according to the quality of the fief; barony, knight fee, and sergeanty being appraised differently, while socage tenements were held to be exempt from relief—probably a

rius Crohlea . . . nostre tunc propriae villae dominatum avare cupiebat. Quam cum adipisci nullo modo posset, . . . eam tot damnis et placitis peioravit, ut fere eam colonis destitueret . . . Prior istius monasterii ei terram concessit possidendam vitae suae spatio, ea tamen conventione, ut pro ea ipse ad expeditionem terra marique (quae tunc crebro agebatur) monasterio serviret, pecuniaque placabali, sive caballo, ipsum priorem unoquoque anno recognosceret.' (Heming, Cart. i. 264).

[1] Dd. i. 173 b: (Crombe d'Abitot, Worcs.) 'Ibidem ad Crumbe tenet Siuuardus v hidas et ibi habet i carucam & vi uillanos & iiii bordarios cum iiii carucis . . . Hanc terram tenuit Sirof de episcopo (de Wirecestre) T. R. E. quo mortuo dedit episcopus filiam eius cum hac terra cuidam suo militi . qui et matrem pasceret et episcopo inde seruiret.'

[2] Dd. i. 167 b: (Guiting-Power, Gloucs.) 'Rex Edwardus tenuit (Getinge) & accommodauit eum Aluuino uicecomiti suo ut in uita sua haberet, non tamen dono dedit ut comitatus testatur. Mortuo uero Aluuino, rex Willelmus dedit, Ricardo cuidam iuueni uxorem eius et terram. Nunc Willelmus successor Ricardi ita tenet hanc terram.'

recognition of their being more ancient than feudal tenure and therefore exempt from one of its most characteristic incidents.

5. The Domesday Survey pays a good deal of attention to one form of tenure which it distinguishes carefully from ordinary tenements. I mean the tenure in parage (*in paragio*). It appears as a preconquestual tenure—people are not said to hold *in paragio* or *pariter*[1] T.R.W.; the notices in question are introduced by *tenuerunt*.[2] Now there seem to be two clues for the explanation of the term and of the tenure. In a certain number of cases the words *in paragio* and *pariter* are glossed by the expression *libere* inserted over them.[3] In keeping with this we find that when a thane, holding in such a way, has for some reason to pay a certain rent, this is mentioned as an exception and introduced by a *tamen*.[4] Then again we find people holding tenements in such a manner, who are styled *alodiarii*, so that the tenure is assimilated to *alod*.[5] Parage.

[1] See especially the survey of the Isle of Wight, Dd. i. 52 c, ff.

[2] Dd. iv. 246: (Tintinhull, Somerset) 'Tintehella quam tenuit Alnodus Abbas Glastingesberie (Glastonbury) die qua rex Edwardus fuit uiuus & mortuus. In ea sunt vii hide & i uirga. (Istam uirgam tenuit unus tegnus pariter die &c.).' Cf. 247: 'Estocha quam tenuerunt v tegni pariter die qua &c. . reddidit gildum pro v hidis & dimidia & i uirga (ista uirga non reddidit gildum T. E. R.). Inde tenuit Edwi duo hidas & dimidiam & i uirgam, & quatuor fratres tenuerunt predictas iii hidas . & unusquisque eorum habuit tres uirgas.' Cf. 257 Cocintune (Somerset); also i. 60 a (Peasemore, Berks). I do not wish to imply that the tenure was unknown in Normandy. On the contrary, the term 'parage' is French. See Ancienne Coutume de Normandie, c. 30; cf. Viollet, Histoire du droit civil, 841 f. But, as a rule, the French tenants did not use this tenure in England.

[3] Dd. iv. 202: (Spriddlestone, Devon) 'Espredelestona, quam tenuerunt iiii tegni pariter ea die qua &c. et potuerunt ire ad quemlibet dominum & unusquisque eorum tenuit inde i ferlinum et reddidit gildum pro i uirga . hanc possunt arare . ii carucae . hanc tenet Rainaldus de comite.' Cf. i. 105 b: 'Quattuor taini libere tenebant T. R. E. et geldabant pro una uirga terrae'; i. 115 a: (Radcliffe, Devon) 'idem Rogerus tenet de Rualdo Radeclive. Alric libere [in paragio] tenebat T. R. E.' Cf. Poteford (ibidem), Codleigh, i. 117 d.

[4] Dd. iv. 480: (Martock, Somerset) 'Rex habet i mansionem quae vocatur Maertoc . quam tenuit Eadita Regina . huic addite sunt iiii hidae . . . duas hidas tenuerunt pariter ii tanni tempore regis Edwardi . sed tamen reddebant per consuetudinem xl denarios.'

[5] Dd. i. 50 d: (Langley in Fawley, Hants) 'Hugo de S. Quintino tenet Langelie per episcopum baiocensem ut dicit . pro Excambio

The freedom of the tenure is sometimes sharply contrasted with a subsequent reduction to dependence within the farm of a manor.[1] And yet we must notice at once that in a number of cases these very people were not free to go with their land where they pleased.[2] As in many other equally well attested instances the freedom to go where one pleases is expressly affirmed,[3] we have to infer either that there were local variations in the conception of the right in question, or that the qualification as to freedom to go or not to go where the tenant pleased was not deemed essential to the tenure. And after all, the freedom in question is more a personal than a tenurial trait; it corresponds to the right of commendation according to choice, and although the position of the tenement was affected by it, still the relation may have been construed on the personal basis. In any case, we constantly find free tenants hampered in their freedom of going where they please with the land.

The meaning of *paragium*, if we start from these passages, might seem to be land held by a peer of the lord. But it would be rash to stop at this conclusion. There are other passages which lead us one step further and give

unius molini quod habebat de uno homine. Quattuor alodiarii tenuerunt in paragio . T. R. E.'

[1] Dd. i. 38 b: (Hayling Island and Soberton, Hants) 'Ipse rex tenet in Halingei ii hidas & dimidiam. Leman tenuit in paragio de rege Edwardo. Heraldus abstulit ei quando regnum inuasit et misit in firma sua . . . Ipse rex tenet Sudbertune . Leman tenuit de Goduino comite . Heraldus, quando regnabat, abstulit ei et in sua firma misit, et adhuc est ibi. Ipse Leman non potuit recedere quo uoluit. Dicunt uero quod fuit in Ceptune in paragio . . . Ipse rex tenet Sudbertune. Goduin tenuit de rege Edwardo in paragio nec alicubi potuit recedere. Heraldus abstulit ei, et in firma sua misit.'

[2] Dd. i. 40 a: (Easton, Hants) 'Ipse episcopus (Wintoniens.) tenet Estune.... De hac terra huius manerii tenet Goisfridus iii hidas. Brictric tenuit de episcopo in paragio . sed non potuit ire aliubi.' Cf. 40 b, Crannelie.

[3] Dd. iv. 334: (Edgeborough in Creech S. Michael, Somerset) 'Tetesberga quam tenuerunt vi tegni pariter die qua &c. et potuerunt ire ad quemlibet dominum et reddebant gildum pro ii hidis.' i. 7 a, b: (Sifflington, Kent) 'Sifletone pro iii iugis se defendit. Terra est i carucae. . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt T. R. E. duo homines in paragio. Leuuinus et Uluuinus, et potuerunt cum terra sua se uertere quo uoluerunt.'

a more explicit interpretation of the term. The Hornecastre Wapentake gave testimony in a dispute between the Bishop of Durham and Odo the son of Spirewic, and the whole Treding of Lindsey confirmed their verdict, that there were three brothers, Harold, Godwert, and Alfric, who divided the domain of their father *aequaliter et pariliter*; the two elder divided also the soke of their father, the third not taking part in this, and they held it *aequaliter et pariliter* at the time of King Edward.[1] And, again, the men of Calnedestou Wapentake testified, with the consent of the Treding, that Siwat and Alnod and Fenchel and Aschil divided *aequaliter et pariliter* between them the estate of their father, and held it in such a way that if it was necessary to go in the king's expedition Siwat should go, if he could, and his brothers should help him. After him the second went, and Siwat with the others assisted him, and so forth. But Siwat was the king's man.[2] It cannot be contested that the equality and companionship in this case apply to equality between co-heirs in rights and duties, although one is regarded as the representative of the holding before the king. Indeed the cases are exactly on a parallel with instances already quoted of a division between co-heirs not destroying the unity of the obligation resting on the estate. Nor is there any reason for doubting that in the frequent cases when several brothers, or co-heirs, are simply said to hold *pariter* or *in paragio*, this kind of

[1] Dd. i. 375 b: (Horncastle, Lincs.) 'De calumnia inter episcopum Dunelmensem et Eudonem filium Spireuuic portauerunt testimonium homines de Hornecastre Wapentac annuente toto Treding, quod iii fratres Herold et Godeuert et Aluric diuiserunt dominicam terram patris sui aequaliter & pariliter, & solummodo Herold et Godeuert diuiserunt socam patris sui sine tercio fratre, & equaliter et pariliter tenuerunt eam T. R. E.'

[2] Dd. i. 375 c, d: (Candleshoe Wap., Lincs.) 'Testificant homines de Calnodeshou Wapentac consentiente toto Treding. quod Siuuate et Alnod et Fenchel et Aschil equaliter et pariliter diuiserunt inter se terram patris sui. T. R. E. et ita tenuerunt ut si opus fuit expeditione regis et Siuuate potuit ire. alii fratres iuuerunt eum. Post istum iuuit alter. & Siuuate cum reliquis iuuit eum, et sic de omnibus. Siuuate tamen fuit homo regis.' ii. 229 a: (? Buxton, Norfolk) 'In Bukestuna v liberi homines fratres vii carucatas terrae. Unus ex his fratribus fuit commendatus antecessori Malet et non fuit inde saisitus.'

joint family tenure was meant. In a Gloucestershire instance five brothers holding in this manner are expressly styled peers (*pares*).[1] The cases when only one person is mentioned as having held *in paragio* need not disturb us,[2] as the nature of the tenure was not altered by the accidental fact that there was only one heir to succeed to it. He might have three sons, and then the parage succession and parage tenure would come to their right again. Besides, in some cases the chief representative of the fief might be mentioned—Siwat in the Lincolnshire case just quoted. It is more difficult to explain a Somerset case, in which the two brothers holding *pariter* had divided the succession in such a way that one held five hides and the other one hide. They could not be said to hold *aequaliter*, and if they held *pariter* it means that they were compeers in the quality of their holding: there was no subinfeudation, but a transfer to two of obligations and estates which were formerly held by one and seemingly still continued a unit in respect of service.[3]

But how is one to explain the fact that, in the instances first referred to, parage is taken to be synonymous with free tenure? The probable explanation seems to be, that the two attributes were taken as coincident, although not directly derived one from the other. As a matter of fact, Old English free tenure, the ordinary tenure of thanes and persons of similar standing, was not necessarily reduced to

[1] Dd. i. 168 d: (Whaddon, Glouc.) 'Durandus tenet Wadune. Ibi v hide. Quinque fratres tenuerunt pro v maneriis et poterant ire quo uolebant & pares erant. In dominio sunt v carucae et unus uillanus & vii bordarii cum v carucis. T. R. E. ualebat viii libras, modo c solidos.' A curious case of modification of customary succession in the interest of the Church is presented by Thorpe, Dipl. 346 (A. D. 1040): —'hi wurdon sehte þæt þa gebrodra eallæ geeodon of þam lande butan anum se his Ulf gehatan, þe hyt becweden wæs,' &c.

[2] E. g. Dd. i. 38 b: (Sudbertune), quoted p. 246, n. 1.

[3] Dd. iv. 329: (Chapel Allerton, Somerset) 'Aluuarditona... reddidit gildum pro v hidis. Huic sunt addite ii mansiones quas tenuerunt ii tagni pariter T. R. E. unus quorum habuit i mansionem v hidarum. et alter aliam mansionem . unius hide. Has xi hidas possunt arare viii carruce. Radulphus de Contiuilla tenet has nunc de Waltero pro una mansione.'

unity by a rule of primogeniture, but descended to all the sons.[1] Yet the unity of the tenement and of the service attached to it asserted itself in a remarkable way. The one and full service was due from the estates divided or held jointly by the co-heirs, and one of the tenants was regarded as the representative of the whole, although he was assisted in the performance of his duties by his compeers, and might be even replaced by one of them. Now the doctrine of later feudalism was different, and much more stringent. The common law made a thorough distinction between tenements not to be subjected to partition, inasmuch as they were burdened with foreign or military service, and socage tenements which might be partitioned without detriment to the service.[2]

The unity of service brought about a unification of the tenement, while the Old English tenure of parage had merely provided rules for the execution of service by joint parceners. It is in partible socage and in gavelkind[3] that the rules of the parage succession of the Saxon age continue to be admitted. But it by no means follows that parage was the only rule practised in Saxon times. The way it is mentioned in Domesday makes it all but certain that by

[1] Dd. ii. 104 a: (Colchester, Essex) 'In eadem Colecestra tenuit Godricus i liber homo t. r. e. iiii mansiones terrae & unam ecclesiam & iiii hidas in Grenesteda . Quo mortuo filii eius terram in quat(uor) dimiserunt partes . Quarum rex habet duas in quibus pertinent due domus in burgo . quae semper regi reddiderunt consuetudinem . et adhuc reddunt. In duabus hidis tunc ii carucae in dominio & modo. Tunc iii uillani & modo. Tunc ii serui & modo . . . Tunc ualebat xl & modo. Et de duabus aliis partibus habet comes Eustachius i hidam . Et Iohannes filius Walerami alteram habet . Et in quarta comitis Euastachii est tota ecclesia et quarta pars molendini et quarta pars prati. Tunc i caruca . modo nulla . & ualet inter totum xxx solidos. Et in quarta parte Iohannis fuit i caruca t. r. e. modo nulla. Et quarta pars molendini, quarta pars prati; et ualet inter totum xxx solidos. Et de his duabus partibus nullam habet rex consuetudinem.' i. 32 a (Surrey).

[2] B. N. B. 703: 'Aunsellus filius Ade v. Iohannem filium Ade . . . Terra partibilis sicut socagium, vel non partibilis ut per servitium forinsecum vel servitium militare.' Cf. 795.

[3] B. N. B. 666: 'Prior Hospitalis Ierosolime v. Thomam de Kaunvilla.' (Partition of tenements under rules of gavelkind) Archaeologia Cantiana, ii: 'Inquis. post mortem,' No. x. 'Hundred of Milton, ... that land is divisible according to the custom of Kent,' No. xii.

the side of it unified succession did exist. If it had not been so, one does not see the reason why parage should be specially marked again and again. Of the cases where it does not occur, many must have been cases of unified succession, instances where the unity of the holding was upheld by custom. And, after all, impartible Socage and Borough English[1] go back to Saxon times quite as much as parage does, while *odal* succession appears as an ancient and independent Scandinavian custom.[2] The buying out of some of the co-heirs, the customary interdictions of the marriage of juniors and the position of their offspring—the *Haustalden* (*bachelors*) of Continental usage—must have had their counterpart in those districts of England which developed primogeniture and junior right in order to ensure the efficiency of husbandry and service in unified holdings.[3]

Bequests. 6. The effect of the law as to bookland is yet very noticeable in the Survey. It was sometimes emphatically styled *terra testamentalis*, and this expression, which originally applied merely to the charter (*testamentum*) creating title, was soon understood to refer to the right to bequeath land according to the wish of its owner. This right of free bequest expressed itself mostly in the endowment of churches, and provision for women members of the family as against the claims of the kindred.[4] The Worcestershire Survey has a most curious entry illustrating the mode of

[1] Glanville, vii. 1; Hist. of Engl. Law, ii[1]. 268 ff.; i[1]. 632.

[2] Boden, in the Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte (Savigny Stiftung), Germ. Abth., xxii. 109 ff.; Brandt, Forlæsninger over Norsk Retshistorie, i. 161 ff.

[3] Cf. Rhamm, Die Grosshufen der Nordgermanen.

[4] C. S. 1317: (Will of Wulfgat of Donnington, Worcs.) 'His sawel scættas þ is .i. hid æt Tærdebicgan (Tardebigg) and i pund penega . and vi and twentig freot monna for his sawle . and into Wigeracæstre (Worcester) an bryþen mealtes healf of Dunnintune healf of Cylles hale . and into sancte Æþelbrihte (Hereford Cathedral) healfes pundes weorð, . . . and he ann his wife þæs landes æt Cylles hale . and æt Eowniglade (Evenlode) and æt Hrodene þa hwile hire dæg beo . and ofer hire dæg ga þ land eft in min cynn þa ðær ne liste syn . . . and Ælfilde mire magan þa hide beneoþan wuda.' For an early instance of the clause as to freedom of instituting heirs see C. D. 202.

making a 'cwiððe', a testament that should stand at law. A dying man calls to his bed his son, his wife, and several friends, and addresses them with the words: 'Hark, my friends. I will that my wife shall hold this land which I bought from the Church as long as she lives, and after her death let the Church from which I had it take it. And should any one encroach on this land, let him be excommunicated.' This is attested by the best men of the shire, who presumably were among the witnesses called to the death-bed.[1]

Women holding land.

Mentions of women holding land are not unfrequent.[2] One is even termed *liber homo*.[3] The estate of a widow is taken from her if she marries a second husband before a year has elapsed[4]: does she lose her freebench in this case, or is the forfeiture a consequence of the unseemly behaviour of the woman? It seems that the second explanation is more to the point, as in the first case the use of a deceased husband's estate should lapse when

[1] Dd. i. 177 a: (Selley, Worcs.) 'Escelie. Ibi pertinet una Bereuuiche Berchelai. (? Bartley Green). Inter totum iiii hidae ... Hoc manerium emit isdem Uluuinus T. R. E. de episcopo cestrensi ad aetatem trium hominum. Qui cum infirmatus ad finem vitae venisset, vocato filio suo episcopo Li[fing Wigorn.] et uxore sua et pluribus amicis suis, dixit. Audite uos, amici mei. Hanc terram quam ab aecclesia emi volo ut teneat uxor mea dum uixerit, et post mortem eius recipiat aecclesia de qua accepi et qui inde abstulerit excommunicatus sit. Hoc ita fuisse testificantur meliores homines totius comitatus.'

[2] Dd. ii. 188 b: (Keswick, Norfolk) 'In Kesewic ... iiii liberi homines duo commendati tantum, et unus sub antecessore Godrici similiter, et quartus Stigandi similiter, et habent i carucatam terre. de xxx acris istius terre saisitus erat Godricus quum Rogerus forisfecit et due sue mulieres ibi manebant; modo eam tenet Aitardus de Rogero.' ii. 264 b: (Seething, Norfolk) 'In Sinthinga calumpniatur quedam pauper monialis iiii acras terre quas illa tenuit sub Radulfo tam ante et postquam se forefecisse ... Et Isac reuocat ex dono regis ad feudum suum.'

[3] Dd. ii. 202 b: (Walsham, Norfolk) 'Adhuc in Walessam tenet Gert i liberum hominem feminam touu de i carucata terre. Semper iii bordarii et dimidia carucata.' Cf. ii. 210 b (Sterestuna).

[4] Dd. ii. 199 a: (Plumstead, Norfolk) 'In Plummesteda tenet Goduinus i liberum hominem Gerti . i carucatam terrae . modo tenet Willelmus episcopus ... Et ibi sunt x liberi homines de xxx acris terrae commendati tantum Goduin ... Postquam rex Willelmus uenit in hanc terram inuasit Almarus episcopus pro forisfactura . quia mulier que tenuit nupsit inter annum post mortem uiri.'

his widow marries again, irrespectively of the time when she does it. The origin of the estate had to be carefully looked into, if one may judge from a Norfolk case where Roger Bigod had appropriated two estates of a Saxon *antecessor*, of which only one had belonged to him in full property, as was substantiated by the fact that his son and widow still lived there, while the second estate was only under the patronage of Bigod's predecessor and was in truth free—that is, the property of the tenant subject to commendation.[1]

A most interesting though unfortunately an isolated case is reported from Yorkshire.[2] The jurors state, namely, in regard to land that had belonged to Asa, that the whole of it ought to go to Robert Malet, the Norman successor of this lady, as she held her land quite separate and free of the power and the dominion of Bewulf, her husband, while they lived together, so that he could not dispose of it by grant or sale, nor could he forfeit her land. Afterwards they were separated, and she retired with all her land and was possessed of it as its owner (*domina*). Here we come across a clear case of a married woman owning land in her own right, and independently of her husband. Ultimately the consorts get separated, and the lady exercises the full right of ownership over her land. For a commentary to this passage we have to look, not to feudal law, but to the Saxon practice of marriage contracts described

[1] Dd. ii. 188 a: (Mulbarton, Norfolk) 'In Molkebertestuna . . . i libera femina sub antecessore Godrici commendatione tantum t. r. e. xxx acre terre & ex hoc erat Godricus saisitus quando Rogerus forisfecit & ex debito reddebat ei v solidos et qui(dam?) homo Rogeri commendatione tantum filius eiusdem mulieris manebat in eadem terram (*sic*) cum matre sua, et ideo Rogerus reuocat dimidiam terram, et pater eiusdem hominis habuit in alio loco aliam terram liberam sub antecessore Rogeri commendatione tantum, et i (*sic*) illam terram tenet Rogerus totam.'

[2] Dd. i. 373 a, b, 'Clamores': (East Riding, Yorks) 'De omni terra Asae testantur quod Roberti Malet debeat esse, eo quod ipsa habuit terram suam separatam et liberam a dominatu et potestate Bernulfi mariti sui, etiam cum simul essent, ita ut ipse de ea nec donationem nec venditionem facere nec forisfacere posset. Post eorum vero separationem, ipsa cum omni terra sua recessit, et eam ut domina possedit.'

in the fragment on wedding.[1] By such contracts the disabilities in regard to donations and sales couldhave been easily imposed, whereas by Norman law even estates inherited by heiresses, 'ex proparte sororum' would have at once lapsed into the administration of the husband's, and, indeed, would have become indistinguishable from other parts of the husband's estate.[2] The separation is also curious. It is not called expressly a divorce, probably out of regard to the doctrine of the Church, but it recalls to mind the views on separation admitted by Scandinavian and early Teutonic legal custom.[3]

I have touched on this evidence of the wide-reaching capacity of women for holding land because it is characteristic of the later Saxon law, and quickly disappears under the influence of feudal jurisprudence, which favoured the stronger sex. But, notwithstanding some recent attempts to interpret these expressions of woman-right as primordial traits of Teutonic society, I think it still sufficiently established that the feudal doctrine only reverted in this case into an ancient groove, legal custom having been originally among the Germans, as well as among other tribes, in favour of the succession of male kinsmen to the land.[4] Therefore it seems to me that woman-right originated to a large extent in the rules of privileged land-holding—book-land law, and those of privileged inheritance—the 'cwiðe'.

Bookland.

The word bócland very often meets the eye on the pages of the Survey. But it occurs always as a place-name. I shall not treat here of the much-discussed problem of bookland-right, except in so much as it may help to illustrate some points in Domesday. One of these is not difficult to perceive. Bookland stands clearly in a kind of opposition to *laen land*, although a *laen* might be constructed in writing, and therefore give origin to a *bóc*. Yet in the terminology of the Church of Worcester,

[1] Liebermann, Gesetze, i. 442, c. 7.
[2] History of English Law, ii. 405 ff.
[3] Grimm, Rechtsalterthümer,[4] i. 624 f.
[4] Brunner, Kritische Bemerkungen zur Geschichte das germanischen Weibererbrechts, Zeitschrift der Savignystift. Germ. Abth., xxi. 1 ff.

which was especially apt to use written instruments for transactions which created only *laen*,[1] the latter is clearly distinguished from bookland possession.[2] The term had evidently ceased to be used in a lax sense, at any rate in the eleventh century, and carried the meaning of full ownership with it. The precision of the juridical privilege involved in the grant of bócland is further illustrated by the instruments which convert estates into Royal bóclands for the use of the kings.[3] It seems at first sight rather superfluous that sovereigns should go to the length of instituting bócland possession for themselves, as it stood free to them to make use of bookland privileges in regard to bequests and grants whenever they pleased. But the institution of such privileges was not arbitrary in the sense of being a one-sided and free expression of Royal will; it required certain forms, and especially the consent and attestation of witan.[4] Besides, the deeds by which the kings created bócland for themselves had an immediate effect on the status of the land and its obligations, inasmuch as they usually freed it from all common burdens and impositions, except the *trinoda necessitas*,[5] and sometimes perhaps even

[1] C. D. 617 (Oswald, 977): 'Ðonne is ðæs landes iii hida ðe Oswald arcebisceop *bócað* Eádríce his þegne ge ner túne ge fyr, swá swá he hit *ær* hæfde *tó lanlande* mid ðæs heorodes gewitnesse on Wigornaceastre (Worcester).' Cf. Dd. i. 173 a; C. D. 1288 (Æðelred, 965-993).

[2] C. D. 679 (Oswald, 972-992): 'Unam largior curtam in civitate Weogernensi, Aelfsige fruenti vocitamine. . . . Eác we wríta ð him ðone croft intó ðæm hagan ðe is be eástan Wulfsiges crofte ðæt he hæbbe hit swá rúm tó bóclonde swá he ær haefde tó lænlonde.'

[3] C. S. 451, Æthelwulf, King of the W. Saxons, grants to himself land 'om Homme', or 'Hamme', Dorset (?). A. D. 847. . . . 'Viginti manentium, mihi in hereditatem propriam describere jusi.' C. S. 1118: (K. Eadgar to himself, A. D. 963) 'Ego Eadgar, Rex Anglorum &c. (h)abeo id est . v mansas in loco . . . Aet Peatanige, quatinus bene perfruar et perpetualiter possideam vita comite et post me cuicunque voluero perhenniter heredi derelinquam in aeternam haereditatem. Sit autem predictum rus liberum ab omni mundiali obstaculo . . . excepto communi labore.' Cf. 1127.

[4] Cf. Brunner, Zur Rechtsgeschichte der romanisch-germanischen Urkunde, 169.

[5] C. D. 307: (Æðelred, A. D. 1012) 'Cuidam ministro meo . . . Leofricus vocamine . . . decem cassatos . . . in villa . . . Hwitcyrce . . . in provincia Oxnafordnensi sita, iuxta ripam fluminis Tamesis . . . sit haec tellus . . . libera ab omni saecularis servitutis honere, exceptis quae

from this latter.[1] At any rate, exemption from *gafol*, from the harbouring of messengers and officials, from all kinds of onerous customs (*consuetudines*), and in a few cases from the geld, was common. The indirect consequence of the bookland charter serving as a basis for all kinds of transactions not warranted by tribal custom was not less important. It would be interesting, indeed, to solve the question, in which of the Domesday entries we have to recognize bookland grants. The latter are so common and important at the close of the Old English period that we must expect to recognize them in something equally common and important in the Survey. It seems to me that the only category of T. R. E. tenures which would correspond to bookland would be the *terrae liberae*, the *alod* tenements which receive in some cases such a special position in the Survey. This can hardly be proved without possibility of doubt, but besides the general agreement of attributes I may be allowed to quote at least one passage containing a direct translation of the one term by the other—I mean the spurious Latin charter ascribed to Eadred,[2] and presenting a transliteration of a Saxon, probably genuine, grant. The 'boclanda' of this latter appear in the Latin copy as *omnes liberas terras*, &c. The Latin document is a forgery, but it was forged by people who were cognisant of the institutions of their time, and though we consider the equation merely in the light of a gloss, we could not dismiss it without paying attention to the clue it gives us.

Folcland.

The opposite to bócland is *folcland*, the land held under tribal custom. The passages in which it is mentioned expressly are well known, and they may probably be supplemented by one or two passages speaking of

omnibus communia sunt, uidelicet procinctu, pontis arcisue recuperatione.'

[1] C. D. 240: 'Ut nec pontem nec arcem facere debeant.'

[2] C. S. 912: (Will of K. Eadred, A. D. 955) 'An ic minre meder þæs landes æt Ambresbirig and æt Waneting, and æt Basingum, and ealra minra boclanda þe ic (on) Suðeseaxum hæbbe, and on Suðrigum, and on Cent, and ealra þæra þe hio ær hæfde.' Cf. 914: 'Omnes liberas terras quas in comitatibus Suthsexiae Suthreiae et Cantiae habeo.'

*terrae reipublicae, iuris*, a sounding expression which can hardly have meant anything else.[1] Domesday does not name *folcland*, but it contains at least one passage which seems unmistakably to point to it. From the description of Lincoln we learn[2] that a ploughland consisting of twelve tofts and four crofts belonged T.R.E. to the church of All Saints. A certain Godric, son of Gareuin, held it; he became a monk, and thereupon the Abbot of Peterborough seized the land. But the Burgesses of Lincoln maintain that the Abbot has it against law, because neither Gareuin nor Godric nor anybody else had a right to give the land outside the city and outside their kindred, unless by leave of the king. And, therefore, Ernuin the priest claims that church, and what appertains to it, in right of inheritance from Godric his kinsman. This is clearly a case of collision between the interests and legal customs of *maegths* and local communities on the one hand, private individuals and churches on the other. The latter had the means of breaking folkright custom on such occasions, but these means had to be derived from a special leave of the king creating privileged land tenure. According to the verdict of the townsmen this necessary process had been disregarded in the case in question.

If we ask where what used to be folcland has to be sought in the Domesday Survey, only few places will be found suitable for it. From the T. R. W. point of view all land had been converted into freeland, in the sense of depending in one way or another on the king, or on lay or clerical lords endowed with franchises from the king. Somebody has the freehold of every estate, as we might say in words borrowed from later usage. It is true that the service

[1] Cf. Growth of the Manor, 142 f.

[2] Dd. i. 336 b.: (Lincoln City) 'Quarta carucata adiacuit in aecclesia omnium sanctorum T. R. E. & xii toftes & iiii croftes. Hanc aecclesiam & terram aecclesiae & quicquid ad eam pertinuit. habuit Godricus filius Gareuinae. Sed eo facto monacho, abbas de Burg obtinet. Burgenses uero omnes Lincoliae dicunt quod iniuste habet, quia nec Gareuin nec Godricus filius eius nec ullus alius dare potuerit extra ciuitatem nec extra parentes eorum, nisi concessu regis. Hanc aecclesiam et que ibi pertinent clamat Ernuin presbyter hereditate Godrici consanguinei sui.'

privileges of the free tenements had shrunk to very little; this was partly the consequence of political arrangements, which were already forming themselves at the close of the Danish period, with its huge burdens of extraordinary taxation, partly the result of the Norman doctrine of service. Yet the free tenement quality of the bookland survived in a transformed aspect after the Conquest. As for folcland, it has evidently to be looked for on the *Terra Regis*, with its remnants of the small freemen of Saxon times, and in the tenements of those among the socmen, freemen, and villains who were not considered as mere serfs of their lords.

7. One more species of land tenure remains to be considered—namely, *Corporate ownership*. It does not often appear in the Survey, but it appears in some cases very clearly. There are, to begin with, the cases of ecclesiastical corporations. The tenure of sees and monasteries receives an individualistic colouring by the reference to some dead saint to whom the church was dedicated. Administration itself was also mostly in the hands of personal rulers—the bishops, abbots, priors, &c. The share taken by the communities themselves is not very apparent, though certainly it did exist, and was sometimes expressed in forms dictated by the Romanized Church law [1]. Nevertheless, communal tenure and administration are sometimes visible in the Domesday Survey, as, for instance, in the case of the Canons of Chichester, who held 'communiter' sixteen hides free from geld [2]. We do not know how this large estate, on which four plough-teams were kept, was managed, but the tenure is defined in a very precise manner, and it is not material whether the hides in question were leased to a farming bailiff, or cultivated in

[1] The *familia* (hired) of monasteries often appears as an acting and unified body in A.-S. charters, e. g., Thorpe, Dipl., 346 (A. D. 1040): 'forword . . . on Excestre ætforan ealre scire betwyx Alfwolde bisceope and þam hirede æt Scireburnan, and Càre Tokies suna.' Cf. Earle, Land Charters, pp. 215, 299.

[2] Dd. i. 17 a: (Sussex) 'Canonici de Cicestre tenent communiter xvi hidas quae nunquam geldauerunt sicut dicunt, et ibi habent iiii carucas in dominio. Hoc ualet viii libras.' Cf. i. 2 b: 'in communi terra S. Martini sunt cccc acre et dimid. quae sunt ii solinos et dimid.'

plots by small tenants, or partitioned according to some rotation between the canons themselves; the basis of the tenure is undoubtedly collectivistic, and there does not seem to be any sufficient reason for calling it joint ownership; the canons are, after all, the members of a chapter, and not individuals who find it expedient to put their separate rights together. A similar corporative construction seems to impose itself in the frequent cases of ownership of land by cities. All the burgesses of Oxford possess in common the pasture outside the wall which is called Port Meadow to the present day. The expression—all the burgesses—might have led to misunderstandings by itself, but, in conjunction with 'in common', it can mean nothing else but the fact that all those who claim burgess-right in Oxford are entitled to be considered members of a community to which Port Meadow belongs. They had other rights and duties besides; they stood in scot and lot for many purposes—for discharging fines, for keeping up buildings, for providing for market police, for repairing walls and bridges, &c. Some of these duties were distributed among the householders; for the performance of others there must have been a common chest.[1] But though the boundaries between the rights of individuals and those of the community may have been very uncertain and wavering, the essence of the tenure in common, in distinction to joint tenure, as expressed in parage, for instance, is clearly at hand in these borough cases, not only because the term 'communis' is used, but chiefly because the right evidently springs from a constant relation of the members possessed of it to a higher unity—the city or the chapter. This supplies the independent aim and the continuity of existence which distinguish a corporation from a joint-stock undertaking, and in comparison with these features the modes of actual exploitation and the division of profits play a secondary part.

[1] Dd. i. 154b: (Port Meadow, Oxford) 'Omnes burgenses Oxenforde habent communiter extra murum pasturam reddentem vi solidos & viii denarios.' Dover, Dd. i. 1 a; cf. Ballard, Domesday Boroughs, 88.

There is a good deal of information on similar communities in preconquestual England. Not only towns but shires appear in a corporate capacity, own property and receive bequests for the discharge of specific duties.[1] What is more interesting, we not unfrequently come across references to common lands in documents treating of rural England before the Conquest. Sometimes the word 'gemæne land' occurs in the descriptions of boundaries.[2] Sometimes, again, a plot is said to lie within the common land.[3] Now these expressions may mean either commons in the present sense, that is, unenclosed spaces accessible to everybody, and reserved for the use of all the members of a township or several townships, in regard to pasture and wood;[4] or else they may indicate open fields divided according to certain rules between the members of these townships. The latter is, for instance, evidently the case in regard to two and a half hides in Dumbleton, conveyed by Æthelred to thane Wefric in 995. The whole village is said to be situated in *communi terra*, and it is made free of all exactions, except the well-known threefold duty, according

[1] Thorpe, Diplom. Sax., pp. 550, 551 f.: (Will of Archbp. Ælfric, 966–1006) 'One ship he has given to the folk in Kent, and another to Wiltshire. And he has forgiven, under God's favour, to the Kentish people the loan which they owed to him; and to the Middle Saxons and the people of Surrey [Suðrion] the money that he advanced to them.' C. S. 912: (Will of K. Eadred, A. D. 955) 'Þænne an he his sawla to anliesnesse, and his deodscipe to þearfe, sixtyne hund punda, to þan ðæt hi mege magan hu[n]gor and hæþenne here him fram aceapian gif he beþunfen [beþurfen]. Þænne fo se ercebiscop. æt Cristescirican to feower hund pundun, Cantwarum, and Suthrigum, & Suthseaxum, & Bearrucscire, to fultuñe [fultume]. . . . And fo Ælfsige biscop to þam biscopstole to Winteceastre to feower hund pundun, twa hund to Hamtunscire, & to Wiltunscire an hund, and oþer to Dorsæton.'

[2] C. S. 455: (Grant by Alhhun, B. of Worcester, to K. Berhtwulf, of land at Wastill, Worc., A. D. 849) Boundaries: 'be ðam gemænan lande in hæð beorh midde weardne.'

[3] C. D. 793: (Eadweard, 1050) 'Duci Godwino iiii mansas perenniter tribuo illic in communi terra ubi vulgus prisca relatione vocitat æt Sandforda. . . . Ðis sind ða landgemæra to Sandforda on ðam gemannan lande. Ærest of Stibbucwere swa norð æfter ðare Temese be healfan streame into Sandfordes læce, &c.' Cf. C. D. 800; C. D. 658 (Æðelred, 987).

[4] Growth of the Manor, p. 164 ff.

to the usual bookland formula.[1] It has to be noted that the common land does not receive thereby a new arrangement; we have not to deal with an inclosure act, or a grant in private property of land which had formerly been held in common. The newly created property, for all its privileges, remains a part of the common land within which it lies. The words of the document indicate therefore clearly, as it seems to me, that the grant concerns two and a half hides as shares in an open-field township, the holdings of which could not be recast at pleasure, either by the grantee or by the king, evidently becauset he open-field arrangement was the result, not of the economic convenience of a lord, but of intermixed rights. This reading is supported by the testimony of several other charters. The same king Æthelred gave in 983 four hides and a half to a thane of the name of Wulfgar. The whole lay *in communi terra*, but in two patches—three hides in Drayton, and one and a half in Sutton. The hides subject to the transfer are said by the king to be *mei proprii iuris*, and, on the other hand, their situation 'in common land' is not altered by the grant;[2] the right passing from the king to the grantee is therefore a complex of shares in two common lands or open-field townships. It is expressed in terms of full private tenure, and yet it is subordinated, in a way, to the common-land arrangement. The same feature may be noticed, in a perhaps even more characteristic way, in the case of a grant by Æthelred to Archbishop Ælfric. The king grants twenty-

[1] C. D. 692: (Æðelred, 995) 'Cuidam dilectissimo mihi ministro cui parentele nobilitas Wlfric indidit nomen,—quandam ruris particulam, id est, duas mansas et dimidiam in loco ubi solicolae [aet] Dumbeltun appellant, in perpetuam concedo haereditatem; . . . & post istius labilis vitae excessum, cuicunque sibi libuerit successori derelinquat. Sit autem predictum rus, quod in communi terra situm est, liberum ab omni mundiali obstaculo—excepto istis tribus expeditione, pontis arcisve constructione.'

[2] C. D. 1280: (Æðelred, 983) 'Fideli meo homini, vocitato vocamine Wulfgar, modicam mei proprii iuris terrae partem, id est iiii mansas et dimidiam, in communi terra duobus locis divisas, iii videlicet mansas in loco qui Anglica appellatione dicitur Draetun, et unam mansam et dimidiam in villa quae vocatur Suðtun, in perpetuam concedo hereditatem . . . & cuicumque sibi libuerit haeredi commendet.'

four hides in three places, which had been confiscated from a woman who had committed fornication. Of these, seventeen hides lay to the west of the Essingburne, two on the eastern slope at Eastun 'sorte communes populari'; the rest lay in woody denes on either side of the brook Pidwell. Now the second batch of hides lay evidently in intermixture with shares in common fields distributed according to popular usage.[1] An important piece of evidence is also presented by a charter of Edgar, by which he granted ten hides in Winterbourne to his thane Eadric. Of these, five hides lay at Weston in severalty (syndries landes), and five at Easton of common land (gemænes landes). In the description of boundaries, the qaalification of land in severalty is repeated in regard to the Weston portion, and as for the Easton one, the common-field quality of the land is expressed even more fully; the five hides have to be assigned out of the common-field as much as appertained thereto.[2] There can be no doubt that in a series of instances land granted in general terms could have been described in exactly the same way, and that such specific references were omitted merely because it was not worth while to insert them. We shall have to come back once more to the open-field system as a feature of economic condition. In the present instance it was im-

[1] C. D. 1295: (Æðelred, 1002) 'Quandam possessionis propriae tellurem xx, scilicet, ac iiii mansarum ab indigenis aet Dumoltun appellatam, tribusque in locis disiacentem,—largior archipraesuli Ælfrico; . . . quae portio terrae cuiusdam feminae fornicaria praevaricatione mihimet vulgari subacta est traditione. Itaque, ut dixi, terminus dividitur in locis x et vii in occidentali parte fluminis Esingburnan, continens mansas, ac duas in orientale eiusdem torrentis climate, sorte communes populari aet Eastune, necnon et v locis silvaticis in utraque parte rivuli qui Pidwella appellatur, huiusque cognomen esse aet Fleferht dicitur.'

[2] C. S. 1145: (Grant by K. Eadgar to the thegn Eadric of land at Winterbourne and Easton, Wilts, A. D. 922) 'Ðis is þara tyn hida land boc at Winter Burnan þe Eadgar cing ge bocode Eadrice his þegene on ece yrfe fif hida de Westan tune syndries landes fif be Eastan tune ge mænes landes: Eadrico decem mansas in Winterburnan. . . . Þis syndon þara fif hida land gemæra Into Winterburnan be Westan tune syndries landes. Þonne syndon þa fif hida be Easton tune gemænes landes, on gemænre mearce swa swa hit þær to be limped.'

portant to notice it in its bearings on tenure and conveyancing. It came forward especially in smaller donations, because such grants broke up the fields of a township into several fractions, whereas big grants mostly included entire villages, and there was therefore no occasion for dwelling on the open-field arrangement. It seems almost as if the quality of common land was especially connected with folkland possessions; the expression in Æthelred's charter of 1002, 'sorte communes populari,' can hardly correspond to anything else in the vernacular. But although originally the common fields may have been considered as characteristic for the settlements of freemen under tribal law, in the eleventh century the system evidently extended to all classes of property. There was, however, this material difference between the cases when it was applied, that in some instances it still retained the character of an independent kind of land tenure, while in other instances it merely survived as a customary arrangement subordinated to the feudal title of the chief tenant. In any case it is important to notice that the references to collective tenure do not diminish as we go back in the course of centuries. *Domesday* in all its bareness supplies us with some, and Old English documents give us a good many precious indications in regard to its existence and peculiarities.

# CHAPTER II

## HUSBANDRY

1. THE natural conditions presented by the territory of England are not of such a kind as to direct the distribution of the population and its economic pursuits in any particular way. There are no steppes like those of South Russia or Hungary, which incite and almost oblige early settlers to wander about with their herds of horses and sheep. The greater part of the country is not mountainous like the Alpine districts, where settlements and cultivated plots are by necessity concentrated in narrow valleys or scattered along the slopes and ridges. The climate and soil do not favour the growth of the vine or the culture of olives, which give the husbandry of Southern France and of Italy its stamp of intensive, individualistic care. In some parts of England, however, notwithstanding the temperate climate and the fact that the soil might be turned to account in different ways, certain natural lines of development suggested themselves, especially at a period when the accumulation of capital and international intercourse did not materially modify the results of economic geography. The large forests intersecting the territory in all directions, and particularly dense on the borders of Wales, the fens and marshes so frequent in the eastern counties, the invasions of the sea on the low East coast, the advantages afforded to early agriculture on light soil and the necessary employment of large teams on heavy clay soil, not to speak of other more technical features, gave a certain bent to the husbandry of different districts, a bent which time and circumstances might change, but which has to be reckoned with as one of the factors of the economic problem. Natural conditions.

Another range of influences comes from what may be called the historic side—from the customs of the tribes occupying the soil, from the political advantages and drawbacks of concentration and dispersion, from the relative strength of social classes and from governmental policy. Without attempting to give a systematic account of the action of all these elements, we shall have to attend to them in studying the evidence as to economic life in the eleventh century.

Types of settlement.

The first problem which it would be important to solve refers to the modes of settlement at this particular period. Did the people live in close clusters or in scattered farms? Were the existing villages large congregations of houses and dwellers, or hamlets of medium and small size, counting a few houses and plots? These are questions on the settlement of which a good deal depends in the arrangement of all other economic traits and processes. When a farmer has to perform his task in an isolated homestead with the help of a few 'hands' belonging to his family, and of a small number of dependant labourers, his work and needs, and the very basis of his husbandry, his plot, are different and differently organized than when he joins in a vast agricultural undertaking, where a definite place and share is assigned to him on condition of his following the rules and customs adopted by the community.

It is not difficult to see that England was not given over to one particular system of settlement, although villages were more common than single farms or small hamlets in the greater part of the country. But it would be difficult to speak of one system as overwhelmingly predominant in the same sense as the *Gaards* (single farms) are predominant in Norway, and the *by's*, or clustered villages, in Denmark; or as the *Dorf* (village) was prevalent in the greater part of Central and Southern Germany, while the *Hof* (farm) was prevalent in the north-west, and especially in Westphalia.

Single farms.

The single farm occurs, to begin with, in forest districts. It appears sometimes as an isolated homestead among the woods. Perhaps the most characteristic description of such

a settlement in a wild region is afforded by the passage in the Hereford Domesday relating to Eardisley. It is a plot which does not pay geld, nor render any customary payment or service, nor belong to any hundred. It lies in the midst of a forest, and there is one house in it which may be 'defended'. There is one plough-team belonging to the master of the house, and two serfs to work with it, and one Welshman pays a rent of three shillings.[1] It is not always quite so easy to make out these scattered homesteads, but there is one clue which seems sufficient to identify them, namely, very small numbers of plough-team oxen and a small working population. I mention these features together because it is conceivable that a settlement endowed with only one team or less might occasionally contain a pretty considerable population occupied with pastoral or forest pursuits.[2] Still, as a rule, low figures for teams and labourers show that the settlement was a small one, although it would be difficult to draw the line between single farms and hamlets. In the absence of other data, a low figure of assessment may serve as an indication of such a small settlement, and in the collection of rough statistics it is useful to look to these figures too, especially in cases where there are no other means to distinguish between the component parts of a large aggregate.[3] The possibility that in some cases the dwellings of tenants in a village may have been scattered about without regular alignment in streets[4] is, of course, of a totally different kind. It concerns the

[1] Dd. i. 184 d: (Eardisley, Hereford) 'Herdeslege . . . Haec terra non geldit neque consuetudinem dat nec in aliquo hundredo iacet. In medio cuiusdam siluae est posita et ibi est domus una defensabilis. In dominio est una caruca et ii serui, et unus Walensis reddit iii solidos.' The *defensabilis* has to be seemingly explained as 'gewerod' —capable of being charged to the *wara*.

[2] E. g. Dd. i. 185 a: (Frome, Hereford) 'In dominio est i caruca et iii villani cum una caruca. Ib. ii serui et molinum de xxxii denariis. T. R. E. ualebat xx sol. Modo xv sol.'

[3] Dd. i. 166: (Derherst hundred, Gloucester) 'Ad eundem Manerium pertinent ii hidae et dimidia ultra Sauerne. In Olfendone v hidae, in Lalege i hida, in Valton 1 hida, in Canebertone dimidia hida. In his terris sunt in dominio v carucae et v uillani et xviii bordarii cum ix carucis. Ibi manet i liber homo.'

[4] Cf. Miss Davenport, The Economic History of a Norfolk Manor, p. 15.

manner in which villages themselves were built—whether the dwellings were disposed at random, *ut fons aut nemus placuit*, or constructed in regular rows *connexis et coherentibus aedificiis*. But in both cases we should have to deal with villages, not with single farms.

Hamlets. Altogether, the passage from the one type of settlement to the other is not sharply defined, although the central conception of each type may be quite clear. When we speak of hamlets, for instance, we mean a cluster of 2–4 homesteads with their plots, but on the borders of the group there may stand single farms subdivided among co-heirs, so that the original unity is giving way, or, on the other hand, small villages of 6–11 houses which in other respects would not differ much from the hamlets first named. As, however, it is the general character of the settlements that we are examining, and not minute distinctions which it is out of the question to establish on the strength of written summaries compiled 800 years ago, we may rest content with the contrast between averages, and speak of a cluster of 2–5 homesteads, on an average, as of a hamlet, while a cluster of six or more homesteads would form a village. The administrative category of the township is not applicable here, because in many cases such townships, though officially termed *vills*, were artificial combinations of several small settlements for purposes of police and administration. A good example is afforded by the dale called Langdendale in Derbyshire, on the border of Cheshire; it is unified by its name, and represents a vill and a manor in the Survey. Yet it consisted, as a matter of fact, of a string of small settlements of a couple of farms each, and these hamlets composing the administrative township were ranged along the dale at intervals of one or two miles, the whole dale covering a long, narrow range of some twelve miles in length.[1] The 'berewicks' of some of the royal manors in Derbyshire must have presented apparently the same character of small

[1] Dd. i. 273 a.

hamlets.[1] In Derbyshire the formation of the country, with its dales, may account for the generally small size of the settlements; there was no space to expand in, and the homesteads arranged themselves along the short water-courses in a kind of 'corridor' system. On the borders of Wales the single farm and hamlet arrangement was produced by the tribal habits of the Celts, subjected to Norman sway, but still keeping to their customs. Among these, one of the most remarkable was the re-arrangement and scattering of homesteads in consequence of divisions and re-divisions among heirs.[2] This tribal practice of division, involving the assignment of separate dwellings and plots according to *gwelys* and *gavels*, seems curiously reflected in Domesday in the enumeration of clusters of Welsh villages standing under one reeve. Each of these clusters numbers from 6–14 *villae*, usually approximate multiples of 7. The groups are probably formed for the purpose of collecting rents in honey, milk, cheese, &c., but the units composing them are certainly small, as one reeve was deemed sufficient to oversee from 6–14 of them, and the analogy of the laws and extents of Wales shows that we have before us hamlets or *trevs* grown up in consequence of tribal division and colonization.

Farms in the East.

In the case of Derbyshire and Wales the peculiarities of geography or of tribal custom seem to account for the scattering of dwellings and settlements. The surveys of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire show that scattered hamlet and homestead settlements would arise occasionally in broad plains and among Scandinavian settlers. The description of Stalingeburg, for instance, mentions a central

[1] Dd. i. 272 b: (Neuubold cum vi Berewitis); ibid. 272 d: (Aisseford cum Berewitis (12)); ibid. 273 b: (Vfre, 3 Berewitae).

[2] Dd. i. 162 b: (Gloucs.) 'Aluredus Hispanus habet in feodo ii carucatas terrae et ibi ii carucae in dominio. Isdem Aluredus habet in Wales vii uillas quae fuerunt Willelmi comitis et Rogeri filii eius in dominio. Hac reddunt vi mellis sextaria et vi porcos et x solidos.' Ibid. 162 a: 'Sub Wasuuic preposito sunt xiii uillae. Sub Elmui xiiii uillae. Sub Bleio xiii uillae. Sub Idhel sunt xiiii uillae. Hi reddunt xlvii sextaria mellis. . . Sub eisdem prepositis sunt iiii uillae wastatae per regem Caraduech.' Cf. 253 d (Salop, Forde, cum xiiii berewichis).

village belonging to the lord of the manor, containing one carucate and two bovates to the geld, but land for two ploughs and a half (300 acres). This was settled by a group including, besides one plough-team in demesne, a labouring population of 5 villains, 3 socmen, and one *bordarius* household—very small tenants owning another team, probably, one ox per holder, and a garden-plot for the *bordarius*. The soc of this manor was disposed in scattered homesteads with distinctive names: Hegheling estimated at 1 bovate, Cleia at 3 bovates, Ternescou at 2 bovates; in all, 6 bovates to the geld. The estimate must have been very close to the real quantity of the holdings, as there was only land for one plough and two bovates for all of them; there were also eight tenant households in the aggregate, 5 socmen and 3 villains, with one plough between them. Whether they managed to unite their beasts of draught in order to form the team,[1] or resorted to small ploughs in order to utilize their oxen, we cannot tell, but the fact of the division into three settlements seems firmly established, and there would fall only two or three households to each of these.[2] It is impossible to guess at the reason of such a scattering in every concrete case. It would be wrong to ascribe it to ethnographical reasons, as settlements in big villages were quite common among the Danes, both in their native country and in England.

Large villages.

Nor could the settlement in separate farms be made a mark of the personal freedom of the tenant. Socmen and *liberi homines* occur in large villages, while villains and serfs are quite common in hamlets and single homesteads. The result must have been produced by circumstances attending the occupation of the district, or by natural features which are hidden from us. Anyhow, it has to be noticed that Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are very rich in big villages, especially the former. I may refer to Calthorp,[3] where there was land for 48 ploughs in demesne and in soke.

[1] Dd. i. 182 d: (Almeley, Hereford) 'Elmelie . . . Alterius uillae homines laborant in hac uilla.'

[2] Dd. i. 339 c (Stalingeburg, Lincs.).

[3] Ibid. 363 b (Caltorp, Lincs.).

The demesne portion was cultivated by 3 teams only, but 113 socmen had 32 plough-teams among them, and 50 villains with 7 bordarii had 13. Chircheby may be taken as an example of a medium-sized village. It contained, besides some land in demesne (½ car. to the geld), a soke divided between Stratone and Chircheby, and inhabited by 18 socmen households and 16 bordarii, owning 6 plough-teams between them.[1] Spalling, again, may serve as an example of a large village chiefly inhabited by villains. It had 40 villain holdings, and 33 occupied by *bordarii*, and 13 plough-teams altogether, besides 4 teams in demesne. Its economic position in the district is characterized, among other things, by a market held there to the annual value in toll of 40 shillings.[2]

Careful topographical and archaeological studies will clear up some day many concrete questions in regard to the size and forms of settlement, but it is not without value to attempt on the strength of the Domesday Survey a rough statistical estimate of the relative numbers of villages, hamlets, and single farms in two specimen counties. The introductory remarks on the types of settlement will show the reader that this statistical sketch is presented with all reservations. Still, although there cannot be any pretension to exactness in such a case, even averages and approximations are better than blank uncertainty.

I have selected Derbyshire and Essex for the purpose. The two counties may be taken as interesting examples of the repartition of population in the midlands and in the southern counties. At the same time the Danish element is strongly represented in Derbyshire without being predominant there, while Essex, though substantially akin to Hertfordshire and Sussex, yet has many features in common with the East Anglian settlement, and especially Suffolk, from which it is divided by the slight demarcation line of the Stour. In regard to the soil and to the contour of the country, the two shires in question present a marked

[1] Dd. i. 359 d (Chirchebe, Lincs.). [2] Dd. i. 351 d.

contrast; hills and dales are characteristic of Derbyshire, plains and marshes of Essex.

Settlements in Derbyshire.

Turning to the northern county,[1] we naturally find population more scattered, and concentrated as a rule into smaller groups. It is true that in some cases a rural organization described under one name in Domesday may in truth have consisted of several members only loosely connected with each other. But although this element of uncertainty cannot be eliminated, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in most cases the single place-name points to a 'nucleated' settlement of some sort, as the record is careful to notice over and over again the subdivision of rural units. Again, the Domesday entries are often complex and difficult to reduce to clear statements about settlements. But even if we put aside the instances which are too indefinite, or too involved, there remain a great number which can be analysed in respect to the size of the settlements described. It would not avail to take notice of the number of plough-teams at work in the different centres of rural population, because the large normal team of 8 oxen was nearly always broken up into fractions among the rural settlers, each household being possessed only of an eighth, or of a fourth, seldom of a half.

The best way seems to be to group the settlements according to the number of villains and socmen households assigned to them. The villains and socmen were the principal classes of rural tenantry, and held among them the regular shares of the field holdings, while *bordarii* and cotters came in as small tenants of a few acres or of cottages, and had better be left aside in a review of the main features of village settlements. Cottages, crofts, and huts were too unstable and too subordinate in their economic position to be reckoned with in the regular repartition of the arable and of its appurtenances to the holdings. In a minute study, based on topographical indications, the cottages may have to be taken into account. Nevertheless, a general statistical survey ranging over

[1] App. V.

the area of a county may, as it seems to me, dispense with them, the more so as many of these cottages, like the plots of Scandinavian *husmænd*, must have been connected with the principal holdings and sometimes carved out of them.

We have unfortunately to leave out of account some important entries like Newbold or Bakewell, not because there is any doubt as to their representing large villages, but because their contents are combined in the Survey with those of their berewicks, and therefore cannot be tabulated. The largest village which admits of tabulation is Elmston (Helmstun), containing thirty-six households. Should we reckon on an average some five grown-up persons (over fifteen years of age) in a villain or socman household, thirty-six of the latter would contain roughly a population of about 180 inhabitants, besides the *bordarii* and cotters. This, however, would merely be a rough guess intended to give an impression as to the probable size of the settlement. The number of regular shares in the fields connected with separate households is, on the other hand, an attested fact, and by itself sufficient for our purpose. Of villages similar to Elmston there were very few in Derbyshire, but of *single farms* we also find very few—only six, with one household to each. In one of the two Somersalls (Alia Sumersale), probably the place known at present as Somersall Herbert, no tenant of the standing of a villain is mentioned, but there were six crofts held by *bordarii*, and we may infer that though there was no agrarian arrangement on the plan of apportioning yardland or oxgang holdings, the hamlet was formed of a cluster of cottages with some land utilized in one way or the other.

*Hamlets*, in the sense of small settlements containing from two to five households with regular tenements in the fields, are more numerous, some thirty-three, but still they form in the Survey only a group of 122 households in all, or about 9 per cent. of the tabulated 1,337 households of the county. A large group, in respect of the number of distinct settlements, is that of *small villages* containing from six to eleven households. Of such there

are fifty-eight with an aggregate of 435, or about thirty-five per cent. of the tabulated households. I need hardly say that the lines of division between this class and the hamlets on one side and the larger settlements on the other have to be drawn in a somewhat rough and ready fashion. There is not much to choose between a hamlet of five households and a 'small village' of six, or between a small village of eleven households and a 'larger village' of twelve. Still the line had to be drawn somewhere, and the general classification answers the purpose, as it seems to me.

The 'larger village' group is represented by forty-three places containing 774 households, or 57 per cent. of the whole number of tabulated households in the county between them. The net result seems to be that the prevailing type of settlement in Derbyshire was that of a village of moderate size. The character of the country, except in the south and south-east, prevented the concentration of large bodies of inhabitants, but the population mostly clustered in groups of some 8–16 peasant households with shares in the field, and with varying numbers of cottages hanging on to them.

Essex presents a different aspect.[1] Before surveying the results of the tabulation of its recorded households I have to mention a special difficulty preventing us, as in the case of Derbyshire, from utilizing many important entries. I mean the fact that Essex socmen and freemen are often said to be added or appended (*additi, adiacent, pertinent*) to certain manors. It is generally impossible in such cases to make out whether the persons 'added' were actually living in the place characterized by the manorial name, or were only reckoned up with the rest of the manorial tenants on account of their jurisdictional and fiscal ties. The omission of the above-mentioned entries deprives us of the possibility of making an exact statistical estimate and of drawing inferences as to the distribution of socmen and freemen in the county. But it does not prevent us from using the evidence in order to form an approximate view of the prevailing types of settlement. Although the

[1] App. VI.

entries admitting tabulation are certainly incomplete, they fall into groups in accordance with the characteristic distribution of households. The first thing to be noted is the considerable proportion of settlements where no villains or socmen are to be found, but only *bordarii*; in one or two cases even *servi* alone. There are eighty-four such places. Their great number may be explained by two considerations: many of them represent villain and socmen households of the time of King Edward which have been brought low by the Conquest. In some cases, however, the insignificant allotments in land may be explained by some special pursuit carried on by the inhabitants, e. g. by fisheries. In any case, although we have to take note of this feature, it would not do to include these crofts and cottages in the tabulation of the households provided with regular shares in the fields. Turning to these, we find that the number of single farms is again small—36 out of a total of 381 tabulated settlements. Hamlets (2–5 households) are clearly represented by 115 settlements. Their relative social importance may be to some extent expressed by the fact that the number of households contained in them, 421, forms about 9·4 per cent. of the whole aggregate of tabulated tenements (4,526).

The group designated as that of small villages (6–11 households) may be reckoned at 97 places with 768 tenements, or roughly 16·9 per cent. of the whole. Lastly, large villages appear as the most characteristic type of settlements in the county, with 133 place-names and 3,301 households, or 73 per cent. of the tabulated tenements. The striking difference between mountainous Derbyshire and flat Essex seems strikingly illustrated by these incomplete but characteristic returns.

Compact holdings.

2. The examination of the forms of settlement has already made it clear that in a great number of cases the agricultural exploitation of the country led to the formation of compact plots. In those districts where the households of the settlers were scattered in separate farms there was

no special reason to arrange the central part of the husbandry—the arable—in any other way than by disposing it in a field or several fields on the spots cleared for cultivation, and the only influences which exerted themselves on the distribution of those fields were the lie of the country, the quality and quantity of the soil at the disposal of the tillers, and the system of husbandry followed by them. There were no members of the townships with equal and concurrent rights to check the free disposal of the owner. Neighbouring claims and rights had to be met at the boundary of the settlement and not within it. The simple form of a compact plot, enclosed by fences, or at least marked off by definite limits, suggested itself naturally on such occasions. But, even in the case of a settlement starting from such a compact plot, several might supervene in its subsequent development which would lead to its breaking up, and to the appearance of more complicated agrarian forms. To begin with, there was the increase of population. In regard to the family of the owner, this increase meant the appearance of rights of succession, and in the cases of gavelkind, parage, and partible socage juniors were provided for either in the way of common management, or by the subdivision of the group. The two main varieties of partition would be—firstly, colonization, the migration of one set of tenants to some outlying part of the estate, or an altogether new place of abode;[1] secondly, the subdivision of the plots themselves into minor, but yet compact parts;[2] thirdly, the subdivision into strips with an intermixture of those tending to equalize advantages and disadvantages in the distribution of the soil.[3]

Separate

One more eventuality has to be considered in regard to

[1] Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, p. 365.

[2] Thorpe, Dipl. 529: (Will of Wulfwaru) 'ȝ ðæs landes æt Budan cumbe ic geann him healfes mid mete ȝ mid mannum and mid ealre tilðe. healf ic his geann Alfware minre gyngran dehter . . . et dælon hi þæt heafodbotl him betweonan swa rihte swa hi rihtlicost magon, heora ægðer his gelice micel habbon.'

[3] C. D. 674: (Oswald, 990) 'Ic moste gebocian twa hida landes on Mortune on þreora monna dæg minum twam getreowum mannum

the formation of compact plots, namely, the case when the ploughlands of a settlement were kept asunder although they might be subject to subdivisions within these units. This meant that although partitions of property-rights were recognized and carried out, the unity of the ploughland was kept up on the territory. The scheme produced would be different from that of the ordinary open field, inasmuch as the holdings would not appear as bundles of strips dispersed in the different fields, each ploughland or field hide being represented in these furlongs and fields. The ploughlands, or at least their portions in the twofield or threefield courses of husbandry, would form rounded-off units on the soil.[1] Lastly, it occurred sometimes that, even in village settlements, the inhabitants received separate allotments, not intermixed, but by the side of each other. This was especially easy in level country, and in the case of small plots. We find such a system in connexion with the assignment of tofts in Danish counties.[2] Of course, my

plough-lands.

Beorhnæge and Byrhstane twæm gebroðrum; and se ealdra hæbbe ða þreo æceras, and se iungra ðone feorðan, ge innor, ge utter, swa to ðam lande gebyriġe ðæt mon nemneð oðre naman, Uppðrop.' Cart. Sax. 1256: (Earl Norðman to St. Cuthbert's, Durham, at Ediscum (Escomb), Co. Durham) 'Her syleð Norðman eorl into sancte Cuðberhte Ediscum ⁊ eale þ ðær into hyreð, ⁊ ðone feorðan æcer æt Feregenne.' Thorpe, Dipl. pp. 597–8: (Ælfhelm) 'Ic gean minum þrym broðrum to gedale þæs landes æt Trostingtune, . . . and ic wille þ min wif so æfre to healsum on ælcum tune, so to lande se þe so.'

[1] Cart. Sax. 952: (Grant by King Eadwig to the noble lady Æthelhild, of lands at Iplanpen, or Ipplepen, &c., Co. Devon, A.D. 956) '. . . þonne up be streame on Mædercumbe on þa wic þe þarto hyrth, ⁊ æt Bitelanwyrþe an hiwisce, ⁊ æt Bromleage an hiwisce.' Cf. ibid. 968; ibid. 1182: (Lease for three lives by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, to his 'compater' Eadric, of land at Eanulfeston, near Stratford-upon-Avon, A.D. 966) 'iii scilicet mansas tribus tamen in locis divisam cui vocabulum est æt Eanulfestune, oþer healf hid ⁊ æt useran stræt forda on þære gesyndredan hide þone oþerne æcer ⁊ æt fachan leage þone þriddan æcer feld landes, ⁊ healfne þone þudu on east healfe þæs þeges ⁊ þone æt þære eorð byrig, ⁊ on east healfe Afene eahta æceras mædþa ⁊ fornegean biccen clife xii æceras mædwa ⁊ þreo æcras be norðan Afene.'

[2] Thorpe, Dipl. p. 580: (Thurkytel, 1050) 'And alle mine men fre, and ilk habbe his toft, and his metecu ⁊ his metecorn. And ic an at Reydoneberh þat midleste forlong fre into ðe kirke, and Scortland, and þe prestes toft al into þe kirke fre. . . . ⁊ Alfwold habbe mid ton þe he her hauede xvi acres mid tofte mid alle.'

object in mentioning these forms is not to enumerate all possible varieties of agrarian arrangement, but to point to the main types. Every one of them would be seen to shade off gradually into the next one, if we came to consider the local varieties. By the side of the separate hide or plough-and, for instance, we should find the separate yardland,[1] and this would bring us already a good way in the direction of an intermixture of rights between members of the same village. And again, in Kent we should find that although sulungs and yokes are kept separate, a whole network of rights and material strips would arise within their precincts. The estates of the Abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, for instance, consist of sulungs distinguished by local names, and presenting rounded-off plots in each case. But the detailed thirteenth-century Survey in the 'Black Book' of the Abbey does not omit to mention numbers of coparceners to whom acres in these sulungs were assigned. Whether these acres were in each case kept materially apart from each other we do not know; it is very likely that they were often under the same management. But the rights were undoubtedly strictly apportioned. To take one instance,[2] in the sulung of Wisebech, John the son of Ecard and his peers (*pares sui*) held 15 acres, Robert son of Wulfstan two acres and a half, Richard son of Peres and his peers 9 acres 3 roods, John son of Sevenoth 3 acres half a rood, William Palmer 3 acres half a rood, the same of the land of Dede (*de terra Dede*) half an acre, the same of the land of Sperke 3 roods; Adam of Idleigh, of the land of Deme 4 acres, the same of the land of Christina of the Marsh 1 acre, the same of the land of John Stede half an acre; and so forth, to the aggregate of about 200 acres to the sulung. Some of the fractions are exceedingly minute—one Alexander son of Ralph, e. g., holding four acres and a half and the sixth part of a half acre, John Gyle one third of half an acre, &c.

[1] K. C. D. 770: (Eadweard, 1044) 'Ðys is þære anre gyrde landgemæru be niðan elddin ærest on Sehfrod . . . fram þam mere a gerihte to eldin byrig mildeweardre.'

[2] Cotton MSS. Faustina, A. i. f. 58.

Champion farming.

3. We have already had occasion to notice the formation of intermixed holdings and open-field customs in the case of settlements and plots gradually developing out of more or less complete isolation. A good many smaller villages and hamlets must have carried on their cultivation of the arable on systems of intermixture of a comparatively small number of elements. But, of course, the so-called open-field system, with its strips scattered about the fields in such a manner as to combine into holdings in regular proportions to each other, finds its home chiefly in villages where it would have been difficult otherwise to allot holdings to the settlers on a regularly graduated scale. The curious intermixture of rights arising from such a system of allotment is sometimes described in the authorities with considerable detail. For instance, in the charter of King Edgar to chamberlain Winstan conferring land at Avon, Wilts, the three hides given are said to be 'singulis jugeribus mixtum in communi rure huc illucque dispersis loco ... at Afene'.[1] A charter of Æthelred tells of a plot of common land (*communis terrae*) at Ceorlatune, granted to the thane Ælfgar with all privileges except the common labour. The said village is not divided by definite boundaries, because the acres lie in intermixture between each other.[2] In a grant of King Edgar to the thane Ælfric of nine hides 'at Æþeredingetune' these nine hides are said to lie in intermixture (*on ge mang*) with other 'share-land' (*gedal lande*), so that the field pastures are in common, and the meadows in common, and the arable (*yrþland*) in common.[3] Both share-meadows and share-land, in the sense of arable in shares, occur in charters,[4]

[1] Cart. Sax. 1120.

[2] K. C. D. 1278: (Æðelred, 982) 'Quandam ruris particulam v videlicet cassatos, cuiusdam loco sed communis terrae, qui celebri aet Ceorlatune nuncupatur vocamine, cuidam meo ministro vocitato nomine Ælfgar ei ouanter tribuendo concessi . . . excepto communi labore, expeditione, pontis arcisue constructione. . . . Rus namque praetaxatum manifestis undique terminis minus diuiditur, quia iugera altrinsecus copulata adiacent.'

[3] Cart. Sax. 1079: '... ix mansas ... concedo ... þas nigon hida licggead on ge mang oþran ge dal lande feld læs gemane ⁊ mæda ge mane ⁊ yrþ land gemæne.'

[4] K. C. D. 680: (Oswald, after 972) '... ufeweardre ðonne gebiraþ

and I need hardly recall the famous paragraph of Ine's laws treating of the ceorls who have to keep up the hedges around share-meadows and share-fields.[1] It is only worthy of attention that the paragraph in question regulates the responsibility for negligence in keeping up hedges, not in regard to dependent peasants who would have to take their law from their lord, or possibly from their own moot, but in respect of freemen whose relations had to be adjusted by the King's courts. In view of the widespread customs of open-field cultivation, it was natural enough to insert such an enactment in a collection of the general laws of Wessex. The peculiar conformation of the arable fields under such a system is fully described in treatises on champion farming, and has been sufficiently explained by modern inquirers.[2] Domesday Survey, of course, does not go down to such details in its general cadastre, and only occasionally affords glimpses of the prevailing system. But profuse material for the nomenclature and practice of open-field husbandry is supplied by the entries of the Old English charters as to boundaries. I will call attention to a few of them. In a charter of 979 we read of a *half furlong* extending by the right boundary of the land.[3] A charter of Edward the Elder (A.D. 903) mentions a *gore acre*—an acre strip running to a point on account of the lie of the land, instead of running between parallel lines. In the same deed a *fore-arth* occurs, that is, a strip used for the turning of the

se fifta æcer ðære dalmædue to ðære hide. Ðis is ðæs wuda gemære ðe to ðære hide gebyreð. . .' Cart. Sax. 1298: (Lease for three lives by Oswald, Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester, to the thane Brihtlaf, A.D. 974) '. . . xxx æcra on þæm tþæm feldan dal landes þiðutan.'

[1] Ine, 42.

[2] Nasse, Agrarian Communities in England; Seebohm, English Village Communities, p. 7 ff.; Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce—Early and Middle Ages, pp. 74, 126, 527; Growth of the Manor, p. 165 ff.; Maitland, Township and Borough, pp. 55, 107.

[3] C. D. 622: (Æðelred, 979) '. . . Ðis synd ðara fif hida landgemæru to Suðtune. Ærest on Wifeles mere, ðæt adune to ðam slede; andlangas sledes syx æcera bræde ðet up be healfan furlange be riht landmearce to abrocenan beorge.' Cf. Earle, Land Charters, 179 (A.D. 944), 192 (A.D. 956).

plough.[1] In a charter of Edgar of 969 a *headland acre* is mentioned, a feature of the field arrangement which served the purpose of reaching the strips of a furlong, as it ran at right angles to them. The headlands were also used for the same object as the forearths in ploughing, that is, for turning the plough.[2] Again, local features connected with the rotation of crops on the furlongs of open fields may be apparent in the way of acres of *beanland* and *barleyland* included in a hide.[3] *Linches*, terraces formed on the slope of a hill by ploughing across it, are often mentioned.[4] The single strips in the open fields, forming as it were the elementary units of the groups or bundles, are not usually spoken of, because they were too minute to be reckoned up in deeds. But occasional mentions may occur nevertheless. The most interesting memorandum about the transactions connected with the restoration of Medhamstead (Peterborough Abbey) speaks in one case of thirty acres lying in sixty 'sticca landes', and I do not think anything else but strips or measured pieces can have been meant.[5]

Holdings.

4. The open-field system finds its direct complement in the arrangement of shares and holdings, inasmuch as the complicated intermixture of strips, the cumbersome customs regulating the fences and hedges, the roads, drains, and ditches, the use of headlands and forearths, &c., were primarily called forth by the wish to make the holdings in

[1] Cart. Sax. 601: (Grant by King Eadward to Tata, son of Æthehun, of land at Hordwelle, or Hordle, Co. Hants, A.D. 903) '. . . on ænne gar æcer þ andlanges þære fyrh to anum andheafdum to anre forierðe ⁊ seo forierð gæð in to þam lande.'

[2] Cart. Sax. 1229: (Grant by King Eadgar to the thane Alfwold of land at Æpslea, or Apsley, Co. Bedford, A.D. 969) '. . . on þone heafod æcer.' Cf. Earle, Land Charters, 372 (A.D. 951); 389 (A.D. 959).

[3] K. C. D. 724: (Leofsine, 1016) '. . . þriddan æcer beanlandes on Biscopes dune', 'ondlang ðæs gemæres ðæt on berlandes heafda.'

[4] C. D. 1221 (A.D. 959): 'Ðonon to grenan lince westewardan.' Cf. C. D. 353 (A.D. 931); C. D. 356 (A.D. 938).

[5] Cart. Sax. 1130, iii. 371: 'Þonne bohte man æt Wulwoðe metere Oxanege, þonne on oxanige is ametenes wudes ⁊ feldes ⁊ medwe 25 æcera ⁊ wiðutan þan ige sixti sticca landes þet is ameten to 30 æcerum ⁊ on wude þe þridde treow þer wið utan.' Cf. Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon., Mediaeval and Modern Series, vii. 49, on *landscearu*.

the village, if not exactly equal, at least corresponding to each other in simple proportions and reduced in their variety to a few fairly equivalent types. I need not return to the much-discussed relations between the hide and carucate as full ploughlands, and their fractional subdivisions—the yardland (virgate) and oxgang (bovate). The origin of these subdivisions and their relation to acres may still be matter of investigation, but their meaning in mediaeval husbandry, during the period covered by Domesday and approximately two centuries before and after, does not admit of doubt. They are units of husbandry formed by the combination of acres lying either together in plots or dispersed as strips in the furlongs of an open-field township. Before approaching these principal agrarian units of which we constantly hear in Domesday, I should like to notice one rather exceptional combination occurring in the Danish provinces. It was more or less stamped out by the more common holdings of the carucate and hide systems, but it has left some traces, and these are characteristic on account of the composition, not merely of this exceptional unit, but also of the holdings of the common types. In the north-east corner of Norfolk, in a fen district bordering on Lincolnshire, we find in the local custom of the manor of Walpole[1]

[1] Cotton MSS. Tiberius B. ii. f. 157 : 'Willelmus Franceis et Thomas de Nordwold tenent dimidium tenmanloth scilicet lx acras et quinquaginta et duas acras ex altera parte pro vi solidis et viii denariis. . . . *De consuetudinariis* Galfridus de Gaderbone et participes tenent unum tenmanloth, scilicet sexies viginti acras pro x sol.' Cotton MSS. Claudius C. xi. f. 193 : '*De militibus et libere tenentibus.* . . . Jacobus le franceis et Thomas de Northmande tenent dimidium tenmanland, scilicet lx acrae terre et lii a. ex altera parte pro vi sol. et viii den. *De consuetudinariis et censuariis.* Alanus et Matheus, Johannes, et Radulfus, Petrus et Galfridus de Cartestowe et eorum participes tenent unam tenmanland, scilicet sexies viginti acras terre.' Prof. Napier quotes the following passage from a Bury St. Edmund's MS., now 197 C.C.C. Oxford, f. 106 b : 'On Elsington hundred ah Sancte Edmund xxvi manslot. On Spelhoge hundred xlv manslot. On In hundred x manslot. On Fuwelege hundred healf ehtepe manslot. On Ærnehogo hundred xxv manslot. On Clenevare hundred healf ehtepe manslot. On Lynwaru hundred v manslot' (Transactions of the Philol. Soc., 1903-6, p. 307).

a division of the land according to *tenmanlands* or *tenmanlots*. Such a *tenmanland* contains a hundred and twenty acres, that is, exactly the equivalent of the ordinary carucate, and presents one-tenth of the peculiar Danish hundreds of 12 carucates. Dividing the tenmanland by ten we should get a onemanlot or onemanland of 12 acres, and this is about the medium size of a Danish toft in this district,[1] that is, of a house and orchard with a few acres in the fields of the township. Now, this by itself would be interesting enough, inasmuch as we should find the ordinary division into eight bovates replaced by another without any direct relation to the composition of a plough. But this is not all. In the Danish district we find other traces of a system of holdings called *lots* and *gedales*. In a charter of 958 several donations to a church are enumerated in *manlots*—two manlots' in Farnsfield appertaining to Southwell, three manlots in Normanton, in Fishton two parts and four manlots of all the land.[2] The number of acres comprised in the lots is not expressly mentioned in these cases, but the term *manlot* is the same as in the case of Walpole. In the account of the redemption of estates of Medhamstead by Bishop Æthelwold it is stated that the land redeemed from Wulfgeat and Gyrping consisted of 29 'gedale'.[3] These 29 shares seem to fit naturally into the system of manlots, although an exact equation cannot be established between the two terms. On the other hand, these *gedale* have to be referred in Anglo-Saxon custom to the *gedalland* of Ine's laws. So that the Danish arrangement appears merely as

[1] In the Ely Survey, Claudius C. xi, the tofts are given as containing 15 acres in Tyrington, 10 acres in Walpole, 18 acres in Walton, ff. 192, 196, 202.

[2] Cart. Sax. 1348 (1029 B) A.D. 958 (p. 690): 'On fearnes felda ge byraþ twegra manna hlotlandes in to Sudwellan on healum are seoxta acer ⁊ þreon manna hlot on normantune a se þridda ares. on fiscetune dam twegendales ⁊ feower manna hlot ealles dans landes.' Cf. Thorpe, Dipl. p. 545.

[3] Cart. Sax. 1130: (Record of Medehamstede) 'Þis synd þa festermen þe Wulfgeat ⁊ Gyrping fundon þam aþ Æddulfe þa hi þat lande. guldun æt macusige for þan útlage þa he on Walnoþe worhte. . . . Þes landes is under eal ix ⁊ xx ge dale.'

a variation of the system of holdings obtaining everywhere on the island.

In all the cases where holdings are formed of scattered strips of arable with appendant rights to the use of meadows, pasture, and wood, two main features have to be noticed. The holdings are proportionate shares, and the arrangement of the open-field or champion farming is entirely dependent on them. Although the arable is as a rule not subject to redivision, it was originally allotted in consequence of a scheme of equalization; the tenements which are parts of it are termed and considered 'lots', and in case of confusion or encroachment the repartition could be renewed by going back to the original scheme of apportionment indicated by the holdings.[1] Thus it may be said that the English open-field settlements were primarily communities of shareholders whose shares had been apportioned according to certain fixed proportions. The second side of the arrangement consists in the fact that, though there is no legal necessity for keeping the shares undivided and maintaining constant relations between the holdings and the groups of population settled on them, there is a customary tendency, especially among the humbler folk, to keep up as far as possible the organic unity and efficiency of the shares. An important consequence of this tendency may be traced in the constitution of the ordinary subdivisions of the holdings. Excepting Kent, where the ancient subdivision of sulungs into yokes gradually disappears and land tenure is treated in a thoroughly individualistic manner, the shares of the English open-field system correspond to the divisions of the plough-team. Further and more complicated divisions are not impossible, but they are not usual, and in most cases the accidental working of the law of succession and of free alienation was evidently checked by custom.

The arable. 5. The terms used in Domesday and the charters in regard to arable are worth notice. Usually, it is alluded

[1] See on the practices of readjustment employed in Scandinavian countries and in England, my Growth of the Manor, pp. 178, 263 ff.

to merely as the central part of the ploughland, carucate, hide, or sulung, and of their subdivisions—the virgates, bovates—while on the other hand the land for ploughs and the reckoning of actual teams remind us that there was a good deal of difference between realities, possibilities. and fiscal estimates, although they would all be expressed in terms derived from agriculture. Sometimes, however, the arable land as such is made the subject of observation and separate description. Even a 'scrap' of arable land may be entered specially, and probably it is just as a scrap that it is not merged in the rubrics—carucates, virgates, bovates.[1] In fact, arable land not subjected to ordinary conditions of measurement and fiscal estimation passes, as it were, outside the common frame of holdings. We have already come across many instances where the Survey speaks of land which neither pays geld nor is hidated. It belongs generally to the king or to churches, and it is entered in the cadastre as a certain number of carucates—field carucates in this case—or as so many acres of arable.[2] The number of such acres may be large, but they are properly reckoned merely as acres, because they do not go to form holdings, and are not connected with the other items of a holding—rights of pasture, of wood usage, &c. In a case reported from Dorset[3] William de Ow holds a portion of land which never paid geld in the reign of King Edward, but it was included in the demesne and in the farm of the king. It fell into the hands of a Royal

[1] Dd. i. 39 c: 'In insula (de Wit) habet rex unum frustum terrae unde exeunt vi uomeres.'

[2] Dd. i. 336 b: (Lincoln) 'In campis Lincoliae extra ciuitatem sunt xii carucatae terrae et dimidia. . . . De hac terra habent Rex et comes viii carucatas in dominio. . . . Praeter has viii carucatas habet rex et comes ccxxxi acras terrae arabilis inland et c acras prati.' Ibid. 336 d: (Stamford) 'Terram arabilem extra uillam in Lincolescire habet rex DC acras. Lagemanni et burgenses habent cclxxii acras sine omni consuetudine.' Cf. Dd. ii. 94 (Peltenduham, Essex).

[3] Dd. i. 80 d: (Suere) 'In ista uilla tenet W. quandam partem terrae quae nunquam geldauit T. R. E., sed erat in dominio et in firma Regis. Hanc prestiterat Toxos quidam prepositus regis, deinde resumpsit eam in manu regis. Toxus uero per regem E. iterum fuit saisitus sicut dicit et ita tenuit eam in uita et in morte regis E. et tempore Haraldi. Prius erat pascualis, modo est seminalis.

reeve, and remained so during Harold's domination. It used to be pasture, but now it is cultivated for 'seed'. The uncertainty in regard to the quantity of the land and its juridical condition are connected with the fact that the land in question never paid geld—was, as a matter of fact, converted from its original use as pasture into arable, and had been appropriated by a reeve. Altogether, one cannot wonder that the Survey had to content itself in this case with the merest economic description; we do not even hear what peasants there were on the land to cultivate it.

The Saxon expression for *terra arabilis* was *yrðland*,[1] and we find it sometimes in distorted forms in the Domesday Survey itself. In fact, the herdwicks, which it is so tempting to identify with pastoral settlements,[2] seem to have been sometimes agricultural clearings in the waste or in the woods.[3] *Yrðland* appears in any case commonly in the form *herðland* and *herdland*,[4] and is sometimes directly connected with *herdwicks* and *hardwicks*. The herdwick would thus be a close counterpart of berwick—barleywick—denoting the grange and stable of a small manorial settlement.

Assarts. The struggle to reclaim land for cultivation is also indicated by some allusions to essarts,[5] *assarta* (newlands), allusions

[1] Cart. Sax. 542: (Boundaries of land at Overbury, under Bredon Hill, Co. Worcester, A.D. 875) 'To west mædwan butan an farlung hina herðlandes betweonan þære stræte ⁊ þære meadwe.' Cart. Sax. 864 (A.D. 948): 'Ter duodenas segetes cum bis quinis prati iugeribus, quod anglice dicitur xxxvi æcera yrþ landes, ⁊ x æceras mæde.'

[2] The Burton Cart. 21 speaks definitely of a herdwick, 'de quantiscumque vaccis sibi placuerit.' Cf. N. E. Dictionary, s.v. Herdwick.

[3] Dd. i. 162 a: 'In Wales sunt iii harduices: Lamecare et potes-chuinuet et Dinan. In his sunt viii carucae et xi uillani dimidii et xv bordarii cum vi carucis.

[4] Cart. Sax. 608: 'eac hi syllað him Beferburnan ⁊ eac þærto 60 æcera eardlondis be suþan beferburnan ⁊ oþre 60 be norðan ⁊ . . . 12 æcera . . . mædlandes.' C. S. 1121: '⁊ þær hyrð in an hyrdewic æt bada acing ⁊ an hid landes ⁊ 12 æceras mæde.' C. S. 1238: '⁊ þreo æceras eard landes of hþete wellan â bi þan eard lande to þan to brocenan beorge.' C. S. 1130: 'Æt Castre . . . an toft ⁊ fourtig æcere herdelandes ⁊ mædwe'; ib. 'Four ⁊ twentig æcere is þes wudes ⁊ 22 hæredlandes buton oðrum ge mænum þe Ealdulf aþ gebohte æt cyneferðe.'

[5] Dd. i. 179 d: (Much Marcle, Hereford) 'Merchelai . . . In eodem

which seem to come almost too rarely; but one thing which every investigator of these facts of early agrarian history has constantly to bear in mind is the disproportion between the real significance of phenomena and their appearance in express notations. Facts of everyday occurrence and extreme economic importance are again and again hidden from our view, or disclosed merely in occasional glimpses, by the barren and rigid formulas adopted in the descriptions and narrations which have come down to us. It is not the couple of direct allusions to assarted land that can give us a statistical test of the work of colonization and reclaiming from waste which was going on in England in the eleventh century or before, but it is important to note that in trying to realize the conditions and stages of this work we have to look not only to the few scanty notices of newly-reclaimed land but also to other indications. And on closer examination of the very mentions of *terra arabilis* with which we are dealing now we find that they are indissolubly connected with another group of notices which meets us at every step in the Survey, and throws light, if not on the actual spread of colonization, at least on its direction and aims.

Terra arabilis.

It turns out, in fact, that *terra arabilis* is sometimes distinctly used to denote the area not only of actual but also of possible cultivation, a use which agrees well with the literal sense of the term. In Norfolk, for instance, we find a large tract entered as the King's land in Thetford, on the other side of the Ouse. It is one league long and half a league broad, and there are three persons who share in its income—the King, the earl, and the sheriff, each for one-third. Another part of the same tract of Thetford lies towards Suffolk, and is half a league in length and half a league in breadth. One-third share of it belongs to the earl, and, presumably, two-thirds to the King. Now of the

manerio sunt lviii acrae terrae proiecte (essarz) de silua, et prepositus et alii ii homines tenent plures acras de ipsa terra.' Ibid. 184 d: (Weobley, Heref.) 'Wibelai ... Silua dimidia leuua longa et iiii quarantenas lata. Ibi est parcus et terra ad i carucam de Essarz reddens xi sol. et ix den.'

first portion one half is said to be arable and the other half pasture, while in the Suffolk portion all the land is arable, and it could be ploughed by four teams.[1] This is a most interesting entry. The tract in question, though entered under the rubric of royal land, and as a royal manor, is clearly a district subjected to the King, earl, and sheriff as public powers, and not to the King as a private landlord. The passage from sovereignty to feudal landlordism is well illustrated by it. On the other hand, the arable, which forms so large a portion of the district, is clearly not taken as the aggregate of the holdings, but in the same sense as pasture—it is land fit to be cultivated for seed. Therefore its capacity may be expressed not only in leagues, but also in the number of ploughs which might be there or might till it. It is the prospect of cultivation more than the fact of its being to a certain extent cultivated that is insisted on. The passage may also serve to establish once more the interpretation for which I have been contending when I had to explain the *terra carucis* term; it has nothing to do with the occupation of the reign of King Edward, and is plainly directed to giving an estimate of the land fit for agriculture. Nor is this passage by any means an isolated one. Similar entries occur in Lincolnshire.[2] Indeed in the latter county the expression *terra arabilis ad xii carucas*,[3] and similar ones, sometimes take the place of the usual *terra carucarum*, *terra carucis*, *terra ad carucas*, &c.

Meadows. 6. The most valuable of the rights appendant to the

[1] Dd. ii. 118 b: (Thetford, Norfolk) 'Terre regis in Tetford ultra aquam uersus Norfolc est una leugata terrae in longo et dimidia in lato de qua rex habet duas partes, de his autem duabus partibus tercia pars in consulatu iacet. De superiori leugata R. Bigot terciam partem. Tota hec terra medietas arabilis est altera in pastura. De alia parte uersus Suthfolc est dimidia leugata terrae in longo et dimidia in lato de hac terra tercia pars est ad comitatum iiii acrae prati. Tota haec terra arabilis est et iiii carucae possent arare.'

[2] Dd. i. 340 a (Horbelinge, Lincs.); cf. ibid. 340 b (Lavintone); ibid. 345 c–d (Osgotebi).

[3] Dd. i. 348 a: (Foston, Lincs.) 'Foxtune (Berewica de Beningtun) xii car. terrae ad geldum. . . Terra arabilis ad xiv carucas.' Ibid. 351 a: (Mentinghes) 'Terra arabilis duplex.' Cf. ibid. (Chinetorp).

holdings [1] was the use of the meadows, if there were such. The quantity of this kind of land mentioned in Domesday is not large, and we know from other sources that the greatest care was taken to prevent encroachments in this respect. The practice of dividing meadows into strips, and of assigning these strips in rotation or by lot to the members of the ancient township community, has even now not quite disappeared from rural England. A few miles from Oxford, the Yarnton meadows are still distributed according to immemorial custom,[2] reminding one of analogous practices employed in the case of Aston and Cote.[3] The advantages of possessing meadows yielding a rich harvest of hay were keenly realized by the farmers at all periods, but it is very seldom that we find in Domesday meadows estimated to cover by their yield the entire requirements of the domain and of the tenants for the feeding of horses and oxen.[4] Even more rare are cases where a good deal of the hay could be sold after the needs of the manor itself had been satisfied.[5] Usually, even in large estates, only a few acres of meadow are mentioned. What value was set on these may be gathered from a case in Kent, in which a whole yoke, the land of four oxen, was deemed to find its equivalent in two acres of meadow yielding 10*s.* a year.[6] Another instance from the same county is less clear. In the huge royal manor of Tarentefort, containing land for forty ploughs, and as many as 142 villain tenements with 53 teams, there is as much meadow as appertains to ten acres of land, while another meadow

[1] I will touch very briefly on this subject. It has been treated very adequately in Mr. A. Ballard's recent book on the Domesday Inquest. As to the connexion between holdings and rights of commons, see e.g. C. D. 633 (A.D. 982): 'Đæs mearclandes (marshland) swá micel swá tó þrim hidon gebyraď.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 513.

[2] Transactions of Oxford Historical Soc. xxiv, pp. 307–11.

[3] Gomme, Village Community, p. 161 f.

[4] Dd. i. 149b: (Wycombe, Bucks) 'Wicumbe . . . pratum iii car. et ad equos de curia et carucis uillanis.'

[5] Dd. i. 169a: (Kempsford, Glouc.) 'Chenemeresforde . . . de pratis ix lib. praeter pasturam boum.' Cf. ibid., Legelade.

[6] Dd. i. 7b: (Tottington, Kent) 'In Totintune ad firmam de rege i iugum et istud est de nouo dono episcopi Baiocensis, et ibi nil est nisi ii acrae prati.'

and twenty acres of land have been appropriated by somebody.[1] The expression 'appertains to 10 acres' is very unusual, and in the case of the subtracted meadow the twenty acres appear as a direct estimate of what was lost. But even assuming that the total amount of meadow land were thirty acres, it would appear exceedingly small when compared with the enormous extent of the holdings in arable and their stock in teams. There was indeed a good deal of wood pasture, but still the disproportion would remain, and the term 'pertinet' makes me think that the *acrae terrae* are, as in the case of the yoke just quoted, fiscal units. Now the taxation of Tarentefort in sulungs was preposterously low—only 1½ sulungs for the whole, that is, probably 300 fiscal acres. Of these, thirty fiscal acres of meadow would form one-tenth, which seems appropriate and reasonable.

Pasture. Most of the food for the cattle was provided in those times by wild pasture, and Domesday gives abundant information in most counties in regard to its extent and economic importance. I will just mention a few of the most salient features of these entries. It is obvious that in many cases actual arable land was used for pasture. Apart from the regular customs of stocking the field commons, about which a few words will have to be said later on, arable reverted to pasture by its falling waste or being encroached upon by a powerful neighbour.[2] But in most cases the pastoral land of the township was carefully separated from its arable, and there must have been definite customary views in the selection of both. Separate pasture, *pastura separalis*, occurs, but is not very usual. The most ordinary form of pasture is the stocking of the commons, which are not unfrequently recorded as the com-

[1] Dd. i. 2 c: (Dartford, Kent) 'Rex Willelmus tenet Tarentefort pro uno solino et dimidio se defendit. Terra est xl carucis. In dominio sunt ii carucae et cxlii uillani cum x bordariis habent liii carucas. . . . Homines de hundredo testificantur quod de isto manerio regis ablatum est unum pratum . . . et xx acrae terrae, et adhuc tantum prati quantum pertinet ad x acras terrae.'

[2] Dd. iv. 338 (Aisseforda, Somerset).

mon pasture of a township or a manor,[1] or pasture-rights in one place appertaining to the inhabitants of another.[2] An interesting entry occurs in the Somerset manor of Haminton. It gelds for 21 hides, and out of these one is added on account of the common pasture[3]—a very strong case of artificial fiscal hidation, as pasture land never formed actual field-hides by itself. The commons of pasture might occasionally stretch over enormous districts, as has been shown, for instance, in the case of the seashore pastures of Essex, to which far distant townships had ways of access.[4] Nor was it impossible or uncommon to attribute common pastures to a whole hundred, the beasts of which were left to depasture the commons 'horn under horn'.[5] The fens and marshes offered similar opportunities for very extended and communal rights of pasture.[6] It is curious that in Romney Marsh the attention of the surveyors was almost exclusively directed towards the estimate of arable, surely not because there were no pasture-rights to speak of, but because these rights did not seem to admit of definite expression.[7]

Rights of pasture occur also as one of the chief sources of income from woods. The breeding of swine especially, the animal whose flesh was used most for food in the course of the middle ages, depended to a great extent in England on the produce ('mast') of oak, beech, chestnut, and other glandiferous trees. But goats and horned cattle had also Woods.

[1] Dd. i. 117 c: (Rockham, Devon) 'Rouecome . . . i acra prati et iiii acrae siluae et communis pastura.' Cf. ibid. iv. 102 (Fouretona, Devon); 137 (Hardingtona, Somerset).

[2] Dd. iv. 108 a (Haxon, Devon) 'Haustona . . . communem pascuam Bratonae.'

[3] Dd. iv. 294: (Hemington, Somerset) 'Hamintona . . . gildum pro xx (et i) hidis . . . De his xxi hidis habet i hidam communem pascuam in Hardintona mansione episcopi Constantiensis.'

[4] Victoria County History of Essex, i. 336, 369–74.

[5] Dd. ii. 339 b: (Suffolk) 'In Hundredo de Colenes est quedam pastura communis omnibus hominibus de hundret.'

[6] Dd. i. 341 a: (Kelby, Lincs.) 'Chelebi . . . Ibi lxx acrae prati et quater xx et x acrae siluae minutae, quas R. episcopus et Colegrim et eorum socii tenent.'

[7] Dd. i. 5 b: (Kent) 'Ameslant in Maresc de Romenel pro uno solin se defendit. . . . De hac terra i iugum . . .' Cf. 12 d (Bur-warmaresc In Maresc de Romenel).

very often to resort to wood-pasture. The useless wood was rather an exception,[1] and the exploitation referred to would be quite as much the pasturing of animals as the use of the wood for building, making hedges, carpentering, &c. Small wood, *silva minuta*,[2] would be very valuable from the first point of view. Therefore the wood was sometimes entered in the Survey in conjunction with pasture,[3] and the way of estimating its value is very often to indicate the number of swine which might get their food in it.[4] Another mode of appreciation based on the same feature—the nutritive capacity of the wood—was to specify how many animals were rendered in dues for the use of the pannage:[5] this seems the most appropriate explanation for otherwise odd expressions, such as 'wood for two pigs'.[6] It is hardly needful to remind the reader of the immense extent of territory covered by woods; although the exact boundaries and quantity may be sometimes difficult to ascertain with certitude, there cannot be any doubt as to the general aspect of such tracts as the weald of Kent, the southern hundreds of Surrey, the forest of Rockingham, &c.[7] When these woods are not turned into Royal forests they are mostly in the common use of the demesne and tenantry of a manor,[8] or, if large, of a number of manors, perhaps of

[1] Dd. i. 45 d: (Littleton, Hants) 'Liteltone . . . silua inutilis. . . .' Cf. 46 a (Chementune).

[2] Cf. p. 289, n. 6.

[3] Dd. i. 10 c: (Beamonston, Kent) 'Betmontestun . . . De isto manerio tenet Hugo de Montfort inter siluam et pasturam quod ualebat T. R. E. vi lib. et post et modo tantumdem.'

[4] Dd. i. 31 b: (Woking, Surrey) 'Wochinges . . . Istud manerium habet et habuit consuetudinem in silua regis de Wochinges hoc est quod dominus uillae huius potest habere in ipsa silua cxx porcos sine pasnagio.' Ibid. ii. 38 b: (Essex) 'Tachesteda. . . . Tunc siluam M porcis. Modo DCCC.'

[5] Dd. i. 14 b: (Mereworth, Kent) 'Marourde . . . Ibi tantum siluae unde exeunt lx porci de pasnagio.' Ibid. 32 d: (Surrey) 'Torp. . . . De herbagio xxiiii porci.'

[6] Dd. i. 7 d (Tiuedele, Kent).

[7] Cf. Dd. i. 5 c (Sudfleta, Estanes, Kent); 5 d (Hallinges, Frandesberie); ibid. 145 a (Tedinwiche, Bucks); ibid. 239 b (Sciplei, Warwick).

[8] E.g. Dd. i. 163 b: (Tewkesbury, Glouc.) 'In tota Teodechesberie sunt cxx acrae prati et silua una leuga et dimidia longa et tantumdem lata.'

a whole county.[1] The 'admensuration' of the rights of usage in woods is effected in different manners, and there is even a greater variety in the expressions used by our documents to describe them. A good example of an explicit declaration in this respect, from the Domesday Survey, is afforded by an entry about Newenton, a Wiltshire manor of the Abbey of Wilton. This manor is said to have the customary right to 80 cartloads of wood, pannage for 80 pigs, and the material for the repair of houses and hedges from the wood of Melchet.[2] Old English charters often give similar information as to the number of cartloads, and the pasture for pigs.[3] In the great Royal wood of Havocumber, Dorset, Earl Godwin had a right to the third oak;[4] the appropriation of these valuable trees could not be left to chance, but had to be strictly regulated. As in the case of pasture, the right to the wood was necessarily proportionate to the size of the holding, being in fact a part of the share in the common concerns of the township.[5]

Two terms and peculiarities of wood-custom remain to be noticed—the *denes* and the *hays* or hedges. A *dene* is a clearance in the thicket in which men and animals may move with some ease: such pasturage grounds within the wood were especially numbered and guarded, and mostly contained a few huts for the keepers and herdsmen.[6] When

[1] Dd. i. 230 a (Leics.) 'Silua *totius* Vicecomitatus *Hereswode* uocatur habet iiii leugas in longo et i leugam in lato.' The Leicestershire *here* reminds one of the Northamptonshire *kerjar gemót*, Cart. Sax. 1130.

[2] Dd. i. 68 a: (S. Newton, Wilts) 'Newentone. . . . Ad istum manerium pertinet haberé per consuetudinem in silua Milcheti quater xx caretedes lignorum et paissonem quater xx porcorum et ad domos et sepes reemendandas quando opus fuerit.' Cf. ibid. 68 b (Waisil).

[3] E.g. Cart. Sax. 513 (A.D. 866): '70 porcis saginam in commone illa salvatica (*vorr.* silvatica) taxatione . . . v plaustros plenas de virgis bonis et hunicuique anno i roborem,' &c.

[4] Dd. iv. 28 (Boscus de Hauocumba, Dorset).

[5] Dd. i. 140 b: (Hailey, Herts) 'Hailet. . . . De quadam silua reclamat Radulfus de Limesi tantum quantum pertinet ad iii hidas de Emmeuuelle . . . et Canonici de Waltham reclamant tantum siluae quantum pertinet ad unam hidam.'

[6] Dd. i. 7 c, d: (Peckham, Kent) 'Pecheham . . . Rex habet de hoc manerio tres denas ubi manent iiii uillani et ualet xl sol.' Ibid. 56 d: (Windsor) 'Windesores . . . Silua de l porcis de pasnagio et alia

a *dene* of half a yoke is mentioned in Kent, it means probably that the use of grass allowed to particular tenants was proportioned to the half yoke attributed to them.[1] The *haiae* indicate another aspect of forest-life which was certainly not the least important one—the woods were mainly hunting grounds, and had to be preserved as such. In order to keep game and deer the ordinary device was to enclose the hunting ground by permanent hedges;[2] besides these, temporary hedges were raised during the hunting seasons for drives (*stabilituraе*).[3] The enclosed tract itself received the name of *haia*,[4] from the fact of its being within hedges. Besides their value as parks for game the *haiae* must have served also for other purposes of wood exploitation. A share in a 'hay' might thus become a very valuable husbandry item.[5] It would be out of the question to dwell here on the history of Royal forests. I will only call attention to a few passages of the Survey showing the rapid and violent extention of forest rights in consequence of the Conquest, and the destructive influence exercised by the spread of forests and forest jurisdiction on

silua missa est in defensa, et adhuc sunt in uilla c hagae v minus. . . . De terra huius manerii tenet Albertus unam hidam et dimidiam et terciam partem unius denae, Walterus filius Other . . . tantum siluae unde exeunt v porci de pasnagio.' Cf. ibid., Taceham, Cocheham, Cart. Sax. 442 (A.D. 843): 'Haec sunt pastus porcorum qui in nostra saxonica lingua *denbera* vocantur,' &c.

[1] Dd. i. 9 d: (Kent) 'In Rouinden Hundredo, Adam filius Huberti tenet . . . i denam de dimidio iugo quae remansit extra diuisionem Hugonis de Montfort et iacuit in Belice. Ibi habet ii uillanos cum dimidia caruca.'

[2] Dd. i. 176 c: (Kington, Worcs.) 'Chintune . . . habebant i haiam in qua capiebantur ferae.' Cf. ibid. 256 c: (Cortune, Salop) 'Ibi est haia capreolis capiendis.'

[3] Dd. i. 269 d, cf. i. 56; c.

[4] Dd. i. 240 a: (In Hatton, Warwick) 'Donnelie . . . Ibi haia habens dimidiam leugam longo et dimidiam leugam lato.' Cf. ibid. 180 c (Haloede, Hereford); 185 c (Ruiscop); cf. 211 c: (Merestone, Beds) 'sepem.'

[5] Dd. ii. 278 a: (Scole, Norfolk) 'In Osmundestuna inuasit Hugo de Corbun sub Rogero Bigot medietatem unius liberi hominis cum x acris terrae et partehege (*sic*: partem hege?); hoc tenuit R. comes quando forisfecit et post cum fuit in manu regis inuasit eum Hugo de Corbun qui modo tenet. Radulfus de Felgeris tenet manerium sed non habet hanc partem.' Cf. ibid. 282 a (Blideburc, Suffolk); ibid. 371 b: (Southwold, Suffolk) 'Sudwolda . . . medietas unius heie maris et quarta pars alterius medietatis.'

the population at large.[1] Various other economic commodities mentioned in the Domesday Survey, such as mills, quarries,[2] orchards, vineyards,[3] &c., are by their very nature mostly held in severalty and not as appendant to holdings. In regard to saltworks [4] and fisheries,[5] both might be the case, but the Survey mostly tells us of cases of individual appropriation, probably because they came more within the purview of exact estimates. Before leaving the subject of appendant rights, I will again call attention to a fact which must hamper all attempts at

[1] Dd. i. 38 d: (Stanswood, Hants) 'Staneude. Cheping tenuit de rege Edwardo. Tunc se defendit pro ii hidis, modo pro una quia alia est in foresta.' Ibid. 51 c (Otreorde). Ibid. 154 d: (Oxon.) 'In Scotorne, Stauuorde, Wodestoch, Corneberie, et Hucheuuode dominicae forestae regis sunt, habent ix leugas longo et totidem lato. Ad has forestas pertinent iiii hidae et dimidia et ibi vi uillani cum viii bordariis habent iii carucas et dimidiam. De his et omnibus ad forestam pertinentibus reddit Rainaldus x lib. per annum regi.' Ibid. 268 d: (Flintshire) 'Brochetune, Vlfemiltone, Latbroc, Bachelie, Colesett &c. . . . Harum uiginti hidarum omnes siluas habet comes in foresta sua positas. Unde maneria sunt multum peiorata. Haec foresta habet x leugas longo et iii leugas lato.' Cf. ibid. 19 b (Haslesse, Sussex); 51 a (Suei, in Nova Foresta); 68 b (Lauurecestokes, Wilts); 180 d (Hanlie, Hereford); 182 c: (Hereford) 'Huius terrae maxima pars est in defensa regis'; 208 b (Brantune, Hunts).

[2] Dd. i. 157 a: (Teynton, Oxon.) 'Teigtone . . . Inter quadrariam et prata et pascua reddit xxiiii solidos et vii denarios.' 290 d: (Whatton, Notts) 'Watone . . . Ibi una molaria ubi molae fodiuntur de iii markis argenti.'

[3] Dd. i. 43 b: (Lomer, Hants) 'Lammere . . . reddebat abbati per annum x sextaria vini.' Cf. 69 b: (Wilcote, Wilts) 'Vinea bona'; 73 a: (Tollard, Wilts) 'ii arpenni uineae.'

[4] Dd. i. 172 b: (Droitwich, Worcs.) 'In Wich habuit rex Edwardus domos xi et in v puteis habebat rex Edwardus suam partem. In i puteo (Vpeuuic) liiii salinae et ii hocci reddunt vi solidos et viii denarios. In alio puteo Helperic xvii salinae. In iii puteo Midelwic xii salinae et ii partes de uno hocco reddunt vi solidos et viii denarios. In v aliis puteis xv salinae. De his omnibus habebat rex Edwardus de firma lii libras.' Cf. 268 a: (Northwich, Cheshire) 'In eodem Mildestuic hundredo erat tercium Wich quod uocatur Noruuich et erat ad firmam pro viii libris. Ipsae leges et consuetudines erant ibi quae erant in aliis Wichis, et rex et comes similiter partiebantur redditiones. Omnes teini qui in isto Wich habebat salinas per totum annum non dabant in die veneris bulliones salis.' Ibid. 268 b: (unum Wich in Warmundestron Hd.) 'Omnes istae salinae et communes et dominicae cingebantur ex una parte quodam flumine et quodam fossato ex alia parte.'

[5] Dd. i. 6 a: (Swancomb, Kent) 'Suinescamp . . . v piscariae de xxx den. et vi$^{ta}$ que seruit ad hallam.' Cf. ibid. 32 d (Patricesham, Surrey); ibid. 57 b (Weregrave, Berks).

general statistics in regard to these rights. Pastures and woods are by no means always noticed in the descriptions. In most instances, perhaps, more or less explicit entries were made, but there are counties where wild pasture was nearly disregarded.[1] Negatively, this is an important fact, as it ought to check calculations tending to estimate the contrast between the agriculture of Domesday and pastoral or forest pursuits.[2]

Waste.

7. One of the reasons for the uncertainty of many descriptions in the Survey is the enormous amount of waste, in the sense of devastated land. On the borders of Wales, for instance, in Herefordshire, there were nine manors of 19 hides entirely laid waste. In eleven other manors there was land for 36 ploughs, but it was and had been waste, and had never paid geld.[3] The estimate of the *terra carucis* ought to be noted, as it establishes again, in a most conclusive manner, what I have been trying to make out as the meaning of the ploughlands of the Survey; the *terra carucis* or *terra carucarum* applies not to land under actual cultivation, and not to that which had been under cultivation in the reign of King Edward, but to the land considered fit for agriculture. In fact, in the reign of King Edward the land was already lying waste. In the same way we find in Cheshire a large tract of 16 potential ploughlands, formerly held by eight freemen, lying waste from the time before the Conquest.[4] Yorkshire was, of course, one of the counties most terribly harried, both by Harold and by William the Conqueror, and on every page of its survey we find records of devastation—in fact, many of these pages present hardly anything else. I will just

[1] This seems to have been to a great extent the case in Gloucestershire and Staffordshire, for instance.

[2] Cf. C. S. Taylor, in Bristol and Gloucestershire Society's Transactions, 61 ff., 227–9.

[3] Dd. i. 181 b: 'Rex habet in Herefordscire ix maneria wasta de xix hidis.' Ibid. 186 d: 'In his xi maneriis Bradelege, Titelege, &c., est terra xxxvi carucis, sed wasta fuit et est. Nunquam geldauit iacet in Marcha de Walis.'

[4] Dd. i. 264 a: (Cheshire) 'Has terras tenuerunt viii liberi homines pro maneriis. Terra est xvi carucis inter totum. Wasta fuit et est tota.'

refer, as an example, to the description of Agemundenesse. Of the enormous soke centring around Earl Tosti's manor of Preston,[1] and containing sixty-one villages, only 16 acres were still cultivated, but even as to these it was not known exactly who their inhabitants were. All the rest was waste. Again, Whitby[2] used to be a flourishing estate of Earl Siward, with 15 carucates and land for 15 more ploughlands; it was valued in the reign of King Edward at £42 yearly income. T. R. W. the tract with its three leagues by two of open fields, and seven by three of wood, was tenanted by William Percy, under Earl Hugh of Chester, with two teams in demesne, and one team among ten villains and three *bordarii*. The value was £3. The soke of the manor was in as desolate a condition as the manor itself. It was estimated for the geld at 28 carucates, and there was room for 22 ploughlands more, and yet there were only 6 teams in two of the townships, and a population of 8 socmen households, and 30 villain holdings. Staffordshire[3] and Northamptonshire[4], though not so thoroughly devastated, show everywhere traces of the great ravages incurred during the struggles of the eleventh century. On the other hand, such instances as Bishopestrev in Cheshire, an estate that had passed from Earl Edwin to the Earl of Chester, where one manor and two half-manors are estimated to contain land for one plough, two serfs, and one *bordarius*, may be due to the fact that the place was in a state of almost complete wilderness, due not to devastation, but to the lack of capital and labour. The insignificance of the one ploughland assigned to the manor seems to point this way.[5] The opposition to waste

[1] Dd. i. 301 d: (Preston, Yorks) 'In Prestune comes Tosti vi carucatas ad geldum. Ibi pertinent he terrae (61) Omnes hae uille iacent ad Prestune et iii ecclesiae. Ex his xvi a paucis incoluntur sed quot sint habitantes ignoratur. Reliqua sunt wasta.' Cf. ibid., Haltun; Witetune.

[2] Dd. i. 305 a (Whitby).

[3] Cf. Eyton, Domesday Studies, Staffordshire.

[4] Cf. Victoria County Hist. Northamptonshire, i. 260–3.

[5] Dd. i. 269 b: (Cheshire) 'Biscopestreu fuit manerium Eduini comitis T. R. E. Nunquam geldauit neque hidatum fuit. Tunc erat wasta, et quando Hugo comes recepit similiter wasta modo tenet Hugo F. Norman de comite medietatem huius manerii et totam Legge

is settlement (*vastum: hospitatum*). The mere fact that untenanted land rendered some income to stray occupiers,[1] or could be utilized for pasture,[2] or for hunting,[3] did not much change its condition. It is only through permanent colonization that it passes from the category of waste to that of *terrae hospitatae*.[4] The Saxon equivalent of *terra hospitata* would be *gesett land*, and generally *gewerod* is added to this qualification of settled land, to show that it was not only held by permanent tenants, but also rendered dues to the king or 'defended' itself in regard to him, as the expression went.[5] The policy of providing the land with tenants for tillage, and to enable it to bear the burden of taxes and public services was one of the chief concerns of Old English Royalty, and one of the motives making for feudalization and the rise of aristocracy. The *landrica* or landlord had to help materially with the outfit and protection if waste districts were to be 'hospitated' and enabled to take up the 'wara'.[6] Therefore every period of economic and social restoration, following on great devastation, was at the same time a period of advantage for the growth of aristocracy. This is told in as many words in the history of colonizing ecclesiastical institutions, which created an

et Sudfell. Terra est i carucae quae ibi est in dominio cum ii bordariis et i acra prati ibi. Valet x solid. Aliam medietatem huius manerii et medietatem de Mulintone et totum Wiselei tenet de comite Odinus. Terra est i carucae quae ibi est cum ii seruis et uno bordario. Valet x solid.'

[1] Dd. i. 368 b: (Elsthorp and Bulby, Lincs.) 'In Aighelestorp et in Bolebi habuit Offram ii bouatas terrae ad geldum. Wido habet et uacuae sunt, sed tamen coluntur.'

[2] Dd. i. 278 c (Totinglei (Totley), Derby); 275 c (Barcovere (Birchover), Derby) 'Wasta . . . silua . . . tercia pars pastilis.' Cf. 273 a (Maperlie); 274 b (Heorteshorn).

[3] Dd. i. 186 d: (Herefordshire) 'In his wastis terris excreuerunt siluae in quibus isdem Osbernus uenationem exercet et inde habet quod capere potest. Nil aliud.'

[4] Dd. i. 336 a: 'In ciuitate Lincolia erant Tempore regis Eduuardi nouies centum et lxx mansiones hospitatae. Hic numerus anglice computatur i centum pro cxx.' Ibid. 336 b: 'Ex predictis mansionibus quae T. R. E. fuerunt hospitatae sunt modo wastae cc anglico numero i.e. ccxl et eodem numero septies centum et lx sunt modo hospitatae.'

[5] Earle, Land Charters, 375 (Customs of Tiddenham).

[6] Thorpe, Diplom. 162 (Bishop Denewulf's grant).

aristocracy of privileged corporations if not of individuals. But the same process may be traced in Ine's legislation[1] during the rise of Wessex, in some of the later Anglo-Saxon books during the struggle with the Danes,[2] and in Domesday itself in the efforts of the great ecclesiastical houses to gather tenants in order to improve the dilapidated condition of the ancient estates that had fallen into their hands.[3]

Causes of waste.

Before leaving the subject, let us glance at the different causes producing devastation in those times; there is such a multiplicity of them that one can easily realize what a hard stand the constructive and reconstructive tendencies had against the constant threat of devastation. We have already seen what the Celts of Wales could do in that direction, and what aspect the March of Wales showed in some parts. In Devonshire we come across terrible ravages committed by Irish pirates.[4] But the host of the king himself could be responsible for similar desolation.[5] The building of castles, which went on uninterruptedly from the Conquest through the greater part of the twelfth century, and was only temporarily checked by Henry Plantagenet, was another source of destruction to the adjoining population.[6] Of the forests we have already had occasion to speak; they were a curse, both directly and indirectly, as a surrender of the rights of men to the comfort of beasts and plants,[7] and as a

[1] Ine, 108–12.

[2] See e.g. Heming's Cartulary about the activity of Bishop Oswald of Worcester.

[3] On the restoration of the estates of Abingdon. Chron. Monast. de Abingdon (Rolls Series), i. 486; ii. 1, 2.

[4] Dd. iv. 301: (Devon) 'Hae ix predictae mansiones sunt uastatae per irlandinos homines.' Dd. i. 40 c (Farnam): 'Rexita donauit causa Wichingarum, quia super mare est.'

[5] Dd. i. 239 a: (Harbury, Warwickshire) 'Edburberie . . . uasta est per exercitum regis. . . . Valuit x solid. Modo ii solid.'

[6] Dd. i. 254 a: (Montgomery, Shropshire) 'Ipse comes (Rogerius) construxit castrum Muntgumeri uocatum ad quod adiacent lii hidae et dimidia quas tenuerunt Seuuar, Oslac, Azor de rege Eduuardo quietas ab omni geldo ad uenandum eas habuerunt. . . . Wastae sunt et fuerunt.'

[7] Dd. i. 166 d: (Wyegate, Gloucs.) 'Wigheiete . . . nunc est iussu regis in foresta sua. Ibi erant vi hidae et geldabat et ualebat lx solid. Modo non est nisi piscaria de x solid.'

vantage ground from which privileged animals carried out their inroads against the cultivated districts. But besides these most tragic eventualities there was the constant wear and tear of life, badly provided for and badly protected, in its struggle for existence. Let us listen to the simple but eloquent words of the description of Lincoln: 'Of these waste houses there were destroyed for the sake of the castle one hundred and sixty-six; the rest, seventy-four, were laid waste outside the boundaries of the castle—not on account of the oppression of sheriffs and bailiffs, but because of disasters, poverty, and fires.'[1] Although the direct responsibility of officials is set aside in this case, it is clear that it was generally a standing cause of oppression and destruction. Their pernicious influence is clearly affirmed in the case of Norwich; of the burgesses who lived in the Borough of Norwich 'twenty-two left, and stayed in Beccles, a village belonging to the Abbot of St. Edmund's. Those who fled, and others who remain, are entirely ruined (*vastatae*), partly through the forfeiture of Earl R., partly through fires, partly by the King's geld, and partly by Waleran (the sheriff).'[2] A significant story of oppression by the local lord is told from Cambas in Suffolk. There were in this place 62 freemen originally commended to Ulnott, a thane of King Edward, then under the patronage of Earl Brian, the predecessor of Earl Robert, while the soke over them remained in the hands of the King. Their number dwindled under King William and the rule of Earl Robert to 50, and instead of 16 teams T. R. E. they held only 8 between them. The whole manor of Cambas had increased in its yield from £10 to £16, but was hardly able to bear the burden. As for the 50 freemen, their worth was not more than £16, but the landlord was getting from them by extortion £31, notwithstanding the decrease of their numbers and means, and they were unable to bear it without 'confusion'.[3] Here the negative, extortionary side of landlordism makes itself manifestly felt and, of course, it is necessary to take both into account in order to draw an estimate of

[1] Dd. i. 336 c. [2] Dd. ii. 117 b. [3] Dd. ii. 291.

the effects of the rise of aristocracy. It sounds like a paradox, but both lines of action on the part of the mighty led to their historical success; they grew strong by protection and by oppression, as capitalists and patrons, as well as tyrants and destroyers. They began to lose ground again as soon as a certain equilibrium of political forces was reached in the arrangement of society, and the constructive power of labour began to make itself felt behind the screen of feudal privileges.

Measurements.

8. Does the Domesday Survey ever mention real measures in distinction to fiscal units, estimates of ploughlands, and reckonings of normal plough-teams? As a rule, the numbers given in holdings or acres are primarily meant as geld numbers, but there are cases when this may be questioned. Take, for instance, the following Devonshire statement about 'Leuge'.[1] Alsi held it T. R. E., and paid geld for 3 virgates. There is land for 8 ploughs. There are 2 teams and 2 serfs in demesne, and 10 villains, 5 *bordarii*, and 2 cotters have 4 teams. There are 10 acres of meadow and 30 of pasture, and one virgate of wood. The same Norman and Saxon owners (Godobold and Alsi) had held in turn Leveleghe, which paid geld T. R. E. for one virgate. There is land for 4 ploughs. There are $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 2 serfs, 2 villains and 4 *bordarii*; 2 acres of meadow and 20 acres of pasture, and one ferling of small wood. If we take acres, virgates, and ferlings to be geld measures in every case, it is difficult to account for the fact that, in the first case one-third of the total tax, and in the second one-quarter, is laid on the wood—one virgate out of three in Leghe, and one ferling out of four in Leveleghe. Besides, if the acres are added to the tax of the woods, 40 acres in the first instance and 22 in the second, we get considerably over the supposed number of acres in Leghe according to the 48 acres standard ($40 + 22 = 62$); while there should be only 36 acres in the 3 virgates. Even taking the 120 acres, we reach 70 acres for wood and pasture out of a possible 90, and there would only remain 20 for the arable. In the second instance the

[1] Dd. i. 117 b.

reckoning is even more embarrassing. According to the 48 acres standard to which the mention of ferlings seems to point, 26 acres would be required for wood, meadow, and pasture, while there are only 12 to dispose of. On the 120 acres standard we should reach 29½ acres for wood, meadow, and pasture out of 32, and there would be still all the arable to account for. All this would be absurd, and we are driven to take the acres in the sense of real and not fiscal measurements in these and similar cases, while the virgates and ferlings for the wood seem still to stand for fiscal quantities, as it would be very unlikely that such a small quantity as 7½ acres of wood, not to speak of 3 acres, should be described as a ferling, and entered in addition to a good deal of arable and pasture, especially in Devonshire, one of the counties which possessed the largest tracts of uncultivated land and woods. But what are we to say of cases when we hear of so many acres *inter silvam et planum*, as we occasionally do in Suffolk[1] and other shires? It seems to me that the elaborate description of acres in this manner leaves hardly any doubt as to their reality. The *inter silvam et planum* is, after all, the translation of the time-honoured 'be wode and be felde', even the peculiar sequence of the two constitutive elements being preserved. A similar argument to that employed in the Devonshire case just quoted may be appealed to in favour of such an interpretation, when we find, as in Estone, Beds, that only half a hide to the geld is assigned to a manor, while at the same time 60 acres *inter silvam et planum* are claimed out of the entire estate.[2] These 60 acres would simply swallow up the whole half-hide if geld units were meant in both cases, and it seems evident that the adjunct of the 'wood

[1] Dd. ii. 294 b: (Stonham, Suffolk) 'In Stanham tenet Ulmarus de comite v liberos homines de xlviii acris et tenent xii acras de dominio comitis. . . . Huiç superiori terrae quam tenet Hunfridus pertinebant in dominio xxviii acrae inter siluam et planum quod tenuit Godmarus t. r. e. et modo tenet Rogerus Bigot.'

[2] Dd. i. 210 b: (Easton, Hunts) 'In Estone tenet Willelmus de Caron dimidiam hidam et dimidiam uirgatam de episcopo (Lincoliense). Terra est i carucae. . . . In hac terra episcopatus reclamat Willelmus de Caron lx acras inter planum et siluam.'

and field' qualification stamps the latter number as that of field acres in contrast to the earlier geld entry. And, again, when *acrae* stands by itself, without further addition, it mostly points to geld units.

The *liberi homines* and socmen of Danish districts are throughout rated in acres, more seldom in virgates, bovates, hides, and carucates. In all these cases one has primarily to think of geld units, or rather of *wara* assessment establishing the proportion represented by the tenants in question in the scot and lot of the hundred. This may look intricate at first, but, after all, it is the direct consequence of the swerving of the *wara*, the schedule rate, from natural and local measurement, and the cases examined are certainly not more intricate than the Middlesex one. Hitherto I have dealt with the estimates of quantity expressed in agrarian holdings and measures, but there is another way of indicating quantity and extent which is in frequent use in the East Anglian and some other shires, namely, the reckoning in leagues, quarantenes, perches, &c. It is comprised under the general term *mensura*, and the measurement of a place may be used to estimate territory[1] or boundaries.[2] The measurement of wide tracts of wood and pasture by leagues seems especially appropriate, as these tracts could not be included in the ordinary agrarian units, but were only appendant to them.[3] But the plain or open could also be made the object of such measurement.[4] Even more frequently a whole township, or estate, or even a hundred, might be described as being so many leagues in length and so many in width.[5] In most cases the numbers given

[1] Dd. ii. 147 (Foxle, Norfolk); 241 b (Euincham, Norfolk).

[2] Dd. ii. 144 b (Fulenduna, Norfolk).

[3] Dd. i. 117 c: (Buckland, Devon) 'Bochelande . . . pro iii uirgatis terrae. Terra est iiii carucis . . . iiii acrae prati et iiii quarantenae pasturae.' Cf. Dd. iv. 26 (Piretona, Dorset); iv. 213, 214 (Rekaradoc, Cornwall).

[4] Dd. i. 264 b: (Cholmondely, Cheshire) 'Calmundelei. . . . Habet dimidiam leuuam de plano.'

[5] Dd. ii. 283 b: (Suffolk) 'Hoc dimidium Hundredum (de Ludingalanda) habet in longo vi leugas et in lato ii leugas et dimidiam et ii quarantenas'; ii. 365 a: (Stow, Suffolk) 'Stoua. . . . Habet haec uilla in longo i leugam et viii quarantenas in lato.' Cf. ii. 369 a (Ferdinga et alia Watefelde).

are rough—one league, half a league, one quarantene, &c.—but instances are not wanting when the numbers are calculated to a nicety.[1]

Now what was the meaning of such measurements, and how were they used in practice? The territory of England was, after all, nowhere divided into regular squares like those formed sometimes on the chessboard of North America. The shapes formed by the boundaries of shires, hundreds, townships, and estates were very irregular, and sometimes consisted of several bits patched together. Besides, what is quite natural in the division of vacant soil of approximately uniform quality seems very strange in the case of a country of ancient and very uneven culture, in which the concentration of inhabitants and the appropriation of capital meant a good deal more than square leagues. However, there are the measurements, and, as we have seen, they were sometimes made with a pretension to exactness.

It is difficult to make out whether the woods, estates, and hundreds were measured along their belts of greatest length and width, or on perpendiculars drawn in some way across their main body—perhaps on the meridian and parallel of the place; measurements, in well-authenticated cases, of parishes preserving their ancient boundaries may serve some day to clear up the question.[2] But it seems to me that, in any case, the aim of this kind of measurement must have been to provide an approximate basis for the claims of estates and townships in a country where boundaries were still difficult to determine. Of course, most of the Old English grants of land were accompanied by careful indications of boundaries, but our grants belong, after all, almost exclusively to privileged land, and their boundaries do not comprise the wide tracts of adjoining woods and commons. At a time when most settlements were surrounded by a kind of natural wilderness, somewhat resembling the

[1] Dd. ii. 160 b: (Acre, Norfolk) 'Acre. . . . Tota habet i leugam et x perticulas in longo et i leugam in lato et iiii pedes et dimidium.'

[2] Cf. Miss Davenport, History of a Norfolk Manor, 6.

natural wildernesses said to have been created by German tribes along their frontiers, the best device for a distribution of rights was to assign to every one the extent of his power in length and width, without pretending to draw a complete circle around him. If this process came into use with early systems of regularizing the settlements, it was sure to endure for a long while after more exact boundaries were drawn in some cases or even in most.

Results.

The principal results of the section on Land Tenure may be summarized in the following points:—

1. The Norman Conquest led to a complete revision and modification of the land-law of preconquestual times, by making the feudal nexus general and obligatory.

2. Yet the compilers of Domesday Book had to take heed of some flagrant discrepancies in the treatment of land tenure in Anglo-Saxon times. The notices as to *alod* and as to *parage* were produced by the wish to take stock of some striking peculiarities of preconquestual land-law, in terms derived from French usage.

3. In the important question of succession, the generalizing tendency of feudal law must not conceal the fact that the main types of succession—joint holdings, division among heirs, unification of estates—are in process of development before the Conquest, and that the motives for these forms of development are supplied by considerations of economic efficiency as well as by requirements of service.

4. Collective ownership is clearly indicated in the Old English evidence. It is apt to be combined with overlordships, which after the Conquest assume more and more the aspect of ownership or private tenure.

5. The size and distribution of settlements depended not only on racial habits, but on a variety of geographical causes as well as on the conditions of colonization. The prevailing type of settlement in the greater part of England was the village, but single farms and hamlets are to be found everywhere by the side of it.

6. In connexion with the modes of settlement both

compact holdings and open-field intermixture of holdings occur, but the latter appears as the most common system of cultivation and tenure. There are many intermediate stages between both systems.

7. Practices of champion farming, which occur in modern open-field husbandry up to the time of enclosures, may be clearly traced in all their principal features back to early Anglo-Saxon evidence.

8. The open-field arrangements are intimately connected with a distribution of the land into holdings, and the prevailing agrarian husbandry depends entirely on the apportionment of rights and interests according to the proportionate shares of the holdings. On the other hand, there is a tendency, both among the free and the servile population, to keep up as much as possible the efficiency of the holdings as far as it depends on the organic formation of the plough-team and its natural fractions.

9. The growth of landed aristocracy is partly to be explained by the influence of capital and of patronage in times of severe social struggle and recurring devastation.

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# SECTION II: RURAL ORGANIZATION

## CHAPTER I

## MANORS

1. THE term manor and the *M.* serving to abbreviate it meet the eye of the Domesday inquirer at every moment, and it is especially important to grasp its exact meaning or varieties of meaning. To begin with, the expression is clearly used in the sense of the mansion, the residence of a more or less exalted personage. One might appeal, to substantiate this meaning, not only to the undoubted derivation from *manere* through the medium of the French *manoir*, but also to the equivalent employed by the Exon Domesday—*mansio*, instead of *manerium*. But the more common, and, one may say, the prevalent meaning, is that of an estate or district, of which the central house is the hall (*aula*). The general correspondence with estates is sufficiently clear in the frequent cases when the colourless *terra*, in the sense of a complex of land, is used as an equivalent to *Manerium*. Thus to the 'Mansion' of Middelton in Devon, two other 'mansions' are added according to the Exon Domesday—Lega and Littleton, and these very manors are described in the Exchequer Domesday as *terrae*, estates.[1] This would be in keeping with other cases where *terra* is used in an entirely neutral sense as a tract of land.[2] But the terms may be opposed to each other with the evident object of drawing more precise distinctions. The

The manorial unit.

[1] Dd. I. 103c (cf. iv. 164): 'Cum hoc manerio (Middeltone) tenet abbas (de Tauestoch) ii terras Lege et Liteltone. Has tenuerunt ii taini T.R.E. pro ii maneriis.' Cf. Round, in the E. H. R. 1900.

[2] Dd. iv. 328: (? In North Petherton Hd., Somerset) 'Walterus habet i uirgatam que uocatur Doneham quam tenuit Algarus . . . et est de illa terra quam R. dedit ei inter ii aquas.'

manor of Lindene in Gloucestershire is said to have been formed by William de Ow out of four *terrae*; and in the same way two originally independent estates called *terrae* are said to have become merged in the Kentish manor of *Eisse*, belonging to Hugh, a tenant of the Bishop of Bayeux.[1] The point is, that small estates have been subjected to the administration of a large one, and are regarded merely as pertinent to a manor and not as manors themselves. Whether they were ever considered as such before it is impossible to say. In other instances, estates (*terrae*) rated separately to the geld are said to belong to some big manor, Tewkesbury, for instance.[2] Or else a piece of land may be said to appertain to several manors; a remark which can hardly be accounted for on any other ground but that the owners had held the land in question in joint ownership.[3] In a few cases the *terra*, being taken as a special term, is represented by a *T.* in the margin instead of the usual *M.*[4] A good case of an attempted distinction between *manor*, as a definite unit of ownership and administration, and *terra* as an indefinite quantity of land, is presented by the Survey description of Driteham. There were in this place 1½ hides which Alfric held of King Edward as one manor, and afterwards he gave

[1] Dd. i. 164 a: (Lydney, Gloucs.) 'In Lindenee fecit comes Willelmus unum manerium de iiii terris quas ab earum dominis accepit'; i. 6 a: (Ash, Kent) 'Eisse, pro tribus solins se defendit... In dominio est una caruca et xii uillani cum viii bordariis habent iii carucas. Ibi quidam miles habens viii inter seruos et ancillas et terram ad unam carucam. Praeter hoc habet Hugo ii homines tenentes dimidiam solin, qui poterant T.R.E. ire quolibet sine licentia. Una terra uocatur Didele, et alia Soninges. Terra est ibi ad unam carucam et appreciatur xx sol.'

[2] Dd. i. 163 c: (Shenington, Gloucs.) 'In Senendone x hidae pertinent eidem manerio (de Tedekesberie) . . . Haec terra geldabat pro vii hidis.' Cf. ibid., Clifort; i. 208 a: (Weston, Hunts) 'Dicunt terram Wluuini chit de Westone per se fuisse manerium et non pertinuisse ad Kenebaltone sed tamen eum fuisse hominem Haroldi comitis.'

[3] Dd. i. 19 c: (Sussex) 'In eodem hundredo (Henhert) est dimidia hida et una uirgata et dimidia. Terra est iii carucis. Haec terra T.R.E. pertinuit tribus maneriis Ratendone, Willendone, Ferle. Nunquam geldum reddidit. Ibi habet Reinbertus vi uillanos cum iii carucis T.R.E. et modo ualet xxii sol. . . . Isdem Reinbertus tenet de comite dimidiam hidam quae pertinuit T.R.E. duobus maneriis.'

[4] Dd. i. 203 c (Botuluesbrige, Hunts).

this land to his wife and his daughter at the church of Chertsey, as the men of the hundred testify. This declaration is challenged by Richard, son of Gislebert, the holder in the reign of King William. It does not lie in any manor, and he does not hold it as a manor, but it had been delivered to him. In this 'land of Alfric' there was one carucate in demesne and 2 *bordarii* and 2 serfs.[1] The fact that the land in question stood outside any manor makes it probable that the verdict of the hundred was perfectly right, and that the little estate of Alfric had been bequeathed to Chertsey after the extinction of the life-interest of Alfric's widow and daughter, who very likely had taken refuge there. Anyhow, we have to note the endeavour to oppose the manor as an organized unit with an administrative centre to a piece of land without a particular organization. This is not the only way in which the terms are used, but it is a characteristic one.

A 'terra', a small estate, might commonly become a mere tenement dependent on the higher unit of the manor. Such is the case with a small holding of 1½ virgates owned by Ralf de l'Isle. It lies in the Royal manor of Biggleswade, in Bedfordshire, and is estimated there, and the Saxon owner of it could neither give nor sell his land without leave of the owner of Bicheleswade.[2] Manors occur of the most diverse size, from plots of land rated at one virgate, or 40 acres, to enormous organizations like Taunton or Leominster, containing villages by the score, and hundreds of dependent holdings. This by itself would not be strange by any means, as the measure of an

[1] Dd. i. 35 c: (Effingham, Surrey) 'In eadem Driteham est una hida et dimidia quam tenuit Aluric de rege Eduuardo pro uno manerio et postea dedit illam terram uxori suae et filiae ad aecclesiam de Certesy, sicuti homines de hundredo testantur. Ricardus hanc calumniatur. Non iacet ulli manerio nec pro manerio tenet sed liberata fuit ei . . . In hac terra Alurici est in dominio i caruca et ii bordarii et ii serui. Valet xl sol.'

[2] Dd. i. 217 a: (Warden, Beds) 'In Wardone tenet isdem Radulfus (de Insula) de rege i uirgatam et dimidiam. Haec terra iacet in Bichelesuuade, et ibi est appreciata et qui eam T.R.E. tenuit nec uendere nec dare potuit sine licentia eius qui Bichelesuuade tenet.' Cf. Dd. i. 62 c (Elinge, Berks).

economic organization, of an estate, is after all only its capacity of being ruled from one centre. But curiously enough there are many indications of a tendency to treat the manor as a unit, and to estimate this unit as a definite quantity. To begin with, we constantly hear of people holding land *pro manerio*, or even *pro uno manerio*,[1] and this seems to imply that any given quantity would not make up a manor. Still it might be said, if the instances we are speaking of stood isolated, that the adjunction of the words *pro manerio* does not mean much more than the word *manerium* itself or an *M.* in the margin, namely, that a certain described quantity of land was organized as a compact estate, with its separate administration, its distinct income, and distinct accounts. But then we find in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, counties with a strong admixture of Danes, curious attempts to count up manors in order to settle the amount of reliefs.[2] A thane holding 6 manors or less is said to be bound by custom to pay 3 marks, that is £2, as a relief, on entering on possession, while a thane having more than 6 manors would be taxed for relief at £8. The notice is interesting and puzzling in many respects. It comes from a Danish district, it applies to customs which obtained in the time before the Conquest, and therefore speaks of thanes, and still it uses the Norman expression *relief*, perhaps inaccurately for heriot. The sums mentioned do not correspond to any of the later standards of relief, neither to the £5 of the knight, nor to the 100*l.* or 100 marks of the baron. And lastly, how could manors be counted up by half-dozens? In what sense did the half-dozen form a convenient division for so sharp a contrast as that between men paying £8 and

[1] Dd. i. 232 b: (Thurmaston, Leics.) 'Idem (Hugo de Grentemaisnil) tenet x carucas terrae in Turmodestone. Terra est vii carucis . . . Hanc habet Hugo pro uno manerio sed scira negat.' Cf. ii. 157 b (Helsinga, Norfolk); ibid., Tauerham; ii. 261 b (Gutheketuna, Norfolk).

[2] Dd. i. 280 c: (Derby and Nottingham) 'Tainus habens plusquam vi maneria non dat terrae releuationem nisi regi tantum viii lib. Si habet vi tantum uel minus uicecomiti dat releuationem iii Markas argenti ubicumque maneat in Burgo uel extra.'

people paying only £2 to obtain the right to succession? The reckoning by dozens is by itself characteristic of the Danish region, but the oddity of drawing a clear line between possessors of six manors and possessors of seven or more is not lessened by the consideration, nor does it explain in what way a manor could be equated to another in order to form the required estimates. A similar difficulty occurs in the survey of Essex, where it is supposed for some reason that Eustache de Boulogne had a right to a round hundred of manors, and measures were taken to fill up this hundred.[1] Here the instance would date from after the Conquest, but there occurs the same idea of a counting up of manors as fairly equivalent units. A batch of Norfolk cases seems to give a clue to these curious reckonings of manor units. In a large number of instances land and tenants are added to certain central estates 'to make up a manor' *ad perficiendum manerium*.[2] The use of 'perficiendum' is not singular: it occurs in relation to the making up of a hundred, where there cannot be any doubt that the completion of the exact number was meant.[3] Fortunately, we are told expressly in a few cases what standard the manor had to reach in order to be complete. William de Warenne had a number of plots of land and of rights in regard to freemen in Thorp, Mulleslee, Trunchet, &c., to the aggregate of 2 carucates and 352 acres to the geld, or a little less than 5 carucates. And 'all this land was delivered to William for one manor of 5 carucates of land'.[4] But the same William de

[1] Dd. ii. 268.

[2] Dd. ii. 170 b: (Green How Hd., Norfolk) 'Est gamera tenet Eluolt i liber homo t.r.e. et fuit liberata frederio pro terra ad perficiendum maneria suos (*sic*).' Cf. ii. 173 b (Rincteda); 176 b (Brabretuna); ibid. (Simplingaham); 233 b (Karlentona); 245 b (Dersincham); 246 a (Aldeberge); 257 b (Gunatorp); 258 a (Walsingeham).

[3] Dd. i. 175 c: (Worcestershire) 'In Fisseberge hundredo habet aecclesia de Euesham lxv hidas. Ex his xii hidae sunt liberae. In illo hundredo iacent xx hidae de Dodentreu et xv hidae de Wircecestre perficiunt hundret.' Ellis, Introduction to Domesday, i. p. xix.

[4] Dd. ii. 171: (Norfolk) 'In Torp—Muleslai—Trunchet—Repes—Norrepes—Sistran—Sutrepes et Norhrepes [altogether 2 carucatas 352 acras] . . . Haec tota terra fuit liberata Willelmo pro i manerio v carucatarum terrae.'

Warenne received a series of plots and tenants in Sistrow, Kernapat, for one manor of 4 carucates.[1] There the manor units were not identical in the two cases, but they were very much alike, and could be easily used for the purpose of drawing rough averages. If we follow this clue we shall find that in Norfolk at any rate there was certainly a policy tending to form estates called manors, of the size of some 4 or 5 carucates. The making up of Laringset, a manor of Walter Giffard, is well in point. If we count up the portions of carucates and the acres assigned to the freemen engulfed by the estate of Laringset in order to make up a manor, we come to $2\frac{1}{2}$ carucates + 180 acres, that is, exactly 4 carucates.[2] There is another clue leading to a standard, which is expressed in an estimate of income. The normal manor was assumed to be worth £10 a year. This would mean roughly £2 per carucate, if we take the 5 carucates unit, and £2 10*s.* if we take that of the 4 carucates. Such an estimate is high, but by no means uncommon in the case of East Anglia. It would not apply in other counties, however, as in most instances £1 per hide or carucate seems to be more nearly adequate.

These considerations show that there can be no talk of the adoption of a uniform standard in this respect all over England, but the facts adduced are nevertheless most significant. They show a set policy pursued before the Conquest, and tending to substitute estates of 4 or 5 hides held by thanes for a quantity of small freehold tenements. Such a policy could be pursued, shortly before the Conquest,

[1] Dd. ii. 171: (Norfolk) 'Sistran—Keanapat—Hoc totum fuit liberatum pro uno manerio de iiii carucatis terrae et hoc totum habet ii leugas in longo et viii perticas et v pedes, et in lato i leugam et xii perticas et iiii pedes.'

[2] Dd. ii. 242: (Letheringsett, Norfolk) 'In Leringaseta tenuit Oslacus liber homo t.r.e. i carucatam terrae . . . In Baiafelda xl acras terrae . . . In Glamforda xxx acras terrae . . . In Esnuterlea xxx acras terrae . . . In Bodenham i carucatam terrae, et pertinet ad Laringaseta . . . In Hunaworda lx acras terrae et pertinet ad Laringaseta . . . In Warham pro dimidia carucata terrae . . . In Berningeham tenet i liber homo xx acras terrae . . . Et fuit liberata ad perficiendum Laringesere.'

only in East Anglia, and in the Danelaw, because only there did the material for the delivery of freemen to make up manors still exist. Would it be too bold to guess that the same process had taken place a good while earlier in the south, and that its landmarks are the numberless grants of *manentes*, *cassati*, and *tributarii* collected in the Codex Diplomaticus and in the Cartularium Saxonicum? However this may be, we have to take note of the view that a normal manor in Norfolk, and perhaps in the east of England, ought to consist of about 4 or 5 carucates, and to give roughly £10 income; a standard which forcibly reminds us of the 5-hide unit repeatedly mentioned in A.-S. Law, and, on the other hand, of some of the knight-fee estimates, and of the lesser fee of £10 income corresponding to the minor standard of equipment in Henry II's assize of arms. Lastly, these attempts show that at the time of the Domesday Inquest, at any rate, the expression 'Manor' was currently used to designate estates organized under aristocratic administration—under knights, or the ecclesiastical corporations which may be substituted for them.

Capitalistic organizations.

2. Actual manors, as they appear in Domesday, do not often conform to these averages, and present a variety of different types which must be examined separately if we want to form an opinion as to the character and origins of manorial institutions. They may be arranged very roughly in the following five classes, with a good many subdivisions and intermediate shades between them. The grouping would be somewhat as follows: the manor as a capitalistic organization, an economic centre surrounded by peasant-holdings supporting it; the manor as an administrative centre of scattered and more or less independent settlements; the soke, a centre of jurisdictional and tributary organization; Royal manors; small estates exploited directly either by their masters or by rustics.

Medium-sized manors of some 4–10 carucates, with a domanial centre, are the most common variety of Domesday estates, and it is hardly necessary to quote

instances in illustration. I will refer to a couple of cases, however. The manor of Segenehou,[1] in Bedfordshire, was held by Walter, brother of Seiher. It paid geld for 10 hides, and had land for 10 ploughs. Four hides were reckoned to the demesne, and there was one team on the home-farm though there could be two more. The tenants actually occupied the rest of the arable with seven teams. There were 24 villain households, 4 *bordarii* households, and 3 serfs. In the time of King Edward, there had been a socman with half a hide in Segenehou who could go where he pleased. He had disappeared among the peasantry at the time of King William. The value of the manor had gone down from £16 to £6 a year, and it is difficult to account for such a fall on the strength of the Domesday description, which shows only a deficit of two ploughs on the demesne land. Apart from the puzzling fall in value the case is a very normal one, the number of hides being exactly equal to that of the ploughlands and of the possible teams, while there is only a certain falling-off as regards the actual teams in the demesne. The extra hide put on the demesne represents probably the extra value conferred on it by the labour of the peasantry, the 'consuetudines villae'. This additional labour cannot have been very excessive, however, as there remained still 6 hides to be defended by the land of the tenants with its seven teams.

The case of Hallingbury,[2] an Essex manor of Roger de Otburville, may be taken as a specimen of more intricate combinations. It paid geld for only 3 hides and 38 acres, and yet the two freemen who held it T.R.W. had land for 16½ ploughs, of which six were on the demesne and 10½ in the hands of villains. The manor had suffered greatly from the Conquest: there remained only three teams on the demesne instead of six, and 2½ with the peasantry instead of 10½, and of 18 villain households only eight were left. There was wood for 600 pigs, 25 acres of meadow, a pasture yielding 18*d.* in pasnage,

[1] Dd. i. 216 a. [2] Dd. ii. 52 a.

and a mill. Nine ploughs could be restored out of the missing eleven. It appears from the further description that in the reign of King Edward there were two manors in Hallingbury, although it is said first to have been held as one. The larger of the two manors was worth £8, and the smaller £3. Their values had gone down T. R. W. to £4 and £2. Some points of this description are not entirely clear. There must have been some close connexion between the two 'freemen' who owned the combined manors T. R. E. Perhaps the more considerable one represented the other in regard to public requirements, and therefore the two estates were deemed one manor in one sense and two in another. The relation between the home-farm and the tenants' portion is more evenly matched than in the Segenehou case, but one does not see why out of the eleven ploughlands which were left untilled only nine could be restored. It seems as if the original repartition of teams implied a case of overstocking. It is worth notice that the tenantry are entered under one head, while the value is reckoned separately for each of the two manors.

These are minor points, however, and the main character of the estates or estate is clearly one of intimate collaboration between home-farm and the peasant part, without any great predominance of one over the other.

Great estates.

Sometimes the concentration of work and capital leads to much larger formations. Let us take, for example, the case of the Herefordshire manor of Leominster.[1] It had been in the hands of Queen Edith, and consisted of 16 'membra'. It was estimated to the geld at 80 hides, and there were 30 plough-teams in its demesne land. The administrative staff consisted of 8 reeves, 8 beadles, and 8 rodknights (*radchenistri*), while the peasant population comprised 238 villains, 75 *bordarii*, and 82 serfs and female slaves (*ancillae*). The peasants held 230 teams between them. The villains rendered in customary payment £11 5*s*. 2*d*., and the riding men 14*s*. 4*d*., and

[1] Dd. i. 180 a.

3 sesters of honey. The villains also ploughed and sowed with their own seed 140 acres. The numbers were somewhat altered T. R. W. The King held the manor in his hand, and 60 hides were reckoned for the demesne, in which there were 29 teams, only one less than before. The staff consisted of 6 priests, 6 riding-men, 7 reeves, and 7 beadles, while the villains were 224, the *bordarii* had increased to 81, the serfs, male and female, diminished in number to 25. The rustics had 201 teams between them, and ploughed and sowed 125 acres for the lord. This description is exceptionally detailed, inasmuch as it mentions not only the numbers of teams and households, but goes the length of stating what the peasants tilled as *gafolerth*, and how much they paid as customary rent. But, of course, the services and payments in question were not the only duties which lay on the dependent population. Their ordinary week-work is not mentioned separately, but must have been very considerable, if one takes into account the number of peasant teams and holdings, and the heavy proportion of the home-farm in regard to the geld. As many as 60 hides are assigned to the demesne, out of 80, and as the Survey is exceedingly careful in such matters, it seems that there is hardly any other explanation for such a repartition but the considerable amount of work performed by the villains for the lord, by the side of the already large stock represented by his private teams. A similar instance would have been presented by the manor of Ledbury,[1] belonging to the Bishop of Hereford, if the estate had not been greatly devastated. It was rated to the geld at 53 hides, of which 32½ were waste at the time of the Survey. There were only four teams in demesne, 38 villains with 4 *bordarii*, and 8 riding-men with 28 *bordarii*, holding altogether 23 plough-teams. There was a wood where 160 pigs could fatten. The value had gone down from £35 to £12, and had even stood at £10 for some time. Notwithstanding the great ravages inflicted on it, it bears the stamp of a great

[1] Dd. i. 252b.

enterprise served by a large concentration of dependent people.

Dorchester,[1] Oxon, may be mentioned next. It belonged to the Bishop of Lincoln, and was rated at 90 hides, or to speak with the record, at a hundred hides less ten. The bishop had retained in his farm, that is, for his own account, 60 hides less one virgate, and his knights held 30 hides and one virgate. There were at the time of the Survey 3 plough-teams in demesne, although there was land for 4 ploughs, and 34 villains with 22 *bordarii* had 15 ploughs. Omitting minor items, we find that the manor rendered £30 a year, while T. R. E. it was only valued at £18. An outlying portion of the same manor held by Bristeva, and amounting to 20½ geld hides and land for 16 ploughs, had also 4 plough-teams in demesne and 20 ploughs among 46 villains and 15 *bordarii*. The value had gone up from £10 to £20, although it was only worth £8 when the Bishop got it. A point which requires notice in this instance is the comparatively small number of ploughlands and teams in demesne. If there were few teams but a good deal of land one might think that the deficiency of the home-farm teams was supplied by an increased labour of the peasant teams on demesne land. But as there were altogether only four plough-teams on the demesne, the difference would not be more than one ploughland in any case. And yet the increase in value in both portions of the manor is so striking, that there must have been a considerable addition in the quantity of labour performed for the lord. The probable solution is that the peasantry had to till a great deal of *gafolerth*, as the manor was undoubtedly an agricultural one. A second problem is presented by the enormous taxation estimate—90 hides for some 20 ploughlands, and a value of even £30 seems exorbitant. It looks almost as if there had been a great falling-off in value before the reign of King Edward, which is not otherwise reflected in the Survey.

[1] Dd. i. 155 a.

Chepeham,[1] in Warwickshire, was a Royal manor that had never paid geld nor been rated in hides. It was estimated to contain land for 100 ploughs, a round number which, like that of the Dorchester hides, suggests a very superficial computation from above and not a careful valuation. In this large district there was demesne land for 16 teams, and there were 28 serfs on it, while 48 villains, 45 *bordarii*, 20 *cottarii*, and 23 *porcarii* had between them 66 ploughs. The manor rendered the full farm of a knight, or £110.

In all the instances quoted, and, I believe, in most other cases of large manorial organizations, we are struck by the comparatively small development of the home-farm. In some cases there is a set-off against this in the great quantity of services rendered by the tenants on the demesne, but this is by no means always the case. We are driven to the conclusion that even in the case of large organizations, supposing a relatively great employment of capital, the high income obtained was more the result of tribute, and assignment to the lord of part of the produce of the peasant holdings, than the outcome of a great concentration of labour on domanial land.

Administrative organizations.

3. This is even more striking in the case of the second group, namely, of manors united by a central administration but otherwise presenting heterogeneous elements and scattered parts. Of course it is impossible to draw the line very sharply between types I and II. The Danish and East-Anglian districts, for instance, present many cases in which fairly considerable home-farm centres are formed, and yet the manor is largely composed of scattered tenements and varied rights. Let us take Count Alan's manor of Costessey,[2] in Norfolk. It had been held

[1] Dd. i. 64 d; cf. i. 3 b (Meddestane, Kent); 175 b (Persore, Worcs.); 302 c (Scireburne, Yorks).

[2] Dd. ii. 145 a (Costeseia, Norfolk); cf. ii. 157 a (Kerdestuna, Norfolk); ii. 180 b (Fornesetta, Norfolk); ii. 227 b (Morlea, Norfolk); i. 253 c: (Cherbury, Shropshire) 'Ipse comes (Rogerius) tenet Cireberie. Rex Edwardus tenuit. In dominio sunt iiii carucae et xiii uillani cum preposito habent v carucas. Ibi viii bouarii. Ibi ii aecclesiae cum

T. R. E. by Harold's brother Guerth, and was rated at 4 carucates to the geld. There were 2 ploughs in demesne, and 5 belonging to the 8 villain and 8 *bordarii* holdings on the estate. To this central portion of the manor were joined one berewick in Bawburgh of 2 carucates to the geld, 2 ploughs in demesne, and 2 belonging to 6 villains and 6 *bordarii*. There was another berewick in Thorp, of 1 geld-carucate, with 1 plough in demesne and 4 villains and 3 *bordarii* with half a plough. To the same manor were added 44 socmen in Estun and Hunincham of 3 geld-carucates with 8 ploughs (12 ploughs T. R. E.), and in Bereford $7\frac{1}{2}$ socmen of 46 acres with 2 ploughs and 6 *free villains* and 5 *bordarii*. This entry suggests many questions which have to be reserved to later stages of this book, but I refer to it now as presenting a typical instance of a Norfolk manor with several local subdivisions cultivated by villains and *bordarii* on the pattern usual in the south, and by the side of them two batches of socmen joined to the same manorial centre by their services or rents. Costessey thus appears primarily as a centre of administration, and this accounts for the disparate settlements combined with it. At the same time, within a narrower sphere, it is an estate of the usual two-storied type, with a home-farm and rustic holdings surrounding it and supplying it with labour. The lord's farm, both in Costessey itself and in the dependent settlements of Bawburgh and Thorp, is of a very modest kind, and so is the

presbitero qui habet i carucam. Huic manerio pertinet Witetreu hundredum.' i. 320 a (Hallun, Yorks); i. 349 d: (Waddington, Lincs.) 'In Wadintune habuit Haroldus comes xxiiii carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra ad totidem carucas. In soca ix carucatae et ii bouatae. Ibi habet comes Hugo iiii carucas in dominio et xv uillani et ix bordarii et xxiiii sochemanni habentes xi carucas . . . In Medricesham Berewicha huius manerii viii carucatae terrae et dimidia ad geldum. Terra ad iiii carucas et ii boues. Ibi habet comes ii carucas et x uillani et vi bordarii cum ii carucis . . . In Timbrelund Berewicha vi bouatae terrae ad geldum. Terra ad iiii bouatas. Ibi ii bordarii habent dimidiam carucam . . . In Hermodestune Soca de Wadintone xx carucatae terrae et dimidia ad geldum. Terra ad totidem carucas. Ibi xxxviii sochemanni et xi bordarii habent x carucas.'

husbandry of the tenants. The lord had altogether 5 ploughs in demesne, as against 6½ belonging to the 18 villains and 17 *bordarii*, and 10 held by the socmen. It is not without significance that the value of the manor had increased from £20 to £45, although the socmen had lost one-third of their teams. The increase was due in some measure to improvements on the home-farms, but the greater part of it must have been produced by the addition of socmen tenants who were formerly independent, and, probably, to heavier duties exacted from all classes of the rustic population.

The Royal manor of Mansfield,[1] Notts, with its two berewicks in Skegby and Sutton, presents another example of administrative as distinguished from economic concentration. Its assessment to the geld was insignificant—merely 3 carucates and 6 bovates; there was land for 9 ploughs. In the King's demesne we find only 2 ploughs, while 5 socmen were assigned 3 bovates in the central estate, and 35 villains and 20 *bordarii* had 19½ ploughs. But alongside of the central portion represented by Mansfield, Skegby, and Sutton, we find as many as 27 settlements, of which two are marked as berewicks, and four as sokes, while 21 are merely enrolled with a number to denote their assessment to the geld. Neither demesne nor tenants are mentioned in these latter cases, but as they are carefully distinguished from berewicks, they must have been places directly dependent on the main estate, and without any residing representatives of the manorial administration. Their geld assessment, although not a sure indication of their actual economic strength, must have closely corresponded to it, and affords, in any case, a clue as to the proportionate size of these outlying parts. We are clearly in a district of scattered homesteads inhabited by small farmers paying dues to the central court in Mansfield, and possibly performing some services for it, but not subjected to the regular week-work exploitation which necessitated supervision and concentration on the

[1] Dd. i. 281 b, c.

spot, and therefore could not be thought of without at least a berewick to head it. The prevailing system is therefore one of tributary subjection to the manorial administrative centre which happens to be located in Mansfield. Besides the small sokes directly reckoned up with the manor, there is a large soke in Oswardebeck wapentake, of which we need not say anything more on the present occasion but that it was convenient for the purpose of administration to join it to the great centre of control and account in Mansfield, although there was no organic reason for doing so, and one might as well fancy some of the sokes described on f. 281 c as apportioned to other centres.

The famous abbey of St. Denis, near Paris,[1] had a great number of estates in Gloucestershire, six were situated on the east bank of the Severn, with 40 hides to the geld to account for, 15 ploughs in demesne, and 75 villains and 12 *bordarii* with 39 ploughs. Beyond the Severn there were 10 hides in five estates, with 5 ploughs in demesne, and 9 ploughs held by 5 villains and 18 *bordarii*. For purposes of administration the whole of these 50 hides were concentrated around Deerhurst manor, which was also the seat of a hundred, and to which there belonged 30 burgesses in Gloucester. There is no mention of any home-farm in Deerhurst, or of any population, and the seat of the manorial counting-house and court must have been fixed in one of the places mentioned as members of Deerhurst hundred. But the whole district was treated as a manorial unit from the point of view of

[1] Dd. i. 166 b: (Gloucestershire) 'Ecclesia S. Dyonisii tenet has uillas in Derhest hundredo Hochinton v hid. Staruenton iii hid. Colne et Caldecot v hid. Contone xii hid. Praeston x hid. Welleford xv hid. In his terris sunt in dominio xv carucae et lxxv uillani et xii bordarii cum xxxix carucis. Ibi xxxviii serui et iiii molini de xl solidis et xxxvi acrae prati . . . Ad eundem manerium pertinent ii hidae et dimidia ultra Sauerne. In Olfendone v hidae. In Lalege i hida. In Valton i hida. In Caneberton dimidia hida. In his terris sunt in dominio v carucae et v uillani et xviii bordarii cum ix carucis. Ibi manet i liber homo . . . Ad hoc manerium pertinent xxx burgenses in Glouuecestre reddentes xv solidos et viii denarios. In Wicelcombe ii burgenses reddentes x den. T.R.E. totum manerium ualebat xxvi lib. et x sol. Modo xxx lib.'

the Royal Exchequer, and for purposes of jurisdiction, accounts, and general supervision.

Something of the same sort may have been the case in some Royal manors like Brailes,[1] or Quinton and Walesbourne in Warwickshire. The first had been in the hand of Earl Edwin, paid geld for 46 hides, and had land for 60 ploughs. There were only 6 in demesne, while 46 ploughs were held by 100 villains and 30 *bordarii*. The disproportion of the home-farm and the number of villains makes it probable that the rustic population had not been employed, at least originally, in strictly manorial work, but was congregated under administrative supervision and paying tribute. But there is a clear trace of a sudden change in the condition of the population in the leap made by the revenue of the place; instead of yielding £17 10*s*. it comes to render £55.

Sokes.

4. A third variety is presented by manors acting as centres of extensive sokes. The home-farm element generally exists in such cases, but it plays a subordinate part:[2] the important thing is the right to jurisdiction and political authority, with the corresponding fines for the non-appearance of suitors, and various public charges and rents. We have already had a prominent example of that kind in the Nottinghamshire manor of Mansfield, to which the soke of Oswardebeck was appendant. The classical land of great sokes is Lincolnshire—with such enormous sokes, for instance, as those of Grantham and Horncastle[3]—and it would be difficult to do justice to these especially mighty

[1] Dd. i. 238 b; cf. ibid., Stanlei.

[2] E. g. Dd. i. 313 b: (Clifton, Yorks) 'In Cliftune ad geldum viiii carucate et dimidia et v carucae possent esse . . . In Cliftun supradicto manerio adiacet soca haec. Fuleforde (i c., iii b.), Ascri (iiii c.), Chetelstorp (iiii c.), Languelt (i c. et dim.), Chelchefeld (ii c., ii b.), Morebi (i c.), Distone (iiii c.). Haec tria fuerunt maneria, tamen sunt in soca de Cliftun. Simul ad geldum xv carucatae i bouata minus et viii carucae possunt esse.'

[3] Dd. i. 337 d: (Grantham) 'Ad Grantham pertinet haec Soca, Sumerdebi, Sapretone, etc. . . . Simul ad geldum lv carucatae. Terra ad lx carucas.' Ib. i. 339 a: (Hornecastre) 'Soca huius Manerii. In Stimblebi etc. . . . Int'r totum ad geldum xlii carucate terre. Terra ad lviii carucas.'

cases in a general review of manorial types. I may call attention to the soke of Bolingbroke,[1] where there were from Saxon times 2 geld-carucates and 2 ploughs in demesne, while 12 villains, 8 *bordarii*, and 12 socmen had 3 ploughs. The soke of this manor extended over no less than 17 places, many of which were also economically connected with other manors. The number of socmen ascribed to this great court was 529! The description of St. Mary, Stow,[2] may also be noticed for its characteristic alternation of *inland* and *soke*, the first representing the home-farm portions, and the second the jurisdictional lordship connected with it. Sometimes the division is not expressly marked on the map, as it were, but the great preponderance of socmen makes it practically certain that the principal element in the constitution of a particular manor consisted in its jurisdictional rights, and not in the home-farm, and the rustic work supporting it. If we take Wichale,[3] for instance, we find it taxed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ carucates less one-third of a bovate. There was land for 6 ploughs, and 4 villains and 42 socmen had 6 teams. No demesne portion is mentioned, and the number of villains is quite insignificant when compared with that of the socmen. It is evident that both Aschil and Outgrim, who held the estate T. R. E., and their Norman successor, drew their income, not from any dominical husbandry, or any considerable services in kind on the part of the villains, but from the dues of the socmen. In fact, the whole settlement appears as an almost complete free community of socmen, with a lord who had to wield hereditary jurisdiction over

[1] Dd. i. 351 b (Bolinbroc); cf. 343 b (Aschebi).

[2] Dd. i. 344 a: (St. Mary, Stow) 'In Sanctae Mariae Stou sunt iiii carucatae terrae ad geldum. Terra est ad iiii carucas . . . In Welingeham est inland huius manerii. Decem bouatae terrae et iii$^{cia}$ pars duarum bouatarum. Terra ad tantumdem . . . In Couenebi inland de Stou iiii carucatae terrae ad geldum. Terra ad iiii carucas . . . In Nortune vi carucatae terrae ad geldum. Terra ad vi carucas. Inland et soca in Stou . . . In Glentham iii carucatae terrae et vi bouatae ad geldum. Terra ad iii carucas et vi bouatas. Soca in Stou,' &c. Cf. 338 a, b (Gadenai); 341 a, b (Evedune); 342 b (Alduluebi); 344 d (Eslaforde); 345 c (Fiscartune); 350 a (Clachesbi et Normanesbi).

[3] Dd. i. 343 b (Wichale); cf. 347 b (Waltham).

them. Now, it is a fact that socmen could be subjected to services in kind, and to customary rents,[1] but these were always kept distinct from the week-work of villains proper. Even in the cases where they were especially heavily burdened they were held apart from villains, both by the lesser quantity of their work and by its fixity, its contractual character.[2] Without going further into this question, of which I had to speak on another occasion, what I have to lay stress on now is the growth of manors out of jurisdictional franchises.[3] The manor as a soke is an emphatically free institution: it is a piece of public administration broken off from the hundred and granted to a private lord, but still preserving its public features. The chief home of the sokes are the Danish counties.[4] The soke is peculiar to them, however, only in the sense that it survived the Conquest and kept its own by the side of the manor and in combination with it in counties where the warriors of the recent Scandinavian conquest were strongly represented. But it has an English name and is a general feature of English history as one of the elements which went to the making of manors all over the kingdom. It has to be studied on the soil of the Danelaw, but it is not difficult to see that its history there makes it exceedingly improbable that southern manors should have been products of a purely economic evolution, and even less probable that they should be in the main mere modifications of servile arrangements.

One fact remains to be noticed in this connexion,

[1] Round, Feudal England, 30.

[2] Black Book of Peterborough (Camden Ser.), 158.

[3] E. g. Dd. i. 219 c, d: (Brigstock, Northants) 'Rex tenet Bricstoc. Ibi sunt iii hidae et dimidia. Terra est ix carucis ... Huic manerio appendunt haeo membra. Slepe i hida et iii uirgatae terrae. In Geitentone i hida. In Stanere i uirgata terrae et dimidia. Terra est viii carucis. Ibi sunt iiii sochemanni et ix uillani et vii bordarii. Inter omnes habent vii carucas.' Cf. ibid., Rodewelle et Overtone; i. 319 a (Lastone et Trapun, Yorks.).

[4] Dd. ii. 110 b: (Hingham, Norfolk) 'Himcham ... xliii sochemanni modo xx, de reliquis habet Willelmus de Warrena xii, et comes Alanus iii et Eudo filius clama hoc inde accepit viii quos modo habet Radulfus de Bellafago. Et illi xx habent i carucatam terrae, et unus ex eis habet iii bordarios.' Cf. ii. 120 b, 121 a (Ruhham, Norfolk); ii. 125 a, b (Radanahalla); ii. 330 b (Caranhallam, Suffolk).

namely, the appropriation of hundreds by the feudal aristocracy, and their connexion with manors. In Shropshire, for instance, the hundreds of Comeston and Patinton are bound up with the manor of Cortham,[1] the central portion of which consisted of 5 ploughs in demesne, and 3 ploughs belonging to 3 villains and 3 *bordarii*. The home-farm in this case was more important than the peasant portion, but both are insignificant enough when compared with the extensive jurisdictional rights attached to the manor. The Buckinghamshire manor of Witehunge was in the same way the jurisdictional centre of the half-hundred of Coteslay.[2] To the 4 ploughs of its demesne corresponded 51 villain holdings and 20 *bordarii*, with 21 ploughs, and 15 ploughs could be added. This makes exactly half a hundred, and it is evident that the original arrangement of the manor implied only a soke over the households of the ceorls, and that these were turned into villains, in the later sense, by the Conquest. The case reminds us strongly of the already quoted instances of Brailes and Quinton, in Warwickshire; if I am not much mistaken, the manor of Hitchin, the centre of the half-hundred of His, must have gone through a very similar history, although, in this case, the hardening of the hundred soke into a manorial jurisdiction must have been prepared by Harold, and was only completed by the Norman Conquest.[3]

5. Royal manors are an important item in the Survey. Observed from the economic point of view they do not form a homogeneous class, but present examples of all the types spoken of hitherto, with some interesting features of their own called forth by their connexion with the King. The capitalistic type, the administrative or tributary type, Royal manors.

[1] Dd. i. 253 c: (Cortham, Shropshire) 'Corfan . . . Huic manerio pertinet totum Comestane Hundredum et Patinton Hundredum.' Cf. ibid., Alberberie.

[2] Dd. i. 146 b: (Wing, Bucks) 'Ipse comes (Moritonensis) tenet Witehunge pro v hidis. In Coteslai Hundredo se defendit. Terra est xl carucis. In dominio est i hida et ibi sunt iiii carucae. Ibi li uillani cum xx bordariis habent xxi carucas et adhuc xv carucae possunt fieri.'

[3] Dd. i. 132 c, d; 133.

the jurisdictional type or soke, are all traceable in this group. I have not scrupled, therefore, to use Royal manors as illustrative examples of the already mentioned varieties. But yet Royal manors have to be considered also as a group by themselves, as they exhibit features common to them and different from other classes.

The legal and economic conditions of the tenantry on Royal manors deserve attention in many respects, and may serve to illustrate many points which remain rather obscure when considered from the point of view of the ordinary manorial organization. The reason is easy to see: the King, as sovereign, exercised authority over many classes of the population which were not subjected to any private lordship, and the quasi-manorial aspect of Royal rights in such cases does not entirely conceal their political origin. In any case it is clear to begin with, that the possessions described in Domesday under the heading *Terra Regis* are not uniformly constituted, and have to be grouped under several subdivisions. There are organized estates of the same kind as those commonly found on the land of ecclesiastical and lay magnates; there are estates of a special character rendering tribute; there are manors acting mainly as centres of Royal jurisdiction; and there are tenements joined loosely to some Royal manor, but not really belonging to any economic organization of the manorial type. Let us look at each of these subdivisions and mark the chief features of their legal and economic condition.

In many cases the Royal manors present a formation almost entirely similar to those of private lords: there is a central demesne and a number of tenants, free and unfree, who are assessed to the geld, and who perform services of different sorts for the benefit of the Royal owner[1]

[1] E. g. Writelam (Writtle, Essex); Dd. ii. 5 a, b: 'tenuit Heroldus pro manerio et pro xvi hidis t.r.e. Modo rex Willelmus pro xiiii hidis. Tunc c uillani iii minus, post et modo lxxiii. Tunc xxxvi bordarii. Post et modo lx. Tunc xxiiii serui, post et modo xviii. Tunc xii carucae in dominio. Post et modo ix. Tunc inter homines lxiiii carucae. Post et modo xlv.'

of the estate. Some of these cases go back to escheats and forfeitures of numbers of estates which had originally belonged to private men.[1] But undoubtedly a good many of the purely Royal estates had been cast in the same common form,[2] and it would have been strange if this had not happened, as, after all, the same tendencies which regulated the formation of private manors made themselves felt in the case of Crown manors. Conversely, several of the estates of great lords, which might be classed as private in view of comparison with the king's possessions, were in truth characterized by the same mixture of public and private points of view and rights. This was the case with the possessions of royal ladies like Queen Edith or Queen Ghida, who had received large appanages from the fund assigned to the use of the Royal family and of the King himself.[3] It was even more so with many of the lands belonging to the great earldoms of the eleventh century. The Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury had a quasi-royal position in their counties after the Conquest, and Edwin, Morcar, Siward, Harold, had in the same way obtained sway over vast territories, in which their political influence tended naturally to assume the shape of landlordship. Edwin and Morcar, for instance, certainly occupied the same position in Yorkshire as King Edward did in most of the English counties.[4] It would be very useful to consider the Domesday notices of their possessions from this point of view; but in order to simplify the inquiry I shall

[1] E. g. the private possessions of Harold in Devonshire, Dd. i. 101; cf. preceding note.

[2] E. g. Dd. i. 143 b, Eilesberia (Bucks); i. 154 c, Besintone (Oxon).

[3] Dd. i. 180 a: (Leominster, Hereford) 'Rex tenet Leofminstre. Eddid regina tenuit cum xvi membris, . . . In hoc manerio cum his membris erant quater xx hidae, et in dominio xxx carucae. Ibi erant viii prepositi et viii bedelli et viii radchenistres et cc et xxxviii uillani et lxxv bordarii et quater xx et duo inter seruos et ancillas. Hi omnes simul habebant cc et xxx carucas . . . Ad hoc manerium pertinebant ii maneria Stanford et Merchelai T.R.E. Hae terrae infra scriptae iacebant ad Leofminstre T.R.E., Hetfelde,' &c. (180 b, part of 180 c). Cf. Dd. i. 100 d.

[4] Dd. i. 299 ff.

refrain from taking up this thread of study, and will merely examine the entries bearing directly on the ancient possessions of the Crown.

Ancient demesne.

The germs of the later ancient demesne doctrine are clearly perceptible even in the case of the first group of estates, those most similar to ordinary manors.[1] It was considered that the main stock of Crown estates ought not to be alienated at all: they are sometimes described as belonging, not to the King, but to the Kingdom (*regnum*).[2] This initial position was one of the necessary premisses of the doctrine that even in cases of alienation the state of the tenants ought not to be changed, but of course the view in question could be developed as an exception only when the denial of protection to peasants in their relations to their lords had become the common-law rule. Another side of ancient demesne condition is, on the contrary, fully established in its main features at the time of the Great Survey. I mean the immunity of Crown manors from ordinary taxation. The Royal estates were not to pay geld, nor to contribute to other common levies collected by the Sheriff.[3] Therefore the estates forming the ancient Crown demesne are described as not rated at a certain number of hides. This did not mean that the tenants of these estates were not distributed on the same kind of holdings—hides, virgates, and bovates—as in other places, but only that there

[1] The idea underlying the later doctrine may be traced to Anglo-Saxon times. Cart. Sax. 1220 (Witenagemot at Cheddar. Confirmation by King Eadgar and the witan to Winchester Cathedral of lands at Taunton, A.D. 968)—'ge twelf hynde men ge ty hynde weron on þam Godeshame þara gerihta wyrþe þe his agene men sindon on his agenum cyne hamum, ⁊ man ealle spæca ⁊ gerihtu on þ ylce gemet gefe to Godes handa þe man to his agenre drih, ⁊ þes tunes ciyping y seó innung þere port gerihta gange into þere halgan stowe.'

[2] Dd. ii. 119 b: (Sporle, Norfolk) 'Hund. de Grenehou, de xiiii letis. Sparle tenuit R. E. et hoc manerium fuit de regno, sed R. E. dedit Radulfo comiti.'

[3] Dd. i. 30 c: (Gomshall, Surrey) 'Rex tenet in dominio Gomeselle. Heraldus comes tenuit. Tunc se defendit pro xx hidis, modo pro nichilo ... Huius uillae uillani ab omni re uicecomitis sunt quieti.' i. 163 b: (Tewkesbury, Gloucs.) 'Terra Regis. In Teodechesberie fuerunt T. R. E. quater xx et xv hidae. Ex his sunt in dominio xlv et erant quiete ab omni seruitio regali et geldo praeter seruitium ipsius domini cuius erat manerium.'

was no estimate of geld-hides in this case.[1] This characteristic trait, the absence of hidage, does not belong to all the Royal estates, but only to the ancient Crown possessions; naturally enough, later and casual acquisitions did not share in it.

Materially, this exemption from taxation was explained by the fact that the estates in question were subjected to heavy burdens in connexion with the maintenance of the King's household. A large group among them is liable to the farm of the household for so many nights or days.[2] Now these food-rents, assessed on the estates in constant quantities, constitute a kind of tribute which rendered unnecessary an extended home-farm husbandry, and threw

[1] Dd. i. 39 c: (Yaverland, Isle of Wight) 'Euerelant tenet rex in dominio. Rex Edwardus tenuit. Non fuit hidata.' 56 d: (Thatcham, Berks) 'Rex tenet Taceham in dominio. Rex E. tenuit. Tunc se defendit pro ii hidis et nunquam geldauit.' Ibid.: (Cookham) 'Cocheham in dominio. Rex E. tenuit. Tunc xx hide, sed nunquam geldauit.'

[2] Dd. i. 64 d: *Wiltshire* manors, with very different estimates, rendering farms of one night, e. g. Cauna (Calne): 'Rex Edwardus tenuit et nunquam geldauit, ideo nescitur quot hidae sint ibi. Terra est xxix carucis. In dominio sunt viii carucae et viii serui. Ibi xxxvii uillani et lxxviii bordarii et x coliberti habentes xxi carucas. Ibi xlv burgenses et vii molini reddentes iiii lib. et xii sol. et vi den. et l acrae prati et pastura ii leu. lg. et una leu. lat. Haec uilla reddit firmam unius noctis cum omnibus consuetudinibus.' Ibid., Chepeham (Chippenham): 'Terra est c carucis. In dominio sunt xvi carucae, et xxviii serui. Ibi xlviii uillani et xlv bordarii et xx cotarii et xxiii porcarii. Inter omnes habent lxvi carucas. Ibi xii molini de vi lib. et c acrae prati. Silua iiii leu. in lg. et lat. Pastura ii leu. lg. et una leu. lat. Hoc manerium cum appenditiis suis reddit firmam unius noctis cum omnibus consuetudinibus, et ualet cx lib. ad numerum.' Cf. ibid., Beduinde, Amblesberie, Guerminstre; 65 a, Theoduluesde. Cf. 75 b, *Dorset* manors grouped for rendering farms of nights: e. g. 'Bridetone et Bere et Colesberie, et Sepetone, et Bratepolle, et Cidihoc ... Hoc manerium cum suis appendiciis et consuetudinibus reddit firmam unius noctis.' Cf. ibid., Winborne et Scapeuuic, et Chirce et Opewinburne. 86 b, *Somerset* groups for farm of 1 night: 'Haec ii maneria Summertone et Cedre cum appenditiis suis reddebant firmam unius noctis T. R. E.' Cf. ibid., Nordperet et Sudperet et Churi. 154 d, *Oxfordshire*: 'Comitatus Oxeneford reddit firmam trium noctium, hoc est cl lib.' 189 c, *Cambridgeshire*, e. g. Fordeham (Fordham): 'T.R.E. reddebat x lib. ad numerum, et firmam trium dierum inter mel frumentum et brasium.' Cf. ibid., Witborham. 219 a, *Northamptonshire*: 'Northantone scire reddit firmam trium noctium xxx lib. ad pondus.' Cf. Dd. ii. 5 b: (Writtle, Essex) 'Writelam ... Tunc reddidit hoc manerium x noctes de firma et x lib. modo reddit c lib. ad pondus et c sol. de gersuma.' Cf. 7 a (Neuport).

the weight of economic management on the tenants themselves. The reeve or bailiff was little more than a collector of produce under this system. Accordingly, the central halls of these Royal manors are often quite insignificant as husbandry units[1]; they were evidently storehouses more than anything else. In many cases this tributary condition developed directly from the rendering of produce to payment in money, without the intermediate stage of labour arrangements which were the most usual and important expression of the manorial system in other places. And it is to be noticed in this connexion that the food-farm system and the commutation dues which take its place are commonly to be found in the case of Royal boroughs,[2] that is, of organizations in which the pressure of manorial lordship was especially small and did not involve any element of personal servitude. And some of the rural manors charged to the King's farm are little more than districts in which tribute in produce was being collected by Royal officers.[3] The features of capitalistic husbandry and servile labour organization are almost entirely absent in such cases.

Royal sokes.

The second group of Royal manors is formed by districts in which the manorial hall appears mainly as a centre of jurisdiction and political authority. We have already seen many examples of this in the case of private manors, and recognized in the soke one of the most important transitional forms in the growth of the manorial system. In regard to the

[1] E. g. Dd. i. 100 b: (Braunton, Devon) 'Rex tenet Brantone. T.R.E defendebat se pro una hida. Terra est xl carucis. In dominio est i caruca et iiii serui, et xl uillani et xxx bordarii cum xxx carucis'; cf. 120 b (Lanehoc, Cornwall); ibid. (Glustone).

[2] E. g. Dd. i. 75 a: (Dorchester, Dorset) 'In Dorecestre tempore Regis Edwardi, erant clxxii domus. Hae pro omni seruitio regis se defendebant, et geldabant pro x hidis. Scilicet ad opus Huscarlium unam Markam argenti exceptis consuetudinibus quae pertinent ad firmam noctis.' Cf. ibid. (Brideport), (Warham).

[3] E. g. Dd. i. 179 c: (Linton, Herefordshire) 'Rex Willelmus tenet Lintune . . . Ibi erant v hidae, et reddebat quartam partem firmae unius noctis, . . . Ilbertus uicecomes habet ad firmam suam de Arcenefeld consuetudines omnes mellis et ouium quae huic manerio pertinebant T.R.E.' 179 d: (Clive) 'De hoc manerio est in foresta regis Willelmi tantum terrae quae T.R.E. reddebat vi sextaria mellis et vi oues cum agnis.'

formation of Royal estates it is especially common to find that the element of public jurisdiction was materialized, as it were, in the shape of an arrangement of socmen and free tenants around a manorialized estate.[1] Stonleigh in Warwickshire, Newbold in Derbyshire, and Holt in Essex are instances of organizations chiefly characterized by this trait. The economic elements that went to their composition were subordinated to the extended relations derived from the soke over settlements of free tenants.[2] The same phenomenon recurs in the north in the case of great manors of Queen Edith and of the northern earls, which to all intents and purposes share in the position of Crown manors.[3]

[1] E. g. Dd. i. 230 b, c: (Rothley, Leics.) 'Rex tenet Rodolei. Rex Edwardus tenuit. Ibi sunt v carucae terrae. In dominio sunt ii de his et ibi ii carucae et xxix uillani cum presbitero et xviii bordariis habent vi carucas. Huic manerio pertinent subsequentia membra, Adelachestone etc. In his sunt cc et iiii sochemanni cum clvii uillanis et nonaginta iiii bordariis habentes quater xx carucas et ii.' Cf. ibid., Bugedone.

[2] Dd. i. 238 b: (Stoneleigh, Warwick) 'Rex tenet Stanlei. Rex Edwardus tenuit. Ibi sunt vi hidae. Terra est... In dominio sunt v carucae et i seruus et i ancilla, et lxviii uillani et iiii bordarii cum ii presbiteris habent xxx carucas.' 272 b: (Newbold, Derby) 'In Neuuebold cum vi Berewitis . . . Ibi sunt vi carucatae terrae et i bouata ad geldum. Terra vi carucis. Ibi habet Rex xvi uillanos et ii bordarios et i seruum habentes iiii carucas. Soca huius manerii. In Wingreurde ii carucatae terrae ad geldum . . . Ibi xiiii sochemanni habentes iiii carucas.' ii. 111 b: (Holt, Norfolk) 'Holt tenuit rex Edwardus ii car. terrae . . . Tunc ualuit xx lib. et i noctem mellis et c sol. de consuetudine. Modo l lib. Huic manerio pertinebant t.r.e. viii liberi homines de iii car. t. et dim. . . . Adhuc pertinebat huic manerio i liber homo xxiii ac. Huic manerio iacet i beruita in Henepsteda de xxx acris, . . . In Bathele i liber homo de ii car. terrae, . . . In Burstuna v sochemanni pertinent ad Holt, . . . In Huneworda iii sochemanni, . . . In Stodeia i sochemannus . . . In Glanforda iii sochemanni . . . In Neutuna iii sochemanni et dim. . . . In Gunestorp dim. car. terrae . . . In Scarnetune iacet i beruita.'

[3] Dd. i. 281 a: (Terra Regis, Notts) 'Duneham et soca, . . . habuit Rex Edwardus, . . . Bodmescel et soca, . . . habuit Tosti comes. 281 b: Mamesfelde et soca, . . . habuit rex Edwardus.' 299 a: (Terra Regis, York (Allerton)): 'In Aluertune sunt ad geldum xliiii carucatae terrae quas xxx carucae possunt arare. Hoc tenuit Eduinus comes pro uno manerio . . . Huic manerio appendent xi bereuuitae . . . Ad hoc manerium pertinet soca harum terrarum . . . Inter totum sunt ad geldum quater xx et v carucatae quas possunt arare xlv carucae . . . Ibi fuerunt c et xvi sochemans. Modo wasta est.' 337 d: (Terra Regis, Lincs.) 'In Grantham habuit Edid regina xii carucas ad geldum, . . . Ad Grantham pertinet haec soca Sumerdebi etc. Simul ad geldum lv carucatae.'

Lastly, there is a very considerable group of free tenements gradually passing under the manorial authority of the King and of his officers from a condition of independence. These cases are especially clearly set before us in the surveys of Essex and of the East-Anglian counties. The independence of the freeholders is sometimes expressly insisted on.[1] But it is a more usual expedient to note that the freemen or socmen in question belong to the whole hundred,[2] which means, of course, that they ought to stand outside the manorial divisions. It is difficult to make out precisely on what grounds dominical freemen of the King are entered under a special rubric in Norfolk by the side of the freemen outside the farm, that is, outside the manors.[3] Usually, however, free tenants and socmen are distributed between the Royal manors, but the imperfect way in which they are connected with their respective

[1] Dd. ii. 3b, 4a: (Hd. de Hidingeforda, Essex) 'In isto hundredo habet rex xviii sochemannos tenentes xxvi acras et dim. et nunquam reddiderunt consuetudinem praeter seruicium regis.'

[2] Dd. ii. 1b: (Hundret de Berdestapla, Essex) 'In toto hoc hundret habet rex xviii liberos homines tenentes dimidiam hidam et xlviiii ac.' 2a: (Dim. Hund. de Witham (Witham)) 'In hoc manerio adiacebant t.r.e. xxxiiii liberi homines qui tunc reddebant x sol. de consuetudine et xi den. Ex illis tenet Ilbodus ii de xlv acris et ual. vi sol. et reddunt manerio suam consuetudinem.' 113b: 'Soca et sacha de Grenehou Hund. pertinet ad Wistune manerium quicunque ibi teneat et habet rex et comes.' 114a: (Dimidium Hundredum de Dice) 'Tota soca et saca istius dimidii hundredi praeter terram sancti Edmundi et de illa sanctus dimidium et rex aliam medietatem praeter terram Ulfiet et praeter terram Stigandi, et de omnibus aliis, soca fuit in hundredo T.R.E.' 123b: (Witton, Norfolk) 'In Witona iiii liberi homines de lx acris terrae et xi acris prati. Semper i caruca. De istis soca in hundredo ad tercium denarium.' Cf. 131a (Bedingaham).

[3] Dd. ii. 109: Rubric lxiiii, 'De liberis hominibus regis. Ad nullam firmam pertinentes.' lxv, 'De dominicis hominibus regis.' Cf. 272a: 'Isti sunt liberi homines t.r.e. ad nullam firmam pertinentes quos Almarus custodit qui additi sunt ad firmam t.r.w.' ii. 447a: 'Isti sunt liberi homines de Sudfulc qui remanent in manu regis.' Cf. Dd. i. 190a: (Fulbourn, Cambs) 'In Flamingdice Hund. In Fuleberne tenet Picotus xxvi sochemannos qui habent iiii hidas sub manu regis... Reddunt per annum viii libras arsas et pensatas et unoquoque anno xii equos et xii inguardos si rex in uicecomitatu ueniret. Si non ueniret xii sol. et viii den. T.R.E. non reddebant uicecomiti nisi Aueras et inguardos uel xii sol. et viii den. et super plus inuasit Picot super regem.' 127a: (Middlesex) 'In eodem hundredo (Osulvestane) habet rex xxx cotarios qui reddunt per annum xiiii sol. et x den. et i ob.... Hos cotarios custodiebat semper uicecomes de Middelsexe T.R.E.'

manors is clearly marked by some such expression as *iacuerunt manerio*, or *ad manerium additi sunt*, or *manerio accomodati sunt*.[1] Most of the *liberi homines* or *libere tenentes* of the Norfolk and Suffolk manors, and a good many of the socmen, were tenants of this sort, loosely joined to the manors and estimated separately as to geld and as to the holdings attributed to them. Of course, the transition from such a position into one of more strict dependence on the manor was easy, and we notice the next stage in this respect when the *liberi homines* or *sochemanni* are entered in the survey of the manor simply as classes of the tenantry alongside other similar groups.[2] This is the case in most counties where such elements are considerably represented. We have not the means of judging how far the distinction in terminology was determined by a real and deep-going difference of condition; in many cases it may have been simply the result of a more cursory method in handling the materials at hand. But in East Anglia, at any rate, the different treatment of *liberi homines* and *sochemanni* cannot have been accidental, and this makes one think that variations of the same kind must have occurred in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c. Even as to tenants entered as mere villains, it is made clear in a few cases that they were in a rather independent position, and came evidently from the same stock as the freemen of other counties.[3] The Royal manors in Kent, although

[1] Dd. ii. 6 a: (Lawford, Essex) 'Laleforda ... Huic manerio iacuerunt xvii sochemanni t.r.e. de i hida reddentes omnem consuetudinem, et postquam rex uenit in hanc terram et Bain(ardus) fuit uicecomes occupauit istam terram Tedricus Pointel, et quando eam accepit manebant in ea xvii sochemanni habentes ix carucas. Modo sunt in manu regis et xiii homines tenent hanc terram ... Pertinebant adhuc xxi sochemanni tenentes i hidam et ii uirgatas et v acras, ... et iiii sochemanni fuerunt t.r.e. in isto manerio omnem consuetudinem reddentes.' Cf. 5 b (Writelam, Essex); 109 b (Masincham, Norfolk).

[2] Dd. i. 338 d (Gayton, Lincs.); ii. 110 b (Hingham, Norfolk); ii. 60 a ('Nutlea', Essex). Cf. Dd. ii. 134: (Castor, Norfolk) 'Castre tenuerunt lxxx liberi homines t.r.e. et modo similiter iiii car. terrae. Tunc xxii carucae et ex hoc toto fecit R. comes manerium.'

[3] Dd. i. 190 a: (Litlington, Cambs) 'Lidlintone. Ibi xxvi uillani et x bordarii cum vii carucis ... Homines huius manerii reddebant Warpennam uicecomiti regis aut custodiam faciebant.' Cf. 30 c

not assessed for farms of nights, seem to have had a similar character; at any rate, the great numbers of their tenants are out of all proportion to the small dominical centres, and in view of the general exemption of Kentish peasants from the burdensome duties of week-work and other servile incidents, there can hardly be a doubt that the villains of a place like Dartford, for instance, were little else than the tribute-paying population collected around a counting-house, and possibly taxed for some minor labour duties in addition to their regular rents.[1] But unfortunately we have to be content with general suggestions in the case of this important class, as there are no means of analysing the various groups of which the class described in Domesday was composed.

'Maneriola.'

6. A variety, the social importance of which is much greater than its economic aspect would lead one to suppose, is presented by the numerous cases of very small manors registered in the Survey. There are, to begin with, instances like that of Lutwyche in Shropshire, where the demesne consisted of one ploughland and two bovates, and there was one villain household and one *bordarius* with half a plough. Now such an entry, which is not the result of devastation, but marks a state of things practically undisturbed by the Conquest, gives material for reflection. The demesne is separated from the peasant portion, and, for all its insignificance, is double the size of the latter.[2] No serfs are mentioned, and we are led to the conclusion that the household of the solitary villain had to cultivate the demesne portion with the help of the *bordarius*, while half a ploughland was left for the special use of those rustics. It is not a case of capitalistic or of

(Chingestune, Surrey); 203 c (Godmundcestre, Hunts); 209 b (Lestone, Beds); ibid. (Loitone).

[1] Dd. i. 2 c: (Dartford, Kent) 'Tarentefort, pro uno solino et dimidio se defendit. Terra est xl carucis. In dominio sunt ii carucae, et cxlii uillani cum x bordariis habent liii carucas.'

[2] Dd. i. 254 c: (Lutwyche, Shropshire) 'Rainaldus tenet Loteis et Ricardus de eo. Goduinus tenuit et liber homo fuit. Ibi i hida geldans. In dominio est una caruca et ii bouate et unus uillanus et unus bordarius cum dimidia caruca.' Cf. i. 265 d.

administrative concentration, but a single farm occupied by two peasant households, a larger and a smaller one, who got some land in remuneration for their labour. Cases of this kind are very frequent, especially in the districts where single homesteads abound.

Then come numerous instances of little 'manors' where no demesne is apparent, and the manorial organization consists in the drawing of certain profits from small groups of peasants who live by themselves, and have no place to perform week-work in. Such is, for instance, Helmerintone in Warwickshire,[1] with land for one plough, which is actually there with three cotsets. This means, I suppose, that the rustics in the place were gathered in three small households, which possibly got their team of oxen from the lord. In Pellinges, Sussex,[2] a township of four hides and land for four ploughs, there had been four manors T. R. E., and there were two T.R.W., with only one villain and one *bordarius* to till them. This is seemingly a case of waste, although nothing is said expressly about it, but the absence of demesne is characteristic nevertheless, and at their best the four manors could not have comprised more than one field-carucate each.

A similar case is Binstead, Hants,[3] and indeed the whole of f. 53 of the Hampshire Survey describes chiefly infinitesimal manors consisting each of a couple of dependent peasants assigned to some small lord who has no apparent demesne to match the peasant part. Most of these little estates do not show any sign of decay through waste, but have gone on much in the same condition from Saxon to Norman times. The Survey of Leicestershire is also very rich in them.[4] Devonshire presents sometimes the same phenomenon, with the

[1] Dd. i. 70 a.

[2] Dd. i. 22 a.

[3] Dd. i. 53 a: (Binstead, Hants) 'Willelmus tenet Benestede. Toui tenuit in alodio de rege Edwardo pro manerio. Tunc geldabat pro v uirgatis modo pro ii uirgatis. Terra est ii carucis. Ibi sunt cum ii uillanis. Ualet et ualuit x sol.'

[4] Dd. i. 234 b: (Peatling, Leics.) 'Robertus de Buci tenet de rege iii carucatas terrae in Petlinge. Terra est ii carucis. Ibi est unus uillanus et viii acrae prati. Valuit ii sol. modo v sol.'

additional feature that the little farm, considered as a manor, is clearly a pastoral and not an agricultural one. 'Cornewrde,'[1] for instance, a manor of Alured Brito, used to be held by three thanes in the time of King Edward. It paid geld for one virgate, and had land for three ploughs, but no teams are mentioned there. There was one villain and one serf, and 12 acres of meadow and as much wood, and 300 acres of pasture. It was held as three manors T. R. E., but had come to be one in the hands of Alured Brito. The value was always 10 shillings and 6 pence. It would be of no use to speculate on the state of the population of this place in the age of King Edward, the Devonshire Survey not being careful to state how many peasants there were T. R. E. But, as the value remained stationary to a penny, the conditions of husbandry must have continued very much on the same lines, and while the land fit for agriculture was not used, the pastoral economy evidently formed the main concern of the villain household settled in it. Suppose, which is not unlikely, that the same household managed the dairy farm in the Old English period, when its relation to the three manors of which it formed the basis must have led to a division of produce between three claimants—it would be difficult to find a deeper meaning in the expression 'manor' in this case. Nor is this instance of Devonshire husbandry an isolated one.[2]

Another numerous group of small manors is formed by the cases, especially frequent in the east and north, where freemen, socmen, and thanes appear holding very small estates and cultivating them with their own hands, or, to speak more accurately, with the help of their personal household.

In Cokerington,[3] Lincoln, e. g., Elnod held T. R. E. one

[1] Dd. i. 116 a: (Curworthy, Devon) 'Tres taini tenent de Aluredo Corneurde. Ipsi tenebant T.R.E. et geldabant pro una uirgata terrae. Terra est iii carucis. Ibi est unus uillanus et unus seruus et xii acrae prati et totidem siluae et ccc acrae pasturae. Olim et modo ualet x sol. et vi den. Tria Maneria fuerunt.'

[2] Cf. Dd. iv. 304 (Foletona, Devon); iv. 311 (Fernehilla); i. 112 c (Hiwis).

[3] Dd. i. 357 a. Cf. i. 358 b: (Caswick, Lincs.) 'In Casuic habuit Vluiet in bouatas terrae ad geldum. Terra vi bobus. Ibi Boso homo

bovate to the geld and land for two oxen. Matthew held half a plough there, and the value remained the same T. R. E. and T. R. W.—three shillings. The place is marked as a manor. The farming must have been more intensive than usual, as four oxen did work on land which, according to common standards, ought to have been cultivated by two, and reckoned at one-fourth of a ploughland. But, anyhow, both the team and the revenue were small indeed. In East Deeping,[1] the abbey of Peterborough had possessed five socmen in five manors rated at two carucates and six bovates to the geld, and containing exactly the same quantity of land fit for ploughing. The place had passed to two vassals of Geoffrey of Cambrai, who turned it into a regular capitalistic manor with $1\frac{1}{2}$ teams in demesne and 12 villains with $3\frac{1}{2}$ teams. The original socage tenants did not always disappear, however, but often went on holding their exiguous manors under a powerful lord and providing for their cultivation. A number of such cases may be quoted from the survey of the Peterborough possessions in Lincolnshire.[2] It is very common to find these small manors held by self-supporting cultivators in farms of exactly one plough strength.

A case from Somerset may be taken on account of its rather complex setting. Under the rubric 'Anglici tegni', evidently designating military tenants of English race who had somehow kept their land after the Conquest, we find one Brictrius holding a manor called 'Tocheswilla',[3] which a certain Godwin had held T. R. E. It did not pay geld at that time, but it contained—the jurors know that it contained—land of half a virgate to the geld. This could have been tilled by a plough-team. As a matter of fact, half a team was employed there, and 4 *bordarii* and one

Aluredi habet i carucam, et ii uillani et i bordarius cum ii bobus in caruca. T.R.E. ualuit x sol. modo xx sol.' 359 d (Estrecale); 360 a (Endrebi); 344 b (Cotes).

[1] Dd. i. 366 b.

[2] E. g. Dd. i. 371 a: (Burgh, Lincs.) 'In Burg habuit Archil v bouatas terrae ad geldum. Terra vi bobus. Ibi ii sochemanni cum i caruca. T.R.E. et modo ualet iii sol.' Cf. 371 b (Filingeham).

[3] Dd. iv. 454. Cf. iv. 455 (Draecotta, Somerset).

serf are mentioned without any definite endowment, so that they probably had to till the demesne. There were, besides, 4 acres of wood and 7 of pasture. It rendered 12 shillings and 6 pence. We find a series of such small places in Shropshire,[1] and their holders are sometimes designated as freemen and sometimes as radmen—riding tenants.[2] Their social formation seems determined by two facts—scattered farm-settlements with the tendency to form complete ploughlands, and the existence of a class of small free tenants used as riding sergeants for carrying messages, supervision of outlying possessions, and probably for military purposes. Similar cases may be quoted from Gloucestershire and Warwickshire,[3] although these latter counties were not settled mainly on the single-farm system. A curious and illuminating instance may be cited from Dorset, where Chimedecome was held T. R. E. by 10 thanes 'as one manor'. It paid geld for one hide and one-third of a virgate. There was land for one plough, and a team was actually at work in the place.[4] This typical ploughland seems a very small basis for the support of these ten thanes, and yet it is hardly anything else but a large household of small military sergeants of the King, joined in husbandry as well as in their 'forinsec service' or 'utwaru'. Without prejudging further developments, we are entitled, I think, to compare all the cases just mentioned with the manors of the thanes and drenghs of Lancashire—small carucate or hide holdings subjected to some organizing

[1] Dd. i. 255 c: (Stapleton, Shropshire) 'Isdem Rogerius (filius Corbet) et Rannulfus de eo tenet unum manerium (Hundeslit) de una uirgata et dimidia, et geld. Huning tenuit et liber fuit. Terra est i carucae. Ibi est unus uillanus. Valuit xvi den. modo xii den.' Cf. i. 255 d (Messe): i. 256 b (Stile).

[2] Dd. i. 257 c: (Gravenhunger, Shropshire) 'Willelmus Malbedeng tenet de Rogerio comite Grauehungre. Æluric et Vlgar tenuerunt pro ii maneriis et liberi fuerunt. Ibi i hida geldans. Terra est iiii carucis. Ibi ii radmans habent i carucam.'

[3] E. g. Dd. i. 164 c: (Shipton, Gloucs.) 'Gundulf tenuit et tenet in Scipetune unum manerium de una hida et geldat, et ibi i caruca in dominio et ualet viii sol. De Thomo archiepiscopo tenet.' Cf. ibid., Hagepine; Dd. i. 241 b, (Cawston, Warwickshire); ibid., Wiloughby.

[4] Dd. i. 84 d.

influence of large Royal manors.[1] The tenants of these latter were undoubtedly warriors of light equipment who had to manage their own agricultural work and do some work for their lords, but whose main characteristic was their sergeanty in peace and war.

The east and north provide us with a number of examples of manors rated at 40, 30, and even 20 acres, held and tilled by some free tenants—*liberi homines*; or socmen. It must not be forgotten, however, that the acres in these cases are emphatically geld-acres, and often correspond to whole ploughlands or large portions of them.[2] A curious instance is the 'maneriolum'[3] of Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, contiguous to that city and provided with all rights of sac and soc, toll and team; it gave occupation to one plough-team only, and no under-tenants were mentioned in it. How was it cultivated? By hired labour? or has the attention bestowed on the enumeration of the franchise privileges occasioned a blank in regard to the tenants settled in the 'maneriolum'? We cannot say, but the little plough-team manor is characteristic enough as it is. With its franchises, it might turn out to be the germ of a great organization.

One of the most important features of the extant notices about these microscopic 'manors' is the insight afforded by their history into the process of formation and the character of the larger units. Already in the instances quoted hitherto we have often had occasion to observe how the small

[1] Dd. i. 269 c: (Lancs.) 'Ibi habuit Rex Edwardus unum manerium Derbei nominatum, cum vi Bereuuichis. Ibi iiii hidae. Terra est xv carucis ... Vctredus tenebat vi maneria ... Dot tenebat Hitune et Torboc. Ibi i hida quieta ab omni consuetudine praeter geldo.'

[2] Dd. i. 137 a: (Wakeley Farm, Herts) 'In Wachelei tenet Radulfus de comite (Alano) xl acras terrae. Terra est i carucae. Ibi est unus sochemannus et unus seruus. Pratum ii bobus. Valet et ualuit x sol. T.R.E. xx sol. Hoc manerium tenuit Eddeua pulchra.' Dd. ii. 316 b: (Suffolk) 'In Sutburna tenet Gislebertus de Wiscand de Roberto Malet xii liberos homines commendatos eiusdem E (*sic*) lx acr. ... Vnus ex his liberis fuit manerium de xx acris.' Cf. ii. 323 b (Brisewrda, Suffolk).

[3] Dd. i. 336 a: (Lincoln) 'Remigius episcopus habet i maneriolum cum i caruca contiguum in ciuitate Lincolia cum saca et soca et cum Thol et cum Theim.'

organizations were being swallowed up by big neighbouring estates, or how estates of considerable extent were formed by the joining together of several independent farms. These instances could be multiplied to any extent,[1] and the facts of this natural 'integration' of small estates into larger units with more complex organization throw light on one of the chief causes of the process which called 'manors' of the more developed types into existence. They presented a kind of compromise between the originally independent cultivation and ownership of small households, and the forces of patronage and exploitation embodied in the great lordships. The resultant line of both developments was found in the characteristic combination of a domanial centre and the dependent economy of the tenants.

Anglo-Saxon origins.

7. We have now to consider the important question how far the manorial system, so generally prevailing in England at the time of the Survey, is to be traced back into Saxon times. Domesday Book supposes everywhere that there were manors in the reign of King Edward, and that the existence and rights of the Norman manors have to be drawn from them. The very fact that the numbers and composition of these manors were not identical T. R. E. and T. R. W. makes it the more necessary to mark exactly what the relation between both formations was; and the Survey informs us with minute accuracy as to the subdivision of certain manors into smaller items[2] in con-

[1] Dd. i. 260 a: (Mawley, Shropshire) 'Isdem Radulfus (de Mortemer) tenet Melela de i hida et Lel de i uirgata et Fech de i uirgata terrae. Haec iii maneria et geld. fuerunt, iii teini tenuerunt et liberi homines fuerunt. Quando Turstinus de Wigemore recepit de comite Willelmo iunxit superiori manerio Cleberie, et tunc et modo inibi sunt appreciata.' Cf. i. 273 a (Langedenedele, Derby); iv. 315 (Aissecoma, Devon); iv. 419 (Ragiol, Somerset); iv. 420 (Morthona, Somerset).

[2] Dd. i. 26 c: (Ouingdean, Sussex) 'Godefridus tenet de Willelmo Houingedene. Alnodus tenuit de rege Edwardo et potuit ire quo uoluit. Tunc se defendit pro v hidis. In eadem uilla tenuit Eddeua iii hidas de rege in paragio. Quando Godefridus recepit tunc inuenit in uno manerio. Sed de his viii hidis habet comes Moritoniensis hidam et dimidiam in suo rapo. Quod tenet Godefridus geldat pro vi hidis modo.' Cf. i. 341 a (Neutone, Lincs.).

sequence of partition between co-heirs, or the sale[1] of one or the other among them, of violent modifications in their state by the forcible abduction of some of the tenants,[2] or by the forcible addition of others,[3] of the joining together of different manors into one,[4] and similar contingencies. These variations undoubtedly testified to the fact that the manorial system was not something immovable, fixed once for all; it was an aggregate, a living organism, but yet the Survey always supposes that it was in full growth at the time of Edward the Confessor and even before. Now this must be true of the material conditions of manorial life, but not of its legal and economic systematization. Neither the term *manor* nor any corresponding and equally comprehensive designation occurs in Saxon times; nor was the land-law of the Old English epoch identical with that of the conquerors, and very important differences are to be noticed in regard to local administration, justice, feudal service—in a word, in all the constituent elements of the subject. We thus come to the conclusion that the compilers

[1] Dd. i. 232 d, 233 a: (Wimeswould, Leics.) 'Robertus et Serlo tenet de Hugone (de Grentemaisnil) ix carucatas terrae et v bouatas in Wimundewalle. Terra est vi carucis. In dominio sunt ii carucae cum i seruo et xi uillani et iiii sochemanni cum iiii bordariis et ix francigenis seruientibus habent x carucas inter omnes . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt ii fratres pro ii maneriis et postea emit alter ab altero partem suam et fecit unum manerium de duobus T.R.E.'

[2] Dd. ii. 110 a: (Norfolk) 'Et iiii sochemanni iiii acras terrae t.r.e. quod post quando rex uenit et postquam Rogerus hoc manerium recepit Brum prepositus R. Bigot tulit de hoc manerio et modo tenet Rogerus.' Cf. ii. 137 b (Wimundham, Norfolk).

[3] Dd. ii. 114 b: (Foulsham, Norfolk) 'Folsham . . . Huic manerio adiuncti sunt ii liberi homines per Radulfum Talibosc t.r.w. hoc testatur hundred.' Cf. ii. 135 b, 136 a (Hunestanesteda, Norfolk); ii. 153 a: (Fundenhall, Norfolk) 'Fundehala . . . Huic manerio addidit Galterus de Dol ii liberos homines qui sunt in Habetuna . . . et habent xc acras . . . Addidit etiam iii liberos homines viii acras.' ii. 164 a (Rokelun, Norfolk).

[4] Dd. i. 6 b: (Darent, Kent) 'Anschitillus de Ros tenet Tarent de episcopo, pro dimidio solin se defendit . . . In eadem uilla habet isdem Anschitillus i manerium de episcopo, pro dimidio solin se defendit.' Cf. 6 c: (Hortune) 'Aluuardus tenuit de Heraldo. Haec iiii maneria sunt modo pro uno manerio.' Cf. 6 d (Craie). Dd. i. 57 a: (Sparsholt, Berks) 'Spersolt . . . Tres liberi homines tenuerunt T.R.E. pro iii maneriis. Frogerius uicecomes post habuit et fecit unum manerium.' Cf. 68 c (Latone et Aisi, Wilts); 256 a (Westune, Shropshire); 264 d (Melas, Cheshire); ii. 174 a (Wadetuna, Norfolk).

of the Survey overstated their case when they currently spoke of manors as they existed T. R. E., but they did it in good faith, and must have had some good reasons for doing so.

On closer examination we find that the summarizing terminology and the unifying legal treatment adopted by the Survey were the results of facts which had actually existed before, though in a rather straggling condition, with many gaps and irregularities. If we look to the antecedents of the manor in A.-S. times, we do not find a single institution corresponding to the Conquest manor, but we do find several institutions working each by itself, but combining in practice to produce the inchoate manorial system which Domesday supposes everywhere. These institutions are the *hám* or *cotlif*, the estate centre; the *bócland*, privileged land tenure; the soke, jurisdictional franchise; and the *landrica's* or *landhlaford's* patronage, the element of lordship.

*Hám*[1] and *cotlif*[2] are the expressions which most closely correspond to *mansio* and manor. Like the latter, they lay stress on the element of residence, and point primarily to the hall or court—to the residence of the owner of an estate or of his steward, but they usually extend their meaning and include the district dependent on the lord's residence, as well as the rustic population settled on the territory for purposes of cultivation. It is, however, in the sense of mansions or halls, that the Chronicle uses these terms when telling of the ravages of the Danes.[3] These expressions lay stress on the economic and capitalistic side of manorial life—on the estate, as such. But they contain

[1] Cart. Sax. 912 (Will of K. Eadred, before 955): 'an he in to Winteceastre to ealden mynstre þreora þama (*corr.* hama), þæt is þænne Duntune, and Dromerham, and Calne.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 914: 'legat veteri Monasterio Wyntoniae tres villas, quae sunt Duntone,' &c.

[2] Chron. Sax. A.D. 963 (i. 115–17): 'Aðelwold biscop . . . bohte þa feala cotlif æt se King.' . . . C. D. 855: 'ðat cotlif Stáne mid ðam lande Stæningehaga wiðinne Lundne and fif and þritty hyde socne ðærto mid allen ðam berewican ðe ic habbe.' Cf. C. D. 829: 'da cotlife Perscore and Dorhurste.'

[3] Chron. Sax. A.D. 1001 (i. 132): 'forbærndon þoneham æt Peonnhó ⁊ æt Glistune, ⁊ eac feala gódra háma þe we genemnan na cunnan, ⁊ fóran ða eft east onȝean oð hy comon to Wiht; ⁊ þær ón mergen forbærndon ðone ham æt Wealtham ⁊ oðra cotlifa feala.'

already some elements of local authority for purposes of police and justice, the ancient authority of the hearthfast man, the *hlaford* over his household and labourers—his *hired*. This kind of authority was not necessarily bound up with considerable estates. Even the owner of a small one, of a hide or carucate, could wield it over his own people if otherwise qualified. Let us notice in connexion with this that the *Hiwisc*, in regard to land tenure, appears frequently in the local terminology of those times. As the expression is by itself a very general one, it must have acquired a determinate sense from the context; for instance, by pointing to a settlement in a wild country amid pastoral surroundings, the *denes* of a forest district. It denoted sometimes exactly one hide,[1] but there was nothing to prevent the estate from assuming great dimensions.[2] It is hardly needful to say as to the *hâms* themselves, that as proper names they may have swerved considerably from their original meaning of a *hlaford's* estate. They could grow to be the centre of very large settlements, in which the manorial element was not prominent, if it existed at all. Grantham is a *hâm*, for instance, and one of the largest self-governing sokes in England. But the appellative *hâm* is certainly a very near equivalent to *manor*, as an estate.

Bookland and Soke.

The second Saxon root of the manor is the *bócland*, the privileged piece of land exempted from all ordinary obligations of common tenure, and endowed with the rights of private property, capable of alienation and transmission by testament, but subject to one of the two most urgent requirements of the time—formed to support thanes for military service, or priests for religious service. Without dwelling on the ecclesiastical side of these grants, so well

[1] Dd. i. 80 d: (In Bradford Peverel, Dorset) 'Willelmus tenet de Willelmo (de Ow) in Hiwes i hidam. Terra est dimidiae caruçae. Valet xx sol.'

[2] Dd. iv. 412: (Hewlish Champflower, Somerset) '*Hiuuys* quam tenuit Alricus . . . reddidit gildum pro ii hidis et iii uirgatis. Has possunt arare xii carucae.' Cart. Sax. 469 (A.D. 854): 'ista est libertas quam Æđelulf rex suo ministro Wiferđe in perpetuam hereditatem abere concessit i cassati in loco qui dicitur Heregeardingc hiwisc.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 472, 480.

known and copiously illustrated by the charters, let us remember that the *siðcundman landagende,* the thane owning land, undertook special obligations in regard to *fyrd* service.[1] They were exposed to much harder punishments if they failed to perform them than the rest of the community. The confiscation of their land by the king in all cases of default, without distinction as to the direct allegiance of the culprits, is a very characteristic measure, showing that military service was beginning to assume the character of a special duty of landowners.

Domesday gives us a noteworthy illustration of this tradition in the way it treats *bócland* in its terminology. In the description of the Bishop of Coutances' (formerly Edric's) manor of Boui, the Exon Domesday begins by giving an ordinary description of a middle-sized *mansio* with land for 10 ploughs and 13 teams. But then it proceeds to state that to this estate was added the land of 15 thanes, and then gives the names and tenantry of those *mansiones* called *bochelandae* [2] over the line in the MS. This is a case of small estates held in parage: there was land for 8 ploughs and 7 teams to till it. The size does not matter, as we know there were hundreds of small thanes. The equation drawn between *mansiones* and *bochelandae* is precious. It may have originated in the wish of the compilers to get rid of the repetition of *mansio,* as the term had already been used to denote Edric's large estate, although, as we know from many instances, such 'submanors' [3] were quite common. But whatever the occasion, the gloss

[1] Ine, 51.

[2] Dd. iv. 126: (Bovey, Devon) 'Episcopus habet i mansionem que uocatur Boui quam tenebat Eddricus . . . pro ii hidis. Has possunt arare x carucae . . . Huic mansioni est addita terra xv tagnorum una ex his mansionibus (bochelandis) que uocatur Adoneboui et ibi manserunt iiii tagni, et alia uocatur Wermehel et ibi mansit i tagnus (etc.) . . . et isti xv insimul habent ii hidas et dimidiam uirgam et tenuerunt terram suam pariter t.r.e. Possunt arare viii carucae. Sunt vii carucae.'

[3] Dd. iv. 407: (Witham, Somerset) 'Witeham quam tenuit Erlebaldus . . . reddidit gildum pro ii hidis. Has possunt arare iii carucae . . . Haec mansio iacebat in Briueham mansioni Willelmi de Moione . . . et non poterat ille tangnus qui eam tenebat separari a mansione Briueham.'

retains its value, and discloses an important link between Norman feudalism and a widely extended Old English institution. On another occasion, in the same Exon Domesday, an estate called Bocland is described as being held by a thane T.R.E., *hanc mansionem tenuit unus tainus liberam*, and this reads like an explanation of the Saxon name. Immediately afterwards we come across another Bocland held by another thane, and it is mentioned that it was a free manor T.R.E., but subsequently was added to Bristric's land.[1] It is remarkable in this connexion that the designation *bócland* occurs frequently in place-names in different counties, and often in estates which lie near to each other, so that it seems to have been originally used as an appellative.[2] 'Bocland' could become eventually a proper name, because it denoted privileged property, and therefore could be used to designate a particular place. It would be impossible to mark any prevalent size for these *bócland*-manors, but it may be worth notice that they sometimes appear as five-hide estates.[3] There is quite a number of curious places called Fifehide, a designation which must have had a technical origin, as by the side of *hiwisc* it is the only one in which a number of hides is referred to. We never hear of Twohides or Threehides or Sevenhides or Tenhides, but 'Fivehides' is not uncommon.[4] It seems natural to connect this with the well-known importance of the fivehide unit in regard to social status. The 'thriving' of the thane and of the wealh was graduated by this very limit, and so was military service.

[1] Dd. iv. 369: (Buckland (Toutsaints), Devon) 'Bochelanda . . . Hanc mansionem tenuit unus tannus liberam . . . Bochelanda . . . Hec mansio fuit libera . . . modo est addita ad terram Bristrici.' Cf. Exch. Dd. (i). 113 a: 'Bochelande . . . Liber homo fuit qui tenuit T.R.E.' Cf. Edg. ii. 2: 'gyf-hwa þonne *ðegna-sy ðe-on his boclande* cyrican habbe . . .'

[2] Dd. iv. 306, 353, 373, 374, 377, 390. Dd. i. b gives a curious case of three boclands 'by each other'.

[3] Dd. i. 34 d: (Buckland, Surrey) 'Bochelant. Alnod tenuit de rege Edwardo. Tunc se defendit pro v hidis. Modo pro ii hidis.'

[4] E.g. Dd. i. 47 c: (Fifield, Hants) 'Willelmus tenet v hidas terrae.' . . . (In margin, 'Fifhide uocatur'). i. 70 c: (Fifhide, Wilts) 'T.R.E. geldabat pro v hidis.' i. 78 d: (Fifhide, Dorset) 'T.R.E. geldabat pro v hidis.' i. 157 d: (Fifhide, Oxon) 'Ibi sunt v hidae.'

It was the acquisition of five hides that enabled a warrior to aspire to the rank of king's thane, and led to the passage into the class of twelvehyndmen for him, or to sixhyndmen in the case of the prosperous *wealh*. There is a remarkable entry in the Berkshire survey[1] which shows that the 5 hides in question were not taken as the thane's home-farm, but as the estimate of a district or estate of villains which stood under him. This would correspond strictly to the 5 hides at *Cyninges utwaru* of the famous fragment about the thriving of the thane, and it would be difficult not to recognize in the villains in question the Saxon ceorls on *gafolland*, transformed after the Conquest into villains on *warland* or villains holding 5 hides *de wara*.

I will not speak again at any length of the Old English soke, as this subject has already occupied a good deal of our time, and will come up again in the chapters on personal status. The only point which I should like to recall to mind is the universal use of the soke in Saxon England. The soke as a jurisdictional authority is not less frequently mentioned in the southern counties[2] than in the half-Scandinavian north and east, and, indeed, is much more frequently attested in those very shires where we do not hear at all of separate sokes and hear very little about socmen. In any case, the villains of Berkshire or Kent were subjected to the manorial jurisdiction and the private hundreds of their feudal lords, not as former serfs or slaves, but as former ceorls over whom *sac and soc* had been

[1] Dd. i. 58 c: (Cumnor, Berks) 'Abbatia de Abbendone tenet Comenore. Semper fuit in abbatia. T.R.E. se defendit pro 1 hidis. Modo pro xxx hidis ... De his 1 hidis tenet Anschil v hidas. Norman tenuit T.R.E. pro uno manerio ... et non potuit ire quo uoluit pro v hidis geldauit cum aliis superioribus ... In Winteham tenet Hubertus de abbate v hidas de terra uillanorum, fuerunt iiii et geldauerunt cum hidis manerii. Hida taini quieta fuit sed non potuit ire quo uoluit ...'

[2] See e.g. the characteristic entries in connexion with the Royal manors in Oxfordshire. Dd. i. 154 c: 'Rex tenet Besintone ... Soca de iv hundredis et dimidio pertinet ad hoc manerium ... Rex tenet Hedintone ... Duorum hundredorum soca pertinet huic manerio. Ricardus de Curci de xvi hidis retrahit sibi ... Rex tenet Cherielintone. De ii hundredis et dimidio soca pertinet huic manerio, ii hidis et dimidia minus in Lantone quae ibi olim iacuerunt. Has dedit rex S^t. Petro de Westmonásterio et Balduino suo filiolo.'

ceded by Edgar or Æthelstan. If there had been a Domesday Survey about 986 we would perhaps have found the inhabitants of southern shires still divided into their original groups, like the Norfolk population of 1086, instead of being fused into the uniform mould of villainage. The fact that no such Survey exists constitutes an argument from silence, which is hardly sufficient to arrest further inquiries. Indeed, the laws and charters tell us clearly enough that sokes were not the same thing as *hámes* in the tenth and eleventh century.

The fourth Old English root of the manorial system is the institutions of landlordship, which we find in full work in the last two centuries of Saxon rule. When we read in Archbishop Ælfric's will (A.D. 1006) that he bequeaths the land at Dumeltun to Abingdon, and gives three hides of it to Ælfnoth for life, with the provision that he should follow the lordship to which the land belongs, we have to construe the instrument in the sense that Abingdon gets authority over Ælfnoth and his land even before it falls by reversion into the hands of the monks,[1] and this kind of authority or lordship meets us again and again in the laws, in the shape of the patronage of the *landhlaford* or of the *landrica*. It is especially prominent in regard to all sorts of police arrangements—the following on the track of stolen cattle, the production of warranty in regard to the sale of animals, the catching of thieves, and the responsibility for the good behaviour of the people living under the landlord's patronage,[1] but it is clear that the position of the *landrica* was naturally akin to that of a lord possessing *sac and soc* on the one hand, to that of the owner of a *hám* in regard to its labouring population on the other. Indeed, part of the *sac and soc* formula—its claims of team, infangennetheof and utfangennetheof[2]—connects itself necessarily with the rights of a *landrica*. It is interesting to see that in Canute's reign an attempt was made to treat

Landlordship.

[1] Earle, Land Charters, p. 223 (A.D. 1006): 'and filgan hí đám láfordscype đe đæt land tó hyre.'

[2] The references are collected in Liebermann's Glossary, s. v. *landhlaford* and *landrica*.

the whole country as subdivided into *landrica* districts ;[1] and in the interesting fragment on the wedding of a wife it is also supposed that every kindred arranging a contract of marriage with another kindred is settled on the land of some thane, and is under the special protection of its local law.[2] These indications may not amount to a perfectly accurate description of the state of land law in those times; they suppose a uniformity which is not quite realized even later; but they convey the impression made upon contemporaries that the land of England was more or less carved out into territorial lordships, in which aristocratic chiefs had to look after law and police, and were made responsible for public order to central authority. Needless to say that this arrangement was not invented at pleasure by the sovereigns of the tenth century and their witan. It grew slowly out of practices of patronage which were introduced from the very time of the early English settlements on British soil—practices of private patronage to which the most ancient records of English and Teutonic legal custom testify.[3] But these bonds of personal patronage and clientship were gradually transformed into real relations based on land tenure; the *hlaford* became a *landhlaford*; men commended to his protection became more and more his dependants, not only as to their persons, but in regard to their land also.

A number of drastic illustrations of the difficulty of keeping these different sets of relations consistently apart may be found in the frequent verdicts of Domesday jurors trying to disentangle personal commendation from the dependence of land,[4] and to settle definitely when people had a right to

[1] Cf. Growth of the Manor, 216.
[2] Liebermann, Gesetze, i. p. 442, c. 7.
[3] Tacitus, Germania, c. 13.
[4] Dd. ii. 182 a: (Haddiscoe, Norfolk) 'In Hadescou unus sochemannus Edrici de Laxsefelda xxx acras . . . hic sochemannus commendauit se Aluuino tempore Willelmi regis et erat inde saisitus quando rex dedit terram Rogero Bigoto.' ii. 310 b: (Darsham, Suffolk) 'In Dersam i liber homo Edricus tenuit t.r.e. lxxxxiiii acras pro manerio . . . Hic Edricus commendatus fuit Edrico de Laxefelda antecessori Roberti Malet priusquàm rex Edwardus obisset. Postea uxtlagauit

go with their land where they pleased, and when they could not take land out of the lordship.[1] These questions of Old English law were of primary importance after the Conquest—although the practice of voluntary and personal commendation was not kept up—because they afforded a clue for the assignment of pieces of land to manors, and to the settlement of questions of ownership. The lawyers of William the Conqueror started from the principle that mere personal commendation did not amount to a dependence of the land,[2] and that a tenant who could go with his land where he pleased was not part and parcel of the manor in which he paid his dues to a lord.[3] But there is ample evidence to show how difficult it was to keep up these distinctions,[4] and it is a characteristic fact that they were less frequent in the southern counties, where condition was regulated by

Edricus; Rex Edwardus saisiuit totam suam terram. Postea conciliatus est regi Edwardo et concessit ei terram suam, dedit etiam breuem et sigillum ut quicunque de suis liberis commendatis hominibus ad eum uellent redire suo concessu redirent; Hunc Edricum saisiuit R.E. in sua manu postea non uidit Hundret ut ad Edricum dominum suum rediret sed tunc ipse dicit et offert iuditium quod rediit et liberos homines quos habet sub se commendatos tenet; et ex eis reuocat Robertum warant.'

[1] Dd. i. 59 a: (Lyford, Berks) 'Walterius Gifard tenet de abbate Linford. T.R.E. tenuerunt filii Eliert de abbate, nec poterant alias ire absque licentia, et tamen commendauerunt se Walterio sine abbatis precepto.'

[2] Dd. i. 70 b: (Chedglow, Wilts) 'Ernulfus tenet Cheieslaue ... In eadem uilla tenet unus tainus de Ernulfo ii uirgatas terrae et dimidiam. Hic T.R.E. poterat ire ad quem uellet dominum et T.R.W. sponte se uertit ad Ernulfum.' Cf. Dd. ii. 119 a (Tetford, Norfolk); Dd. iv. 191 (Widefella, Devon); iv. 192 (Bratona, Devon).

[3] Dd. i. 36 a: (Surrey) 'Walterius de Doai tenet in Waleton Hd. ii hidas de rege sicut dicit. Sed homines de hundredo dicunt se numquam uidisse breuem uel nuncium regis qui eum inde saisisset. Hoc autem testantur quod quidam liber homo hanc terram tenens et quo uellet abire ualens summisit se in manu Walterii pro defensione sui.'

[4] Dd. i. 32 c: (Surrey) 'Ipsa abbatia (de Certesyg) tenet ii hidas terrae et Willelmus tenet de abbate. Sed homines testantur quod fuit terra dominica Aluuini T.R.E. et quo uoluit ire potuit.' Ibid.: 'In eadem uilla Aissela habet isdem Willelmus de abbatia Certesy sicut dicit iii hidas et dimidiam. T.R.E. tenuerunt unus homo et ii feminae et quo uoluerunt se uertere potuerunt, sed pro defensione se cum terra abbatiae summiserunt.' i. 50 c: (Hants) 'Alwinus Wit tenet ii hidas. Ipse tenuit T.R.E. Hic Aluuinus tenuit hanc terram T.R.E. sub Wigoto pro tuitione, modo tenet eandem sub Milone et fuit deliberatus per Hunfridum Visdelupo Wigot in excambio de Bradeuuatre sicut ipse dicit. Sed Hundredum inde nichil scit.'

rougher and more uniform standards. It is chiefly in the north and east that the discussions about commendation, soke, and landownership constantly recur.[1]

Honours.

8. The manor is the principal unit of organization recognized by Domesday, but it is not the only one. Manors may be grouped into higher units according to different points of view. There is, to begin with, the unit of an *honor*; it occurs already in Domesday, but comes to play a greater part later on. In the Survey it appears mostly as an equivalent of *feudum*, in the sense of a complex of landed property and rights combined in one person, and perpetuated as a unit after the original holder has given place to others. Thus, if we hear of the *feudum Frederici*, we also hear of the *honor Edmeratorii* or the *honor Ordulfi*,[2] and, later on, honours of any size and composition appear as great fiefs created for well-known men, and from which succession or infeudation has to be traced. By the side of this use of the word another is noticeable—namely, the history of a complex of property is derived, not from a person, but from a locality which appears as the chief seat of the honour, its capital manor, and gives its name to the whole group. Thus we hear later on of the honours of Berkhamstead, of Wallingford, of Broughton.[3] In these cases

[1] E. g. Dd. i. 163 b: (Berkeley, Gloucs.) 'In isto manerio tenuerunt ii fratres T.R.E. in Cromhal v hidas . . . Hi ii fratres cum terra sua se poterant uertere quo uolebant. Hos Willelmus comes commendauit preposito de Berchelai ut eorum haberet seruitium sicut dicit Rogerius.'

[2] Dd. iv. 190 (i. 104 c): (Coldeia, Devon) . . . 'quam tenuit Chepinus pariter . . . et homines comitis Moritaniensis tenent eam ad honorem Ordulfi, sed ille tegnus potuit ire ad quemlibet dominum sine licentia Ordulfi.' iv. 190: (Devon) 'Buchesurda quam tenuit Iric . . . Potuit ire ad quemlibet dominum cum ista terra . . . Istam terram tenet comes cum honore Edmeratorii.' iv. 196: (Devon) 'Honetona tenuit Elmerus . . . Haec mansio fuit libera . . . modo est addita ad terram Elmeratori.' Cf. Wiborde; Lege. iv. 199: 'Lodebroc. . . . Hanc terram tenuit pariter Colbertus, et modo est addita honori Edmeratori quem comes tenet.' iv. 201 (i. 105 b): (Devon) 'Motberia tenuit Wado . . . potuit ire ad quemlibet dominum, reddidit gildum pro i hida. Hanc possunt arare v carucae . . . Inde habet R. dimidiam hidam et i carucam in dominio, et uillani dimidiam hidam et uirgam; quem uirgam tenuit Wado de Ordulfo, et non potuit cum illa uirga separare de Ordulfo, sed cum supradicta hida potuit . . . Et hanc hidam tenet comes cum honore Ordulfi iniuste.'

[3] Feudal Aids, ii. 424, 452; Testa de Nevill, 264 b, 269 b.

something more than an historical reminiscence as to descent seems indicated, and the central manor may turn out to be the capital of a barony, or the seat of a court exercising the higher franchises for a series of manors.[1] We do not yet notice in Domesday traces of such great regional organizations, but there are a few expressions which show that *honor* was not used quite indiscriminately of any combination of estates. Already a phrase like 'ad honorem pervenit'—when *A* had obtained the honour—makes one think that the existence of a particular honour was a fact preceding its acquisition by the person from whom it might otherwise draw its name.[2] Then we hear of the 'honor comitis' and even 'honor comitum'; terms appearing as an equivalent of 'comitatus', and this leads to the conception of a complex of estates somehow connected with a dignity, an official position, and not a casual combination of personal rights.[3] As a rule, the honour appears as a group of manors, but in one case at least it is used irrespectively of any such grouping, and in a sense where *feudum militis* or *manerium* itself might have been used instead. I mean the famous passage in the survey of Wiltshire, where the burgesses of Malmesbury are said to be bound to send a warrior to the King's expedition 'pro honore v hidarum'.[4] The five-hide unit recalls the obligation of the Berkshire men to send one

[1] Court Rolls of Broughton (Selden Soc.): Select Pleas of Manorial Courts, ii. 48 ff.

[2] Dd. i. 214 b: (Clophill, Beds) 'Ipse Nigellus (de Albingi) tenet Clopelle pro v hidis se defendit . . . Hoc manerium ii teigni tenuerunt. Homines Tosti comitis. De his v hidis clamat Nigellus i uirgatam quam tenuit Antecessor eius T.R.E. Ipse Nigellus inde saisitus fuit postquam ad honorem uenit sed Radulfus Tallgebosc eum desaisiuit.' Cf. 138 c (Horemede, Herts).

[3] Dd. i. 246 a: (Stafford) 'In Burgo de Stadford habet Rex in suo dominio xviii burgenses et viii uastas mansiones. Praeter has habet rex ibi xxii mansiones de honore comitum . . . Rogerius comes habet iii mansiones quae iacent ad halam . . . Hugo filius eius tenet de comitatu v mansiones et pertinent ad Guruelde. Robertus de Stadford habet xiii mansiones de honore comitum et pertinent ad Bradelie. Isdem Robertus habet de feudo suo xli mansiones . . . Willelmus f. Ansculfi habet de comitatu iiii mansiones quae pertinent ad Pennam manerium comitis.'

[4] Dd. i. 64 c: 'Quando rex ibat in expeditionem uel terra uel mari habebat de hoc burgo aut xx sol. ad pascendos suos buzecarlos. Aut unum hominem ducebat secum pro honore v hidarum.'

man to the wars for every 5 hides on one hand, the thane's fee of 5 hides and the five-hide manors on the other. The term *honour* is significant in so far as it shows that the comparison was not drawn with any chance accumulation of 5 hides, but with a fee held by one tenant, in fact, a thane's fee of 5 hides.

As for the baronies, their formation belongs to a later epoch, and the only thing that can be deduced from stray indications in the Domesday Survey is that sometimes attempts were made to round off the possessions of great tenants-in-chief. As we have seen, in the case of Eustache de Boulogne there is a mention of a hundred manors as the contents of his fee, an expression which cannot refer to the number of actual estates held by him, but, possibly, to the number of knights' estates or fees considered as normal for his 'honour'. An expression is used in regard to Hugh de Montfort[1] which might lead one to suppose that the number of his manors was also raised to a definite sum, but these indications are too vague to build any theory upon them.

Farm-groups.

The second basis for grouping manors is provided by the wish to make their produce fit the requirements of a large household. The Royal household is supposed to require a certain quantity of provisions and provender—so many loaves of bread, flitches of bacon, sesters of honey, &c. The whole quantity, a very considerable one, makes up the so-called farm of one night, or farm of one day, and the Royal manors in Domesday are combined in groups, in order to levy the necessary quantity of victuals, or to pay a corresponding sum of money. In Dorset, Dorchester, Fortitone, Sutton, Gelingeham, and Fromme combine to render a farm of one night. It takes altogether 56 ploughs and 114 villains, besides 9 *bordarii*, 12 *coliberti*, and 20 serfs, to raise the revenue. Pimpre and Cerleton, with land for 20 ploughs, and 18 actual teams, raise only half a farm of

[1] Dd. ii. 100 a: (Essex) 'In hundredo de Laxendena inuasit (Hugo de Monteforte) iii liberos homines tenentes i hidam et xxx acras . . . unus ex his tribus iacet ad feudum S. Petri de Westmonasterio ad Seringas, et hoc est testimonio hundreti, set fuit liberatus Hugoni in numero suorum maneriorum ut dicunt sui homines.'

one night, and Winfrode, Alulurda and Wintrebourne make up another half-farm among themselves.[1] In Hampshire, Basingstoke, Clere, and Essebourne are grouped to render a farm of one day.[2] In Derbyshire, the farms of one night or of one day have disappeared, but five Royal manors form a group rendering £32 and 6½ sesters of honey, or £40 instead, and another group of three manors has to pay £30 and 5½ sesters of honey, and 5 cart-loads (?) of lead; the remnant of the rent in kind may be commuted for £10 6*s*.[3] It may happen that some private manors have to render dues to some great Royal manor, and it seems in such cases that these dues are remnants of a time when all the estates in question formed one group, and that even after the granting away of portions of it some of the dues were reserved. But it is impossible to trace any definite policy or numerical combinations in such instances.[4]

The manors belonging to a great tenant-in-chief may be styled his 'division'.[5] Estates held by the same lord, as a mesne tenant, would not be considered to be within his division,[6] so that this term evidently aims at representing the original distribution of estates produced by the Conquest, and does not cover subsequent transactions.

[1] Dd. iv. 28, 29 (Dorset). Cf. i. 180 d: (Worcestershire) 'Haec vi maneria (Biselie, Lapule, etc.) reddunt ad Hereford de firma l libras et xxv solidos de gersumma.'

[2] Dd. i. 39 b (Hants).

[3] Dd. i. 272 c: (Derbyshire) 'Hi v manerii (*sic*) Derelei, Mestesforde, Werchesuorde, Esseburne et Penreuuic cum suis Bereuuichis reddebant T.R.E. xxxii lib. et vi sextarios mellis et dimidium modo xl lib. puri argenti.' 273 a: 'Haec tria maneria reddebant T.R.E. xxx lib. et v sestarios mellis et dimidium et v plaustratas plumbi de l tabulis. Modo reddunt x lib. et vi sol. Willelmus Peurel custodit.'

[4] E. g. Dd. iv. 77 (i. 100): (Devon) 'Alsemenistra . . . nescitur quot hide ibi sunt quia nunquam reddidit gildum sed per xl carrucas potest arari terra . . . Et huic mansioni est addita quaedam alia mansio que uocatur Deneord . . . Et in ipsa Alsemenistra est alia mansio. Odescliua . . . Comes de Moritonio habet i mansionem. Honetona quae t.r.e. reddebat huic mansioni regis Alseministrae xxx den.' . . . &c.

[5] Dd. i. 13 a: (Kent) 'Hugo de Montfort tenet unum manerium Estwelle quod tenuit Frederic de rege Edwardo pro uno solin se defendit. Tria iuga sunt infra diuisionem Hugonis et quartum iugum est extra et est de feudo episcopi Baiocensis.'

[6] Dd. i. 11 c: (In Beusberge Hund., Kent) 'Hugo de Montfort tenet de episcopo i solin uacuae terrae extra diuisionem suam et adiacuit Neuentone manerium quod habet intra suam diuisionem.'

The *rape* is a group of manors considered not only as a complex of property, but also as a large unit for the payment of geld.[1] Therefore privileged estates and holdings exempted from geld would be termed outside the rape, and the fact of their being owned by a particular magnate would in no way be contested by such an expression.[2] The term *rape* is, however, a provincial one; we find it only in Sussex.

[1] Dd. i. 16 c: (Sussex) 'Ipse archiepiscopus tenet Odintune de uestitu monachorum T.R.E. se defendit pro vi hidis et modo pro iiii hidis et dimidia quia aliud est in rapo comitis de moritonio.' Cf. 17 d (Alsistone); 20 c (Borne).

[2] Dd. i. 20 a: (Sussex) 'Walterius filius Lanberti tenet de comite (de Ow) Salescombe. Lefsinus tenuit de Goda comit. pro una hida et iii uirgatis foris rapum se defendit, et modo pro una hida.' Cf. 20 b (Selescome); 21 c (Ferles); 22 c (Calurestot); 22 d (Ferlega); 28 b (Staninges); ibid., Clopeham.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE DEMESNE.

1. THE lord's part in the manor is naturally called *dominicum*, demesne. The term admits of two main acceptations; it may point to the estates, or part of the estates, assigned to the use of the tenant-in-chief, in opposition to those given over to military followers—thanes, knights, or sergeants.[1] Or else it may point to the home-farm, as distinguished from the holdings of the tenants, and it is in this sense that we find the expression on every page of Domesday Book. The immediate object of demesne is to provide for the food[2] of the lord and of his household, probably also for their clothing. The Old English expression corresponding to the Low Latin *dominium* or *dominicum* is *hired*. It is used commonly in the same general sense as we use 'household' nowadays,[3] but it has not yet acquired the technical meaning of the later *dominicum*, because the combined system of husbandry had not yet come to be the prevailing feature of agrarian organization. Dominicum.

We have already had occasion to touch several times on the part played by the demesne in rural arrangements, and I will refer to it very briefly at present.[4] The separate home-farm, cultivated for its own needs, exists, but it is an

[1] Dd. i. 12 d: (Elmstone, Kent) 'Ansfridus tenet de abbate (Sancti Augustini) Ælvetone pro dimidio solin et dimidio iugo se defendit. Terra est . . . In dominio est una caruca, et iii uillani cum iii bobus in caruca. In isto manerio tenet Ansfridus dimidium solin de dominio monachorum et reddit inde Sancto Augustino c denarios per annum. Godessa tenuit in alodium, et dedit inde Sancto Augustino xxv denarios in elemosina unoquoque anno.'

[2] Dd. i. 68 c: (Cholston, Wilts) 'Chelestanestone . . . Ipsa aecclesia (Ambresberiensis) tenebat ii hidas T. R. E. et post tenuit T. R. Willelmi, et sunt de uictu monialium.'

[3] Thorpe, Dipl. 571: (A. D. 1045) 'and ic wille þat alle mine men ben fre on hirede and on tune.'

[4] Cf. Ballard, Domesday Inquest, 50 ff.

exception. It occurs chiefly in cases of very small estates, with one plough-team, or less.[1] In all these cases the work of the place is done either by small freemen, or by serfs and *bordarii*—villains occur very seldom. But the regular thing, of course, is the juxtaposition of the demesne-farm, and of a certain number of tenant holdings. A very ordinary arrangement is the combination of a very small home-farm—one or two ploughs—and a very large number of tenants around it. This may be said to be the prevailing case in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, and can hardly be accounted for on any other supposition than that the domanial centre was a kind of adjunct, and served more as a counting house and the seat of a court than for purposes of husbandry. The socmen, and even the villains, in these cases followed very much their own economic course, although bound to render rents, and possibly to perform a few boonworks and other customary services.[2] But these insignificant manorial home-farms are by no means confined to the emphatically free districts. There is, e. g., the great manor of Thanet belonging to St. Augustine, Canterbury.[3] It was rated at

[1] Dd. i. 8 d: (Bensted, Kent) 'Isdem Adeloldus tenuit de episcopo (Baiocensi) Benedestede et Robertus tenet ad firmam pro uno iugo se defendit. Terra est . . . In dominio est i caruca cum v seruis.' Cf. Bermelie (ibid.). 49 a: (S. Tidworth, Hants) 'Croc (Venator) tenet de rege ii hidas in Todeorde. Aluuinus tenuit de rege Eduuardo in alodium pro manerio. Tunc et modo geldat pro ii hidis. Terra est i carucae, et ibi est in dominio cum uno bordario et uno seruo.' Dd. iv. 189: (Stockleigh, Devon) 'Estocheleia . . . geldat pro i ferlino. Hanc potest arare i carruca. Ibi habet Aluuardus i carucam in dominio et iii bordarios et ii seruos.'

[2] Dd. i. 338 d: (Gayton, Lincs.) 'In Gettune habuit Edid regina iii carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra ad iiii carucas. Ibi habet Rex in dominio i carucam et dimidiam et xviii sochemanni et iiii bordarii cum v carucis.' Cf. Hornecastre (339 a). Dd. ii. 112 b: (Wighton, Norfolk) 'Wistune tenuit rex E. xii car. terrae. xxvi uillani tunc et modo, tunc xxiiii bordarii modo xvii, tunc et modo i caruca in dominio, tunc hominum x carucae et post et modo vii.'

[3] Dd. i. 12 a-b: (Thanet, Kent) 'Ipse abbas (Sancti Augustini) tenet Tanet manerium quod se defendit pro xlviii solins. Terra est lxii carucis. In dominio sunt ii et cl uillani cum l bordariis habent lxiii carucas. Ibi aecclesia et unus presbiter qui dat xx solidos per annum. Ibi una salina et ii piscariae de iii denariis et unum molinum. T. R. E. ualebat quater xx lib. Quando abbas recepit xl lib. Modo c lib. De isto manerio tenent iii milites tantum de terra uillanorum quod ualet ix lib. quando pax est in terra, et ibi habent iii carucas.'

48 sulungs, and contained land for 62 ploughs. There were only two plough-teams in demesne, while 150 villains and 50 *bordarii* had 63 ploughs between them. Of the land of the villains, three knights held as much as was worth £9 when there was peace in the country, and they had three ploughs there. It is difficult to say whether the knights contented themselves with drawing income from the villains, or whether they had occupied their land with their own home-farm of three ploughs. But the chief manor is constituted in a very peculiar way; it was evidently based on rents and occasional services, and later 'extents' fully bear out this inference.[1] Kent, of course, is practically as much the land of freedom as Norfolk or Lincolnshire. But occasionally the same state of things occurs in the west and south. The manor of Wiche, Gloucester, e. g., paid geld for 1 hide, and there was only 1 plough on its demesne, while 35 villains, 16 *bordarii*, a priest, and 13 rodknights had 52 ploughs between them. There were 12 serfs, and these usually indicate home-cultivation, but in the case under discussion some of them may have been employed on the mills, of which there were four in the place.[2] Sapey in Worcestershire was a much smaller estate, but its constitution must have been of exactly the same kind. It paid geld for 3 hides, and yet there were only 9 plough-beasts in the home-farm, a fact which seems to have attracted the attention of the Domesday jurors themselves; 9 villains and 4 *bordarii* had 11 ploughs between them, and 3 more teams could have been employed.[3] All these cases would fall under the second head of our manorial classification; they are best

[1] Black Book of St. Augustine, Cotton MSS., Faustina, i.

[2] Dd. i. 167 d: (Painswick, Gloucs.) 'Isdem Rogerius (de Laci) tenet Wiche. Ibi una hida geldat. Ernesi tenuit. In dominio est i caruca et xxxv uillani et xvi bordarii et presbiter et iii Radchenistres. Inter omnes habent lii carucas. Ibi xi serui et iiii molini de xxiiii solidis. Silua v leu. longo et ii lato. Valuit xx lib. Modo xxiiii lib. Ipse teinus poterat ire quo uolebat.'

[3] Dd. i. 176 d: (Lower Sapey, Worcs.) 'Isdem Osbernus (filius Ricardi) tenet Sapie.... Ibi iii hidae geldant. In dominio nisi ix animalia et presbiter et ix uillani et iiii bordarii cum xi carucis, et iii carucae plus ibi possent esse. Ibi molinum reddit vi summas annonae. Valuit xlv sol. Modo xxx sol.'

accounted for on the principle of what may be called the levying of tribute—varied rents in this case, for the collection and accounting of which the small manorial farm afforded a convenient centre; but the peculiarity of the instances under consideration is, that the tributary tenants of the Gloucestershire and Worcestershire estates are not scattered in different places, but congregated in large villages.

Cases of more evenly balanced relation between home-farm and tenant-holdings are more frequent, however. They correspond to a greater employment of capital on the home-farm itself, and come up under the first type of our classification. The great pioneers in this direction were the ecclesiastical institutions. We find on their estates the largest concentrations of capital and the most systematic combinations of peasant labour to support them.[1] And yet it is noteworthy that even in this group of estates we hardly ever come across traces of very large home-farms. Evidently it was throughout more advantageous to leave most of the work of cultivation on the shoulders of the peasant farmers. Nor is it at all necessary that the demesne land should lie in compact plots: it may as well join in the open-field system of the tenants and consist of strips scattered among their holdings. Domesday Book gives too general a description to afford such details, which are well established both by later and earlier evidence, but we may occasionally catch a glimpse of them even in our Survey.[2]

Consuetudines villae.

One difficulty in our reading of Domesday evidence is to estimate the exact proportion which the 'customs of the town-

[1] Dd. i. 273 b: (Appleby, Derby) 'In Apleby habuit abbas de Berton v carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra v carucis . . . in eadem uilla modo in dominio ii carucae, et viii uillani et i bordarius cum i caruca.' Cf. ibid., Wineshalle, Stapenhille, &c.

[2] Dd. i. 156 d: (Garsington, Oxon) 'Gislebertus tenet de abbate vii hidas et dimidiam in Gersedune. Terra vi carucis. Nunc in dominio ii carucae et ii serui et vi uillani cum ix bordariis habent iii carucas. Ibi xii acrae prati. . . . Ibi i hida de inland quae nunquam geldauit iacet inter terram regis particulatim.'

ships' (*consuetudines villae*) bore to demesne cultivation in the combined husbandry of the home-farm—what was done for it by peasant teams, how much did it depend on the help of the peasants for harvest, threshing, and all other kinds of farm-work? If we are to judge from eleventh-century evidence, the best way is to notice the surplusage of geld commonly charged to the demesne in consequence of the additional advantages it derived from the customary work of the peasants. I will quote two cases from Lincolnshire, where the problem seems reduced to a very simple expression. The manor of Holm[1] was rated T. R. E. at 24 geld carucates, and of these Ulf had 12 and 12 were assigned to the soke. T. R. W. the successor of Ulf, Gislebert, has 4 teams in demesne, and 28 socmen, 28 villains, and 3 *bordarii* have 14 teams. The equal division of the geld must have remained at the later period, but the demesne had only 4 teams to show for the 12 carucates, while 14 teams went to the peasants' portion: the balance must have been restored by the rents of the socmen, and especially by the auxiliary services of the villains. A similar case is reported from Goldesbi.[2] The geld is divided quite equally between lord and tenants—$4\frac{1}{3}$ bovates in demesne and $4\frac{1}{3}$ bovates in the soke, which represents the whole non-domanial part of the estates in these cases. And yet Colegrim, the holder, both T. R. E. and T. R. W., had only one plough-team, while 2 socmen and 6 villains had two. The Middlesex survey, and those of several other counties, constantly show the same surplusage[3] of geld assessment

[1] Dd. i. 355 d: (Holme, Lincs.) 'In Holm habuit Ulf xii carucatas terrae in dominio et xii carucatas terrae soca ad geldum. Terra totidem carucis. Ibi habet Gislebertus iiii carucas in dominio et xxviii sochemanni et xxviii uillani et iii bordarii habentes xiiii carucas.'

[2] Dd. i. 370 b: (Goulsby, Lincs.) 'In Goldesbi habuit Colegrim iiii bouatas terrae et terciam partem unius bouatae ad geldum in dominio et tantumdem terrae in soca ad geldum. Terra ii carucis. Ipse ibi habet modo i carucam, et ii sochemanni et vi uillani cum ii carucis.'

[3] Dd. i. 143 c: (Risborough, Bucks) 'Riseberge fuit uilla Heraldi comitis pro xxx hidis se defendit semper. Terra est xxiiii carucis. In dominio xx hidae, et ibi sunt iiii carucae. Ibi xxx uillani cum xii bordariis habent xx carucas. Ibi iii serui et ii molini de xiiii sol. et

on the demesne portion, a fact which cannot be explained on any other ground but that the dues and services with which the tenants were burdened in favour of the demesne were very properly reckoned up on its side, and that the land income-tax of the geld represented in its two parts the repartition of estimated income between the lord and the tenants, and by no means the revenue of the home-farm only.

Hall. 2. The demesne is not only a home-farm, but also a centre of administration. In this respect it is represented by the hall[1] or the court (*aula*, *halla*). As a rule, the hall is necessary to constitute a manor, and it may be said, in a sense, to be the manor itself, inasmuch as the manor-house was a place of residence for the lord or his steward. The intimate relation of the two terms may be gathered from the following passage of the Yorkshire Domesday: 'In Kirkby[2] there were 8 carucates to the geld, and land for 4 ploughs. Ulchil has a manor there (1½ car.); Ligul, Tor, Gamel, and Siward had the rest of the land with one hall.' The hall of the latter half of the sentence corresponds to the manor of the first. There is a difference in the use of the two expressions, inasmuch as the first may be taken in a wider as well as in a more restricted sense, while the second has only the latter—that of

viii den. pratum vii carucis. Silua mille porcis. Inter totum reddit per annum xlvii lib. de albo argento xvi den. minus. T. R. E. reddebat x lib. ad numerum. In hoc manerio iacet et iacuit quidam burgensis de Oxeneford reddens ii solidos. Adhuc unus salinarius de Wicg reddens summas salis, et in eodem manerio fuit et est quidam sochemannus iii uirgatas tenens, uendere quidem potuit, sed tamen uicecomiti seruiuit.'

[1] Dd. i. 35 c: (Shalford, Surrey) 'Scaldefor. Duo fratres tenuerunt T. R. E. Unusquisque habuit domum suam, et tamen manserunt in una curia et quo uoluerunt ire potuerunt. Tunc et modo se defendit pro iiii hidis. Terra est vi carucis. In dominio sunt ii carucae et xxix uillani et xi bordarii cum ix carucis.' Dd. i. 163 c: (Oxenton, Gloucs.) 'Apud Oxendone T. R. E. erat Aula et v hidae pertinentes ad Teodekesberie. Ibi sunt v carucae in dominio et v uillani et ii radchenistres habentes vii carucas, et inter seruos et ancillas xii.'

[2] Dd. i. 309 d: (Kirkby, Yorks) 'In Chirchebi ad geldum viii carucate et iiii carucae possent esse. Ibi habuit Vlchil (i car. et dim.) i manerium. Ligul et Tor et Gamel et Siuuard habuerunt residuam terram cum una haula.' Cf. 312 c (Bruntone).

a place of residence and administration. But still the most prominent and important feature of a manor is that it has a hall in which the lord can live and rule. For this reason, all appliances and buildings which appertain to the demesne, or serve it more particularly, are said to serve the hall, no matter whether the manor be large or small. There are mills and forges serving the hall,[1] ploughs belonging to the hall,[2] horses and other animals in the hall.[3] In a curious Berkshire notice a wrongful owner is said to have abstracted and brought over to another manor the hall and other buildings and the chattels of the estate of Ebrige. The abduction of the chattels—meaning cattle, implements, and, possibly, stores and money—may perhaps be taken in the literal sense, but in regard to the buildings nothing worse than appropriation to another manor can be meant.[4]

The hall may be opposed to the soke in the same way as demesne is sometimes opposed to soke.[5] Complications arose in some cases. In Langeton, Yorkshire, e.g., rated at the geld for 9 carucates, Torfin and Fingal had two halls, and of the two only Torfin had *sac and soc*. The rest of the land was held by a third parcener called Tor, who had

[1] Dd. i. 32 d: (Chertsey, Surrey) 'Ipsa abbatia (de Certesyg) iacet in Godelei hund. et ipsa uilla T. R. E. et modo se defendit pro v hidis. Terra est . . . Ibi unum molinum ad hallam et cc acrae prati . . . et una ferraria quae operatur ad hallam.' Cf. 177 c (Costone, Worcs.); 266 b (Budewrde, Cheshire); 268 a (Gretford, Cheshire).

[2] Dd. i. 203 c: (Alconbury, Hunts) 'In Acumesberie et Geddinge (Berew.) fuerunt x hidae ad geldum. Terra xx carucis. Ibi nunc ad aulam v carucae in duabus hidis hujus terrae.' Cf. 57 d (Sudtone, Berks).

[3] Dd. ii. 257 b: (Binham, Norfolk) 'Binneham. . . . In aula dominica tunc viii equi modo v, tunc iii animalia modo i, tunc xvi (?) post modo x, tunc cxx modo đ c (dimidium centum?) oues.'

[4] Dd. i. 63 b: (Berks) 'Ebrige. . . . De hoc manerio testatur scira quod non pertinuit ad antecessorem Hugonis per quem reclamat homines autem eius noluerunt inde reddere rationem. Ipse quoque transportauit hallam et alias domos et pecuniam in alio manerio.'

[5] Dd. i. 299 c: (Kildwick, Yorks) 'Praeterea in Chilleuuinc sunt ad geldum xvi carucatae terrae ubi possent esse viii carucae. De his carucatis sunt vi ad aulam et x sunt in soca de poclinton.' Cf. 308 a (Ternusc, Yorks); 337 d: (Harlaxton, Lincs.) 'In Herlauestune sunt xii carucatae terrae ad geldum. Terra ad xvi carucas. Nouem sunt in soca et iii in aula Granham.' Cf. 368 d (Roscebi, Lincs.); 369 c (Ludintone); ii. 263 b (Plestune, Norfolk).

*sac and soc* but no hall.[1] This is an example of the extent to which rights of property could be sometimes differentiated in practice. It might happen that only the demesne in the immediate administration of the hall was under the soke of the owner.[2]

The home-farm is every now and then described especially in connexion with the hall. In Danish districts it may consist of a single toft, a fenced plot.[3] In purely English districts we find it described as a virgate[4] or a hide.[5] This is the *mansus indominicatus* of continental documents, not necessarily the whole home-farm, although sometimes it may have formed the chief portion of the estate. When distinctness and accuracy are aimed at, the Survey speaks of the demesne of the hall, or the demesne belonging to the hall,[6] but, for the sake of brevity, the hall may stand for the demesne as a whole, or for domanial authority.[7] It might be even said that a tenant was free from the hall, in the sense of his being, for some reason, free from dues to

[1] Dd. i. 309 b: (Langton, Yorks) 'In Langeton ix carucate ad geldum et ix carucae possent esse. Ibi habuerunt Torfin (iii car. et dim.) et Finegal (ii car.) ii haulas. Torfin cum saca et soca, et tercius nomine Tor. reliquam terram cum saca et soca sed non haulam.'

[2] Dd. i. 376 a: (Clamores in Nortreding, Lincs.) 'Dicit Wapentac quod comes Alanus debet habere socam super aulam Grimchel cuius terram habet episcopus dunelmensis in Neutone.' Cf. Dd. ii. 408 b: (?Aveley, Suffolk) 'Hagala tenuit Gutmundus sub Rege Eduuardo pro manerio viii carucatas terrae cum soca et saca super dominium hallae tantum.'

[3] Dd. i. 340 c: (Newton, Lincs.) 'Neutone.... Ibi halla cum tofta et soca et saca.' Cf. 360 d (Hacberdingham).

[4] Dd. i. 21 d: (Parrock, Sussex) 'Apedroc.... Ibi est una virgata ubi comes (Moriton.) habet aulam suam.'

[5] Dd. i. 34 c: (Burgham, Surrey) 'Borham... Osmundus tenuit de rege Eduuardo. Tunc se defendit pro iiii hidis, modo pro iii hidis.... De his hidis habet Godricus i hidam quae uocatur Wucha, in qua fuit haula T. R. E. pertinens ad istum manerium.'

[6] Dd. i. 283 a: (Laneham, Notts) 'In Lanun cum Bereuuicis... viiii carucatae terrae et ii bouatae ad geldum. Terra xxvii carucis. In dominio aulae sunt x bouatae de hac terra. Reliqua est soca.' Cf. Dd. ii. 286 b (Sutberie, Suffolk).

[7] Dd. ii. 29 b: (Maldon, Essex) 'Melduna.... In eadem i liber homo tenuit xxx acras t.r.e. quem occupauit Ingelricus, modo tenet Sanctus Martinus de comite et alium liberum hominem de xxx acris. Istos homines posuit Ingelricus ad suam hallam.'

the hall.[1] This kind of exemption has to be distinguished from the occasional exemption of demesne land from the payment of taxes, which is also expressly mentioned every now and then.[2]

The importance of the element of residence and administration in the constitution of the manor is especially brought out by the very frequent instances of halls being kept up by landowners living in the same place, and sometimes closely allied in their proprietary and economic relations. In a very small place called Ballebi in Yorkshire $4\frac{1}{2}$ bovates belonged to two thanes, and each of them had a hall.[3] Two brothers holding an estate in parage commonly have two halls.[4] Now this appearance of two halls is taken by the compilers of the Survey to indicate the existence of two manors, and it is therefore sometimes expressly said that one manor has taken the place of two halls.[5] A singular case is reported from Norfolk, where a freeman, possessed of one carucate, entered as a manor and occupied by 22 *bordarii* and one serf, indulged in the luxury of living in two halls.[6]

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that manors Manors

[1] Dd. ii. 125 b: (Redden Hall, Norfolk) 'Redana halla. . . . Ipse (liber homo) erat quietus de aula quia erat ancipitrarius comitis, postquam R. se forisfecit et fuit in manu regis sub G. sed nichil reddidit et reclamat regem defensorem.'

[2] Dd. i. 336 a: (Lincoln) 'Tochi filius Outi habuit in ciuitate xxx mansiones praeter suam Hallam et ii aecclesias et dimidiam et suam hallam habuit quietam ab omni consuetudine.'

[3] Dd. i. 373 a: (? Bagley, Yorks) 'In Ballebi sunt iiii bouatae terrae quae fuerunt Orme et Basin et habuerunt ibi aulas.'

[4] Dd. i. 41 b: (Crondal, Hants) 'Crundele . . . De terra huius manerii . . . In Ticelle (Itchell) et in Coue (Cove) Leuuinus et Vluuardus tenuerunt in paragio de episcopo, et non potuerunt ire quolibet. Quisque habuit aulam. Quando Germanus recepit non nisi una Aula fuit.' Cf. 62 a (Hevaford, Berks.).

[5] Dd. i. 11 d: (Acryse, Kent) 'Anschitil de ros tenet de feudo episcopi (Bâioc.) Acres quod tenuerunt duo fratres, et quisque habuit haulam. Modo est pro uno manerio.' 27 a: (Perching, Sussex) 'Percinges. . . . Azor tenuit de rege Eduuardo et ii homines de Azor pro v hidis et dimidia se defendit tunc et modo. Tunc fuerunt ii Hallae, modo in uno manerio.'

[6] Dd. ii. 168 b: (Barsham, Norfolk) 'Barseham . . . In eadem uilla i liberum hominem de i carucata terrae pro manerio, et fuit liberata pro terra. Semper xxi bordarii et i seruus, et manebat in ii hallis.'

without halls.

without halls were impossible. They do occur. Sellinges, e.g., was quite a considerable Kentish estate of St. Augustine, Canterbury. It paid geld for 6 sulungs. There was nothing in demesne, but 30 villains had 10 ploughs there.[1] 'Platenout,' 'Postinges,' 'Belice,' are estates of the same kind.[2] In Fenton, Notts, a certain Sperauoc held $2\frac{2}{3}$ bovates to the geld and land for one plough, with *sac and soc*, but there was no hall.[3] In this case the land was waste.

The explanation is not far to seek. If we leave the Nottinghamshire instance on one side, as possibly brought about by devastation, the cases of manors without halls are found to belong to the by no means insignificant class of manors without demesne, inhabited and cultivated entirely by peasants. These people were in their way dependent on the manorial lord; they paid rents in money and kind, performed, probably, carriage service, possibly even boonworks once or twice a year at some neighbouring manorial centre, but on the whole they lived by themselves and were independent of direct meddling with their affairs. The manor could dispense with a hall in such a case, and the dues were either brought by the peasants themselves to some hall in other manors, or might be fetched by the lord's riding bailiffs or stewards. This class is not large if compared with the more usual type, but is very characteristic, because it leads us naturally to suppose that even in many cases where there was a hall and some demesne, the interference of the lord in the affairs of the community did not actually amount to much.

The hall or court, being the seat of the lord, may be called the head of the manor (*caput manerii*), and there are entries in Domesday Book telling us exactly where this

[1] Dd. i. 12 b: (Sellinge, Kent) 'Ipse abbas tenet Setlinges manerium sine halla, quod se defendit pro vi solins. Terra est xi carucis. Nichil in dominio. Ibi xxx uillani habent x carucas.'

[2] Dd. i. 12 c (Platenout); 13 b (Postinges); ibid. (Belice).

[3] Dd. i. 286 c: (Fenton, Notts) 'Fentone. . . . Ibidem habuit Sperauoc ii bouatas terrae et ii partes unius bouatae ad geldum. Terra i carucae, cum sica et soca sine Aula. Wasta est.'

head has to be looked for.[1] It is even said once that a particular thane is the head of a manor, but this probably only means that the hall was in his holding, and that the tenant-in-chief had no special court there.[2] The term *caput manerii* is the equivalent of *heafod botl*,[3] the Old English expression for the hall, showing, if it were needed, that the system of estate administration from a central dwelling or holding, with satellites around it, had been going on for a long while before the French conquest.

The Court.

3. The functions connected with the hall or court belong to one of two distinct sets of relations. There is the court for purposes of jurisdiction and local government, and there are the offices and stores of the economic centre. The first, the *curia*, in the technical sense, was not necessarily held in the hall itself:[4] in many places the tradition of the open-air moot was still kept up at later times.[5] But the meeting of villagers for the regulation of their agrarian affairs and the transaction of police and legal business was necessarily convened and presided over by the manorial lord (*landrica*) or his representative. Its different attributes as a court

[1] Dd. i. 166 b: (Deerhurst, Gloucester) 'Ibi sunt lix hidae. In capite manerii erant T. R. E. v hidae.' In this case the expression covers the whole of the principal village. Dd. ii. 227 (Diepham, Norfolk): the *caput manerii* points to the estate of the lord in opposition to the free tenants added to it. Cf. Chettlebiriga, Suffolk, Dd. ii. 293 b.

[2] Dd. i. 291 b: (Notts) 'In Crophille habuerunt Vluiet et Godric ii bouatas terrae ad geldum. Terra ii carucis. De hac terra fuit saisitus Ilbertus de Laci, sed quando Rogerus Pictauiensis accepit terram, saisiuit istud manerium super Ilbertum. Wapentac portat testimonium Ilbertum fuisse saisitum. Modo est in manu regis preter terciam partem et Tainum qui est caput manerii quem tenet Ilbertus.' The thane in question was evidently Uluiet or a successor of his, and the hall must have been in his possession still.

[3] Thorpe, Dipl. 542 (A. D. 998): 'Ic gean ... minre fadan Leofware þæs heafod botles on Purlea.' Cf. Cart. Sax. 1130 (Medehamstead record) 'Aðelwold bisceop gebohte æt mislicum mannum ut on Witheringa eige ærest on gyrewerde 24 æcera and þerto god gebotl.' Cart. Sax. 473: (A. D. 854) '... up to heafod stoccan ... of heafod stocca.'

[4] Dd. i. 265 c: (Acton, Cheshire) 'Actune. ... Hoc manerium habet suum placitum in aula domini sui.'

[5] Gomme, Open-air Moots.

of *sac and soc*, as a union of tenants, and as a village gathering for agrarian purposes, are clearly distinguishable in later times, although the court is not originally differentiated according to these various duties. The indications we get in Domesday on this subject are very sporadic and barren, although it would not do to minimize for this reason the importance of the institution itself. It is not the frequency or fullness of information that can provide a standard for estimating the relative influence of early mediaeval institutions, and it would be very misleading to regulate our appreciation of them by the number of direct quotations about them. Still, some indirect indications there are, even in Domesday. We know, for instance, that *sac and soc* does not necessarily arise in every hall; it is a matter of franchise and grant. Nor are the numerous halls of microscopic manors necessarily seats of manorial courts, although they are certainly seats of some economic administration, however rudimentary. We are left to guess that this administration amounted in separate farms to the commands of a landowner or steward to his couple of dependants; while in other instances, especially in open-field country, or in the case of regulated fen, wood, and pasture commons, claims and by-laws had to be adjusted by meetings of people belonging to several manors, and even townships.[1] We shall have to come back to these questions by and by.

The stores.

4. Let us now turn to the offices and stores of the lord's hall. The manorial grange is put clearly before us,[2] and it is not without reason that the grange has come to be

[1] This must have been frequently the case in places like Fleet, in the Lincolnshire fens, where a very complicated and minutely defined apportionment of rights is described in an early fourteenth-century Survey, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 35169. Nor can one see how the pasture-rights on the seashore of Essex (Vict. County Hist., Essex, i. 369) could have been adjusted and exercised without a good many by-laws and administrative measures in which several townships had to participate.

[2] Dd. ii. 290: (Ipswich, Suffolk) 'De Gepeswiz et de burgo habuit regina Edeua t.r.e. duas partes et comes Guert terciam partem, habebat etiam regina in suo dominio unam grangiam cui pertinebant t.r.e. iiii carucatae terrae et modo similiter. De hac terra semper tenent xii liberi homines manentes in alia sua propria terra lxxx acras

the local name of some very grand mansions of later times. The corresponding Saxon 'berton' appears mostly in local names,[1] but its use as an appellative indicating grange or corn-stores is easily traceable.[2]

This leads us to an important feature of manorial organization—namely, to the part played by *berewicks* as subordinate centres of manorial life. The berewick derives its name, like the berton, from a corn-store, a grange.[3] It is naturally connected with the demesne, and the connexion is sometimes expressly dwelt upon.[4] It may assume the size and importance of a considerable manor, and get to be a market-place by itself:[5] this would be a matter of economic growth. But as a rule the berewick is an appendix, a member of a manor; the latter would stand over it in the hierarchy of economic organization.[6] The system of outlying berewicks, acting as satellites of one central manor,

ad seruitium et consuetudinem regis. Et sunt x alii homines bordarii qui non habent suam propriam terram, sed manent in lxxxvi acris de supradicta terra. Pertinent adhuc ad dominium supradicte grangie duo burgenses qui reddunt Regi vi den. de consuetudine. Et tunc ii carucae in dominio et post similiter, modo i. Tunc iii animalia modo viii. Tunc ii runcini, modo i. Tunc xiiii caprae modo vii. Tunc xl oues, modo xiii, et uillani semper habent vi carucas, haec terra habet in longo viii qr. et similiter in lato et nichil reddit in gelto regis.' Cf. ii. 294 a, b (Gepeswiz).

[1] Dd. i. 58 c: (Barton, Berks) 'Ipsa abbatia tenet Bertune in dominio. T.R.E. se defendit pro lx hidis. Modo pro xl hidis. Terra est xl carucis. In dominio sunt iii carucae et lxiii uillani et xxxvi bordarii cum xxxiiii carucis et x mercatores ante portam aecclesiae manentes reddentes xl den. et in Bertune ii serui et xxiiii coliberti et ii molini de xl sol.'

[2] Cf. Growth of the Manor, p. 282.

[3] Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, p. 114.

[4] Dd. i. 345 c: (? Bowthorpe, Lincs.) 'Berewita de Bergestorp est in Bintham iiii carucatae terrae ad geldum. Terra ad iiii carucas. Haec terra est S. Petri Burg dominica.' 338 c–d: (Castor, Lincs.) 'Castre . . . Ad huius manerii aulam pertinent Catenai et Usun iiii carucatae terrae ad geldum. . . . Ad eundem manerium iacet haec soca in Linberge. . . . Norchelsei, etc.'

[5] Dd. ii. 137: (Dunham, Norfolk) 'Iacet etiam alia beruita Dumham . . . In hac bereuuita semper dimidium mercatum.'

[6] Dd. i. 29 a: (How Court in Hurstpierpoint, Sussex) 'Willelmus filius Bonardi tenet de Willelmo unam Bereuuicam quae iacuit in Herst manerio quod tenet Willelmus de Warene. Vocatur How.' Cf. 265 c (Merberie); 272 c (Esseburne); 273 b (Bubedene); ii. 192 (Tornedis).

and forming with it a great social organization, is carried very far in some parts of the country, especially in the districts on the borders of Wales, where it seems to have afforded a convenient intermediate link between Welsh tributary settlements and the central hall of a Saxon or French landlord. In the manor of Roelent, a wild region included in Shropshire, there were four berewicks—Dissaren, Bodugan, Chiluen, and Maineual. There was only one ploughland for them all, and one freeman and 2 villains occupied in tilling the land—the rest was forest. Three other batches of berewicks are mentioned, and to each one ploughland is assigned, while under the protection of the castle of Roelent there worked three teams with 7 serfs. The berewicks had been waste in the time of King Edward, but Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury, the Norman landlord, had brought them up to an annual value of 110 shillings.[1]

The berewicks are also frequent in the east, because scattered possessions are common there too, although from different reasons than in the west. While the land of a manor is scattered, on the Welsh side, on account of imperfect cultivation and wild conditions of life, in the east it is scattered because the great lords have not succeeded in bringing the population and the country under systematic and universal subjection. The territory of their manors is patched, somehow, of broken fragments, and, as a result, subsidiary centres for the collection of dues are needed. The berewicks are carefully distinguished from sokes, however, because they are primarily centres of husbandry, while the sokes are political and jurisdictional districts. The expression *inland* is commonly used in these half-Scandinavian parts to denote a small portion of demesne attached to a manor, or a small dependent estate with demesne and villains, in opposition to the sokes.[2] In such cases the

[1] Dd. i. 269 a (Chester).

[2] Dd. i. 338 b: (Kirton, Lincs.) 'Chirchetone... Ad ipsum manerium pertinet soca haec, Glenteuurde etc.... Hiboldestone est Bereuuita non soca et in Grangeham sunt ii carucae inland, et in Springetorp dimidia caruca est inland. Reliqua omnis est soca.' Cf. 346 b (Witham); 315 a (Chipesch et Ledestune, Yorks).

term *inland* does not convey an idea of exemption from geld, but is true to its original sense of the inner, or demesne portion of an estate, reserved for the husbandry of the owner; in fact, the home-farm, or, at least, an estate administered by the steward of the owner, and not by free socmen subjected to jurisdiction. In regard to assessment, the berewicks are treated differently—some are included in the assessment of their manor, others are taxed separately.[1]

As a consequence of this use of *berewick* for a portion of the domanial estate, we may come across queer expressions like 'turning' a socman or a freeman 'into a berewick':[2] the point is, of course, that a holding belonging to a free tenant is turned into a subsidiary farm of the manor. It has already been noticed that it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between a berewick and a manor; the first may become the latter by prospering, or by receiving a separate and complete administration of its own. We therefore read of berewicks registered or considered as manors (*promanerio*). The main difference lay in the fact that the manor had supervision over its berewicks, and was more completely organized in point of husbandry, and especially of jurisdiction. But this was more a matter of degree than of kind,

[1] The berewicks are assessed jointly in Newbold, Derby. Dd. i. 272 b: 'In Neuuebold cum vi Berewitis: Witintune, Brimintune, Tapetune, Cestrefeld, Buitorp, Echintune. Ibi sunt vi carucatae terrae et i bouata ad geldum.' Separately in Darley, ibid.: 'In Dereleie habuit rex Edwardus ii carucatas terrae ad geldum. iii b. In Farleie et Cotes et Berleie i carucata terrae et ii bouatae ad geldum.' Cf. Dd. ii. 289 a: (Mildenhall, Suffolk) 'Mitdenehalla . . . Huic iacet i beruita ecclingaham . . . Et supradicta bereuuita habet ii leugas et dimidiam in longo et tantumdem in lato et de gelto xi den. et i ferd.'

[2] Dd. ii. 193 b: (Sedgeford, Norfolk) 'Secesforda . . . Huic manerio iacet i beruita quae uocatur Frenga. Semper i caruca in dominio et vii uillani et ii sochemanni tenent i carucam et dimidiam. De uno socemanno fecit beruita Agelmarus episcopus et vii bordarii et alius socemannus habent iiii bordarios et i liber homo i carucam in dominio. De hoc etiam fecit bereuitam. Semper vi bordarii et ii serui. Et alius liber homo semper i carucam in dominio, et de hoc fecit bereuuitam semper iiii bordarii et ii serui. Et ii liberi homines ii carucatas terrae de hoc et i bereuuita ii carucae in dominio et v bordarii et ii serui.'

and many of the small Domesday manors were less considerable, and less developed, than the berewicks of some large neighbouring estates.

There remain to be considered one or two terms and arrangements of the same kind as the berewick but yet distinguished from it. There is a curious case in the Berkshire survey[1] which puzzled the Domesday commissioners, and cannot fail to puzzle us. Bishop Osbern holds in demesne an estate called Bocheland as belonging to his see. And yet Uluric lived in that estate in the time of King Edward. The commissioners dare not decide, and reserve the case for the consideration of the King himself. The conditions of the estate itself are very peculiar. There is no demesne, but there are 9 villains and 7 cotters with four ploughs, a church and a mill and 7 serfs. And there is a 'wica' of ten pounds of cheese, valued at 32*s.* and 4*d.* The value of the estate is considerable. It was rated at 15½ hides T. R. E. and at 8 hides T. R. W. Its revenue was formerly £16, and £8 at the time of the Survey. The fact that there was no demesne need not astonish us in itself, but in this case it can only mean that there was no arable in demesne, because the Saxon owner actually lived there. In fact, the wica has evidently to be taken as a dairy-farm, and corresponds to the *vacaria* mentioned in Spersolt[2] and other places.[3]

[1] Dd. i. 58 c: (Buckland, Berks) 'Osbernus episcopus tenet in dominio Bocheland de episcopatu suo ut dicit. Vluric chenp T. R. E. ibi mansit. Vnde iudicium non dixerunt sed ante regem ut iudicet dimiserunt. Tunc se defendit pro xv hidis et dimidia. Modo pro viii hidis. Terra est vi carucis. Ibi nil in dominio, sed ix uillani et vii cotarii cum iiii carucis. Ibi aecclesia et vii serui et molinum de xii sol. et vi den. et iiii piscariae de xx sol. et vi den. et ccxx acrae prati, et Wica de x pensis caseorum ualentes xxxii sol. et iiii den. T.R.E. ualebat xvi lib. et post xii lib. Modo viii lib.'

[2] Dd. i. 57 c, d: (Sparsholt, Berks) 'Spersolt . . . De isto manerio tenet Henricus de Fereres unam virgatam terre et xii acras prati et unam uacariam de vi pensis caseorum quae sicut scira testatur remanserunt in firma regis quando Godricus uicecomitatum perdidit.'

[3] Dd. i. 175 b: (Wadborough, Worcs.) 'In eadem Wadbergae est una hida terrae in qua fuit uaccaria monachorum. Hanc emit quidam Godricus teinus regis E. uita trium haeredum, et dabat in anno monachis i firmam pro recognitione.'

*Herdwick* appears in a few cases in a sense closely resembling that of *bercwick*. As the berewicks of Roelent were scattered oases of ploughland in the wilderness between Cheshire and Wales, so there were three herdwicks belonging to the Castle of Striguil (Chepstow) in the Gloucestershire portion of the Welsh march. Eight ploughs and 11 half villains are assigned to them, and Roger of Ivry is said to levy 100 shillings[1] from them. In Hertfordshire, Theunge is said to be a herdwick of the manor of Stevenage,[2] and to be estimated with it. In Berkshire, Northamptonshire, and other counties, we find villages called *Hardwick*,[3] in the same way as there are Bartons which have taken their name from the *bertona*—the grange. The derivation of 'herdwick' from a settlement of herdsmen, making it the equivalent of *vacaria*, seems tempting, and I have taken it up myself in a former work,[4] but I have already shown that the term may be employed sometimes in the sense of an agricultural farm.[5] At any rate, in the cases collected from Domesday, there is no special indication of pastoral husbandry similar to those connected with the use of *vacaria*, while the descriptions seem to fit small agricultural farms very well.

[1] Dd. i. 162 a: (? Striguil Castle, Gloucs.) 'Castellum de Estrighoiel ... In Wales sunt iii Harduices, Lamecare et Poteschiuet et Dinan. In his sunt viii carucae et xi uillani dimidii et xv bordarii cum vi carucis, pro his iii harduicis uolebat habere c sol. Rogerius de Iurei.'

[2] Dd. i. 135 b: (Stevenage, Herts) 'Ipse abbas (de Westmon.) tenet Theunge, pro ii hidis et dimidia se defendit. Terra est i carucae ... Haec terra est Harduich de Stigenace et est appreciata cum ea.'

[3] Dd. i. 146 b (Harduich, Bucks); i. 229 a (Herdewiche in Andferdesho Hd., Hardewiche in Ordinbaro Hd., Northants).

[4] Growth of the Manor, p. 224.

[5] See above, p. 284.

# CHAPTER III

## THE LAND OF THE TENANTS

Thaneland. 1. The first group of tenants to be considered are those who stand outside the fundamental arrangement of the manor, and are only connected with it by special services. Such was the position of the Old English thanes, and of the French knights, to whom portions of estates, or small estates within the range of patronage of the manor, had been ceded. This category of holdings is termed *thanëland*, and is carefully distinguished, both from demesne[1] and from soke.[2] Let us look at a page of the Exon Domesday describing the 'occupied lands' of Somerset. In the Royal manor of South Petherton two hides have been carved out in Straton, for a certain Merleswain, as thaneland. These had been made to contribute to the farm of the manor, that is, included in its economic arrangements, either as an ordinary tenant's holding, or as part of the demesne. A virgate which had been thaneland in Petherton, and let to a thane, is said to be joined to Alfred of Spain's manor of Wolmersdone. Alevardetone and Alnodestone, two estates that had been thaneland, had been made into one manor.[3]

[1] Dd. i. 66 d: (Langford, Wilts) 'In Langeford tenet abbas eiusdem ecclesiae ii hidas et Eduuardus de eo. Duo taini tenuerunt de abbate T. R. E. et geldabat pro ii hidis. Terra est i carucae et dimidiae. In dominio est hida una et iii uirgatae de hac terra . . . In eadem uilla tenet Eduuardus de rege i hidam quae iure pertinet abbatiae ad tainlande.' 76 a, b: (Hinton, Dorset) 'Hinetone . . . De hac eadem terra tenuit quidam presbiter i hidam in tainlande et poterat cum ea ire quo uolebat. Modo est in dominio regis.'

[2] Dd. i. 274 d: (Hatton, Derby) 'In Hatune vi bouatae terrae et dimidia de soca et i bouata et dimidia de Tainlande. Haec pertinet ad Scrotune.'

[3] Dd. iv. 471: (S. Petherton, Somerset) 'Rex habet i mansionem quae uocatur Sutpedret, de ea tenuit Merlesuanus ii hidas in Stratona . . . quae erat teglanda, et modo reddit firmam in praedicta mansione.' Ibid. 472: (Wolmersdon) 'Aluredus de Hispania habet i mansionem

As a rule, it is expressly insisted upon that these outlying parts were indissolubly connected with the land of some church, or other tenant-in-chief, and could not be separated therefrom.[1] The motive for such remarks is not far to seek; the position of these tenements rendered them particularly liable to be cut off from the lordship. There are cases, however, where the relation was reversed, and the thanelands seem to have been estates attracted by the adjoining manors rather than plots carved out of the manorial territory for a special purpose. What that special purpose was it is not difficult to see—it was thane's service, that is, primarily, military service, with some private sergeanties, perhaps, hanging on to it.[2] This conception of service forms the basis of a curious dispute between St. Mary of Berkeley and Ralf Piperel. The latter was seised of a hide in Tollesbury, which Siward had held T.R.E., and offered to do service to the Abbey, as his predecessor had done, but the Abbess would not accept the service or grant the tenure, because, as she said, the land was reserved for the sustenance of the church.[3] In so far as the service of thanes or knights was military, it

quae uocatur Vlmerestona. Huic addita est uirga et dimidia terrae. Virga autem erat de dominica mansione Regis quae uocatur Pedret et fuit accomodata cuidam tagno . . . Virga haec fuit teglanda.' 482: (Chapel Allerton, Alston Sutton, Somerset) 'Aluuarditona, Alnodestona . . . Has ii teglandas tenet Hubertus pro i mansione'; cf. 488 (Stane).

[1] Dd. i. 66 c: (Christian Malford, Wilts) 'Cristemeleforde. T.R.E. geldabat pro xx hidis. Terra est x carucis. De hac terra xiiii hidae sunt in dominio . . . De eadem terra tenet Robertus dimidiam hidam et Eduuardus unam uirgatam. Haec terra teinlande non potuit ab aecclesia separari'; cf. iv. 34 (Cernelium, Dorset); iv. 137 (Millescota, Somerset); iv. 335 (Burnetona, Somerset).

[2] Dd. i. 262 d: (Chester) 'Terra in qua est templum Sancti Petri quam Robertus de Rodelend clamabat ad teinland, sicut diratiocinauit comitatus nunquam pertinuit ad Manerium extra ciuitatem, sed ad burgum pertinet, et semper fuit in consuetudine regis et comitis, sicut aliorum burgensium.' iv. 28: (Long Loders, Dorset) 'Lodres . . . pro xviii hidis . . . Cum his . . . sunt in ista mansione ii hidae de teglanda quae non pertinent ei'; cf. iv. 296 (Taui, Devon).

[3] Dd. ii. 18 b: (Tollesbury, Essex) 'Tolesberiam tenet semper Sancta Maria pro manerio et viii hidas . . . Ranulfus Piperel tenet i hidam quam tenuit Siuuardus de abbate et ipse uult facere tale seruitium quale suus antecessor fecit, sed abbatissa non uult, quia erat de uictu ecclesiae.'

was the king's service, and it might be said of an estate that it could not be separated from the Royal service, in the same sense in which other entries speak of an estate or holding being thaneland.[1]

Reeveland. Another kind of specially tenanted land is the so-called *Reeveland.* It is generally exempted from the farm;[2] although, as a matter of exception, it may be included in it.[3] But the exemption is so prevalent that a verdict is passed in the case of Getun, in Herefordshire, stating that, as the estate had been turned into reeveland, from having been thaneland, all the service and rent yielded by it might be considered a loss to the king.[4] The farm which is referred to in these cases is the king's farm, and it seems pretty clear that reeveland is, properly, land attributed to the sheriff while exercising his duty, in fact, a kind of office-endowment.[5] We know enough of the career of the sheriffs of those days to suspect that in many cases this official endowment was made the basis of private encroachment.[6] It seems that the term *reeveland* was sometimes used also for the holdings reserved to private reeves in their manors.[7]

[1] Dd. iv. 46: (Worth Matravers, Dorset) 'Orda, quam tenuit Ailuertus . . . non poterat separari a seruicio regis.'

[2] Dd. i. 57 c: (Shalbourn, Berks) 'Eseldeborne . . . De isto manerio sunt ii hidae et dimidia in manerio Henrici missae, una hida fuit de Reue Land, alia de uillanis, et dimidia hida fuit de firma regis, sed tempore Godrici uicecomitis fuit foris missa. Hoc attestatur tota scira.'

[3] Dd. i. 208 a: (?, Hunts) 'Comitatus testificatur quod terra Bricmerbelehorne fuit Reuelande T.R.E. et pertinuit ad firmam.'

[4] Dd. i. 181 b: (? Gayton, Hereford) 'In Getune tenuit Wetman unam hidam geldantem, et poterat ire quo uolebat. Hugo tenuit ad firmam de Hunfrido camerario et reddebat xxx sol. et adhuc reddit tantumdem. Haec terra fuit tainland T.R.E. sed postea conuersa est in Reueland et ideo dicunt legati regis, quod ipsa terra et census qui inde exit furtim aufertur regi.'

[5] Dd. i. 69 a: (Redditus Eduuardi Sarisberiensis, Wilts) 'Eduuardus uicecomes habet per annum de denariis qui pertinent ad uicecomitatum cxxx porcos et xxxii bacons . . . Habet etiam quater xx libras ualent. inter Reueland et quod inde habet. Quando prepositis firma deficit necesse est Eduuardo restaurare de suo'; cf. i. 83 a (Chirce, Dorset). i. 179 c: (Lugwardine, Herefordshire) 'Lucuordne . . . Ibi iiii hidae . . . Una ex his iiii hidis fuit et est in Reueland . . . De aliis iii hidis posuit Radulfus de Bernai 1 acras ad suum Reueland . . . Quod habet uicecomes ad suum opus ualet lx sol.'

[6] Cf. Dd. i. 69 a (Redditus Eduuardi Sarisb.).

[7] This is especially clear in Saxon documents. Thorpe, Dipl. 570 f.'

This means of recompensing them for their services was quite in keeping with the economic manners of the time, and was more easy to provide than a regular salary.

The third kind of tenements of special tenure, about which we get a good deal of information in the Survey, is the tenure of the churches. These are considered a necessary element of every full township organization, and it is with the township and not with the manor that they are directly connected. The parish church is the *tun kirke* of Old English times, and tenement of a hide or two virgates is of right reserved to it.[1] The spread of the manorial system draws them gradually into the manorial organization. Land of priests.

All parish churches had to contribute to the farm of their manors.[2] The insufficiency of parochial churches, the rise of private jurisdictions, and the spread of private religious bequests, led to the foundation of many private churches and chapels, which collided, in respect of revenue, with the mother churches of the parishes.[3] We need not go into the details of these controversies, and of the sources of ecclesiastical revenue, it will be sufficient to mention the principal of these latter: burial dues, church scot[4]—an impost similar to landgafol, but levied for the benefit of the church—tithes in money or produce,[5] and assignment of

(A.D. 1045): 'and Ælylmer habbe þat lond at Stonham þe ic hym er to hande let to reflande. And ic an Godric mine reue at Waldingfeld þa þritti acre ðe ic hym er to hande let.' Ibid. 581 (A.D. 1050): '... mine refe þat he sitte on þe fre lond þat ic him to honde habbe leten, his time euere fre, and after his time folege þat lond þen oþere.' C. D. 949 (A.D. 1049–52): '... ða mæde ða gebyraƌ to ðam gereflande.'

[1] Thorpe, 593 (A.D. 1060): 'into ðe tunkirke on Mardingford v acres and ane toft and ii acres medwe and to waynegong to wude.' Ibid. 574 (A.D. 1045): '... and ic an Meruyn and his wife and here bern þat lond at Dunmawe, buten an alf hide þat scal into þe kirke and an tuft.'

[2] Dd. ii. 116 a: (Norfolk) 'Omnes ecclesiae in pretio cum maneriis.'

[3] Dd. i. 280 b: (Derby) 'De Stori Antecessore Walterii de Aincurt dicunt quod sine alicuius licentia potuit facere sibi aecclesiam in sua terra et in sua soca et suam decimam mittere quo uellet.' Cf. ii. 281 b (Hundret de Stou, Norfolk).

[4] E. g. Dd. ii. 281 b.

[5] Dd. i. 38 c: (Wallop, Hants) 'Wallope ... Ibi aecclesia cui pertinet una hida et medietas decimae manerii et totum cirset et de decima uillanorum xlvi den. et medietas agrorum.' 52 c: (Wight)

certain strips in the open field.[1] In certain cases local churches were, like some of the famous monasteries, liberated from the payment of all public dues, and their tenure thus converted into *frank-almoign*.[2] But in any case, although subject to patronage, and occasionally to exploitation, the township churches and their lands never became the property of the manorial lord in the same way as mills or fisheries.

Their public character was always kept up by the duties of public worship and the connexion with the great corporation of the Church, and therefore the holding of the mass-thane, or priest, though certainly in the manor in one sense, was, at the same time, even more separate from it than its thaneland or reeveland. On the other hand, through his endowment with a common holding, the priest was a regular member of the village community, and it is only natural that he was made to appear as one of its representatives on all occasions when it was called up for police, judicial, or administrative duties; I need not remind the reader of the place and part of the priest by the side of the reeve, and of the representative villains in inquests and local courts.

The farm. 2. The usual way of drawing income from estates, rights, and privileges was to give them in farm to a bailiff or steward. This was the recognized practice even in regard

'Abbatia S. Mariae de Lire habet in insula de Wit vi aecclesias quibus pertinent ii hidae et ii uirgatae terrae et dimidia et in pluribus maneriis habent v uillanos qui tenent i hidam et dimidiam quartam partem unius uirgatae minus. Decimas habent de omnibus redditionibus regis'; cf. ii. 417 b (Clopetuna, Suffolk).

[1] A very graphic and important notice about the levying of tithe has been preserved in the Medhamstead records. Cart. Sax. 1128 (A.D. 963-84): 'of þam twam hundredum þe secæð into Normannes cros man ageaf to tioðunge into Medeshamstede feorð healf hund æcere sed, and 23 æcera clenes wetes. Of þam twam hundredum ute on þam nesse þe Medeshamstede onstent man ageaf of six tunan swa man ær simle dide tioþunge æt ælcere sylh an foðer cornes þe eahte þreuescornes on weron. Þonne letan þa tioþunge of þan 24 tunan man ageald to mynstre twa hund æcera sæd and 3,' &c. It is to be noticed that the tithes are distributed according to townships, and acquitted from a certain number of acres. Only on one occasion the duty is laid on the plough.

[2] Dd. i. 58 b: (Waltham, Berks) 'Episcopus Dunelmensis tenet Waltham in elemosina.'

to income derived from the highest dignities in the realm. We possess, for instance, interesting notices about the farmed dues of the counties of Oxford and Northampton.[1] Both are said to be commutation sums for a farm of 3 nights, and yet Oxfordshire pays £150, and £25 by weight for augmentation, while Northamptonshire pays only £30. The solution of the difficulty seems to be that in the second case the £30 by weight is also augmentation, while the farm of 3 nights is reckoned separately, and either paid in kind or assumed to be known. There is a separate payment of £20 for the borough of Oxford, and £20 for the right of coinage of the Oxford mint. The borough of Northampton pays £30 10*s*. But this sum goes to the sheriff, and is not included in the farm. A commutation payment is made instead of the feeding of the king's dogs in both cases, and it reaches in Oxfordshire the considerable sum of £24, while in Northamptonshire its amount is even larger, £42. The presentation of a hawk is redeemed in both cases with £10, 20 shillings have to be given instead of a pack-horse, and 20 shillings more are paid in Northants instead of a hunting horse. The queen received 100 shillings of *gersuma* in Oxfordshire, a custom which does not occur in Northants, where, on the other hand, there is a special account with the farmer in regard to the estates of Queen Edith, the Confessor's widow, which are valued at £40. There is a payment of 4 shillings in Oxfordshire for arms, and 20 shillings in Northants for alms; 6 sesters of honey, and 15 pence as an equivalent of a customary rent in

[1] Dd. i. 154 d: 'Comitatus Oxeneforde reddit firmam trium noctium hoc est cl libras. De Augmento xxv libras ad pondus. De Burgo xx libras ad pondus. De moneta xx libras denarios de xx in ora. Ad arma iiii solidos. De gersuma reginae c solidos ad numerum, pro accipitre x libras, pro summario xx solidos, pro canibus xxiii libras denarios de xx in ora, et vi sextaria mellis et xv denarios de consuetudine.' Dd. i. 219 a: 'Northantone scire reddit firmam trium noctium xxx libras ad pondus. Ad canes xlii libras albas de xx in ora. De dono reginae et de feno x libras et v oras. De accipitre x libras. De summario xx solidos. De elemosina xx solidos. De equo uenatoris xx solidos. De Manerio Eddid reginae xl libras. De Cliue x libras. Burgenses de Hantone reddunt uicecomiti per annum xxx libras et x solidos. Hoc pertinet ad firmam ipsius.'

honey, are supplied by Oxfordshire, and do not appear in Northants. The general agreement in both cases is very striking, although there are small variations of local custom. The main point was the commutation of the food-farm into a payment of £50, and the buying-off of the feeding of dogs and other customary dues connected with hunting progresses. Altogether, the stamp of the original arrangement of rents in kind is manifest. A collector, for example the Sheriff, would have to keep an account with the Treasury about the paying-in of the various dues, and to charge remiss taxpayers for the deficient sums. The expression *firma* might be used in such a case in regard to consolidated customary payments. But there might be also an agreement with a farmer for the whole amount, in which case he would be responsible for the whole sum, and would be left to seek compensation either in a certain percentage ceded to him according to bargain, with eventual remissions in the case of gross deficiencies in the payment of the taxes. This was the method used for the recovery of sums fixed once for all.[1] If, on the contrary, the sums to be rendered were not consolidated, but flowed according to circumstances, as, for example, in the case of proceeds of jurisdiction and fines, the common practice was to farm these proceeds at a lump sum, and to leave the farmer to collect as much as he could in excess—a detestable system, directly inciting to extortions. The references to the farms of Royal rights in Shropshire and in the city of Chester allude to such arrangements.[2] The term *firma* may indicate both the income drawn by the king or by a lord from a province, a city, a manor; and the sources of their income. In the

[1] The Pipe Roll accounts are rendered on this basis.

[2] Dd. i. 254 a: (Shrewsbury) 'Ipse comes Rogerius tenet de rege ciuitatem Sciropesberie et totum comitatum et totum dominium quod rex Edwardus ibi habebat cum xii maneriis quod ipse rex tenebat cum lvii Bereuuichis ibi pertinentibus et alios (*sic*) xi maneria habet idem comes in eadem Scira. Inter totum, idest ciuitatem, et hundredum, et placita comitatus reddunt ccc libras et cxv solidos de firma.' i. 262 d: (Chester) 'Hanc ciuitatem Mundret tenuit de comite pro lxx libris et i marka auri. Ipse habuit ad firmam pro l libris et i marka auri omnia placita comitis in comitatu et Hundretis preter Inglefeld.'

first sense we are told, for example, that the king receives £375 in farm from Balduin for the county of Devon, and £108 from Goscelin for the estates of Queen Edith, and £24 from Reginald for the land of Ordulf.[1] In the second we hear that certain estates or sources of income are appropriated to the farm,[2] or, on the contrary, abstracted from it by officials.[3] From this second point of view there may be mention of hides belonging to a particular farm.[4] It was important to know not only to whom a farm had to be paid, but also in what place it had to be rendered. The customary arrangement and the tendency towards connecting all obligations with real objects, and of turning them as much as possible into real rights, led to the localization of the *firma*, to the concentration of dues into constant groups attached to certain manorial centres. Such a group was formed, for example, around the Royal manor of Reading in Berkshire.[5] In consequence of a further extension of the meaning of the term, we find that freemen are sometimes said to be outside any farm, in the sense of being independent of any manorial organization, although doubtless they would be subject to the dues of the hundred and of the shire, thus appertaining to the farm of the hundred or of the county. The great point was that they did not belong to any of the king's manors, and were only

[1] Dd. iv. 90 (Devon).

[2] Dd. i. 58 a: (Pangbourne, Berks) 'Pandeborne iacuit in firma T. R. E. et post tenuit Aluuoldus Camerarius. Sed hundredum nescit quomodo habuit. Frogerius postea misit in firma regis absque placito et lege.'

[3] Dd. i. 31 b: (Titing, Surrey) 'Ipse episcopus (Osbern) tenet Tetinges. Elmer uenator tenuit T. R. E. Tunc se defendit pro una hida et modo similiter. Terra est ii carucis. In dominio est una caruca et unus uillanus et vi bordarii cum i caruca. T. R. E. et post ualuit iii lib. Modo xl sol. Homines de hundredo testantur quod prestitum fuit istud manerium per uicecomitem extra firmam regis Edwardi et quod Osbernus episcopus non habuit hoc manerium T.R.E.' Cf. Dd. i. 57 c (Cheneteberie, Berks).

[4] Dd. i. 72 c: (Foxley, Wiltshire) 'Foxelege . . . Idem Rogerius (de Berchelai) tenet i hidam dimidiam uirgatam minus de dominica firma de Cepeham.' Cf. i. 184 a: (Hertfordshire) 'Isdem Rogerius tenet unam hidam de firma Maurdine manerii regis.'

[5] Dd. i. 57 b: (Finchampstead, Berks) 'Modo non geldit sed reddit firmam in Radinges.'

under the custody of the sheriff.[1] It must be added that even when freemen were added to the farm of a manor their dues were mostly reckoned up separately from those of the rest of the estates.[2] In a Herefordshire instance it appears that a manor estimated at 4 hides T.R.W. was not put to farm T.R.E., so that it was not known what its value was at that time. This is hardly to be explained by independence of former holders, but rather by the unsettled condition of the district, which did not admit of a fixation of dues, or of leasing to bailiffs.[3]

Agreements about farm.

In regard to the ways in which farms were disposed of, I should like to refer to two characteristic instances. Oger holds an estate of St. Guthlac in Repinghale. It used to belong to the dominical farm of the monks, and Abbot Ulchel had commended it to farm to Hereward by yearly leases.[4] This short entry implies a great deal. There was a dispute between the monastery and a lay lord who had seized the land. The estate in question was included in that portion of the monastery's land which was assigned to the use of the monks themselves. 'De dominica firma monachorum' corresponds here to the otherwise common expression 'de victu monachorum', as opposed to the 'terra militum', or 'tainland', the estates conferred on soldiers.

[1] Dd. ii. 272: (Norfolk) 'Isti sunt liberi homines t.r.e. ad nullam firmam pertinentes quos Almarus custodit qui additi sunt ad firmam T.R.W. In Burc tenuit iste Guert libere t.r.e. lx acras terre . . . et viii liberos homines sub eo de xxvii acris terre . . . Tunc ualuit x sol. modo xx sol. in firma Caluestune cui non pertinebant et Rogerus fecit prepositum. Et in Rothbfuesbei tenuit isdem Almarus viii liberos homines . . . Tunc ualuit iiii sol. modo viii in supradicta firma. Sed t.r.e. non pertinerunt et ibi sunt additi.'

[2] Dd. ii. 129 b: (Winterton, Norfolk) 'In Wintretuna i liber homo x acras terrae, appretiatum cum liberis hominibus in Walessam.' Cf. ii. 175 (Sutherlingaham, Norfolk).

[3] Dd. i. 179 c: (Lugwardine, Herefordshire) 'Rex tenet Lucuordne. Rex Edwardus tenuit. Ibi iiii hidae. In dominio sunt iii carucae . . . Hoc manerium reddit x libras modo de albis denariis et unam unciam auri T. R. E. non fuit positum ad firmam et ideo ignoratur quantum tunc ualuit.'

[4] Dd. i. 377 b: (Clamores in Chetsteuen, Lincs.) 'Terram S. Guthlaci quam tenet Ogerius in Repinghale dicunt fuisse dominicam firmam monachorum, et Vlchel abbatem commendasse eam ad firmam Hereuuardo sicut inter eos conueniret unoquoque anno.'

A more complicated story is told in the description of Bergholt in Suffolk. The manor, with the soke of a hundred and a half appertaining to it, rendered in the reign of King Edward £24. To this farm were added two manors in Vert rendering £9. In the reign of King William, Robert Malet had it first, and then Bergholt with all the other items rendered £60 by weight, and £8 by tale as *gersuma*.[1] Then it came into the hands of Roger Bigod, who asserts that he paid for it, in addition to the price already stated, 40 shillings by tale, and one mark geld. But the sheriff, Aluric de Wanz, who took it over last, maintains that Bigod paid exactly the same sum as Roger Malet. Roger Bigod offers to prove his assertion by the evidence of the men who had entered into agreements with him—his sub-bailiffs. At the time of the Survey the whole complex of estates and rights was held by Aluric for £60 by weight. There was a convention between him and the King that he should render to the King £60 out of the profits of the estates, and he calls the King to warrant that it was so. And he adds that it does not rest with him that he does not render that profit (or Bergholt does not yield such profits).[2] The case arose evidently out of the jealousy between different bailiffs. The former sheriff, Roger Bigod, boasts of having paid much more to the King than the actual one, Aluric de Wanz, and even on the latter's own showing the farm has declined to some extent. It is much larger, how-

[1] Cf. Dd. i. 5b: (Adisham, Kent) 'Ipse Archiepiscopus tenet Edesham pro xvii solins se defendit ... Totum manerium T. R. E. ualebat xl lib. Quando recepit similiter. Modo reddit xlvi libras et xvi solidos et iiii denarios et archiepiscopo c solidos de *Garsunne*.'

[2] Dd. ii. 287: (Bergholt, Suffolk) 'Bercolt cum hoc quod ei pertinebat et cum soca de hundredo et dimidio reddebat t. r. e. xxiiii libras. Et duo supradicta maneria Vert que huic firme addita sunt reddebant tunc ix libras, et quando Robertus Malet habuit reddebat totum simul lx libras ad pensum et viii libras ad numerum de gersuma, et tantumdem modo reddebat Rogero Bigoto ut ipse prepositus dicit, sed Rogerus dicit quod reddebat plus xl solidos ad numerum et unam marcam auri. Sed Aluricus prepositus contradicit et Rogerus uult probare per illos homines qui ad suas conuentiones fuerunt. Modo reddit ille Aluricus lx libras ad pensum et sic tenet de rege tali conuentione quod debet facere regi lx lib. de proficuo, et ex hoc reuocat regem ad warantam sic ipse dicit, et dicit etiam quod non remanet in eo quod non facit illud proficuum.'

ever, than the farm of King Edward's time, and must have involved an increase in all dues within the estates and the hundred, although we do not know in what manner this increase was effected. Its ultimate result was, however, that the paying power of the population was overstrained, and the rents could not be gathered in. The last farmer not only had to give up the supplementary payments, but was not even able to pay the £60 for which he had made a bargain with the King. The form of the bargain must have been an inscription on the rolls of the Exchequer, and not a lease-deed, as the bailiff had to call the King, that is the Royal Exchequer, to warrant, in order to prove his contention. It is not without interest to note, from Roger Bigod's statement, that the bailiffs used to make agreements with sub-bailiffs in order to carry out their undertakings. This appears as a very natural and even necessary expedient when one takes into consideration the enormous transactions and official liabilities of the general bailiffs, who were mostly sheriffs. Three such personages had already followed each other in the administration of Bergholt.

A perplexing instance is presented by the Royal manor of Leominster in Herefordshire.[1] Its rents were computed at £23 2*s*., besides the profits from eel-fisheries. The manor was at farm for £60, and nuns had some claims in it in respect of provisions.

The Shire gave a verdict that if the manor should be 'delivered' (*deliberatum*) it could be valued at £120. What is the meaning of 'delivery' in opposition to farm? And why was the farm so much below what the proper estimate turned out to be? Is open competition meant, as likely to raise the income? Or is the estate to be 'delivered' from the farm and the farmer, and taken into direct administration? Or is the delivery to be made to the tenantry of the manor? This last eventuality has more

[1] Dd. i. 180 a: (Leominster, Herefordshire) 'In omni hoc redditu preter anguillas computantur xxiii librae et ii sol. Hoc manerium est ad firmam de lx libris preter uictum monialium. Dicit comitatus quia si deliberatum esset hoc manerium appreciari posset sexies xx lib. hoc est cxx.'

particularly to be taken into account. Documents of the feudal age often show burgesses and even peasants taking over the farm of their city or township.[1] This is the essence of the so-called *firma burgi*,[2] an institution which was as advantageous to the Royal administration, or that of other manorial lords, as it was constantly desired by the subject populations themselves. I refrain, however, from suggesting a definite solution of this problem, as the term 'deliberatum' is too vague to admit of more than hypothetical interpretation.

3. A common equivalent of *firma* is *pretium*, by which the payment to the owner at which the administration of the estate could be taken over is primarily meant; it assumes, however, sometimes the other subsidiary meanings of *firma*.[3] The *redditus* or *exitus* of a manor is, of course, simply its revenue or outgoings,[4] quite apart from the way in which they were collected, and as such they are generally equivalent to the value (*valet*), a sum in which the yield of the estates is generally estimated in the Domesday Survey.[5] But there is another sense in which the revenue (*redditus*) and the value (*valet*) do not coincide. The first refers to the actual income drawn from an estate, while the latter is taken in the meaning of a fair and normal estimate of economic capability. Now these two things need not be the same, Value.

[1] E.g. Rot. Hund. i. 265, the proceedings connected with the taking over of the farm of Castor by the free socmen of the place. Cf. Placita Quo Warr. 411.

[2] Rot. Hund. i. pp. 291, 315.

[3] Dd. ii. 147: (Weston, Norfolk) 'Westuna xx sochemanni i carucatam terrae . . . Et sunt isti sochemanni in pretio de Costesei soca in Folsam regis t.r.e.' Cf. ii. 234 b (Stalein, Norfolk); ii. 293: (Wisseta, Suffolk) 'Totum est in pretio manerii, et Comes socam et sacam.'

[4] Dd. i. 179 d: (Herefordshire) 'Lene . . . De consuetudinibus et de molinis et uillanis et colibertis exeunt c solidi v sol. minus. exceptis Anguillis.'

[5] Dd. i. 164 a: (Dymock, Gloucs.) 'Rex Edwardus tenuit Dimoch. Ibi erant xx hidae et ii carucae in dominio et xlii uillani et x bordarii et xi coliberti habentes xli carucas . . . De hoc manerio reddebat uicecomes quod uolebat T. R. E.' Cf. ibid., Cedeorde; Aluredintune; ii. 121 a: (Mileham & Bittering, Norfolk) 'In Mulcham et in Britinga i carucata terrae et xii acrae quas tenuit Aluinus i liber homo. Modo tenet quedam uidua . . . totum hoc ualuit tunc xx sol. modo nichil reddit quia nichil habet, et tunc Godricus pro ea censum reddit.'

and were very often not identical in the England of the Conquest. When we hear of a sudden and enormous increase in value, as e.g. in Peterborough, where a value of 20*s.* is converted into £10, we may suspect a very great change in social conditions, quite apart from extortions of the owners.[1] Again, a rapid economic deterioration may be marked by a great fall in value.[2] But there are numbers of cases in which the actual income was forced up for a time by oppression and destruction of capital, and in such cases the *valet* estimation naturally fell below that of the revenue. In Southfleet, Kent, e.g., there is land for 13 ploughs, and there are actually 13 teams, one in demesne and 12 with the tenants. There are 7 serfs, 25 villains, and 9 *bordarii*. The wood is sufficient to feed 100 pigs. The geld has gone down from 6 sulungs to 5. The value was £11 T. R. E. and has increased T. R. W. to £21. And yet the estate renders a little over £24. The excess of revenue over the normal income is not very great in this case, but is not the less characteristic of the tendency to draw more than the estates could yield under normal circumstances.[3] But any number of more sensational instances might be given. Winfarthing in Norfolk was valued at 40 shillings T. R. E., and now (T. R. W.) its valuation has risen to £8 3*s.* 4*d.*, of which £7 were paid by freemen who had been added to the manor at the Conquest. They were not able to pay such a sum any longer.[4] In another Norfolk case the value had fallen from

[1] Dd. i. 221 b: (Peterborough, Northants) 'Abbatia S. Petri de Burg tenet uillam quae uocatur Burg. Ibi sunt viii hidae. Terra est xvi carucis. In dominio sunt v et vii serui et xxxvii uillani et viii bordarii cum ii carucis. Ibi molinum de v solidis et xl acrae prati. Silua i leuua longo et iiii quarentenae lato. Valuit xx sol. Modo x lib.' Cf. ibid., Cotingeham.

[2] Dd. iv. 408: (Somerset) 'Vitel tenuit . . . T. R. E. et geldabat pro x hidis. Terra est x carucis. De ea sunt in dominio iiii hidae et ibi iii carucae et viii serui et iiii coliberti et xi uillani et xvii bordarii cum v carucis. Ibi xxx acrae prati, et c acrae pasturae. Silua iii quar. longo et ii quar. lato. Valuit xviii lib. quando R. recepit, modo reddit x bacones et c caseos.'

[3] Dd. i. 5 c (Sudfleta).

[4] Dd. ii. 130 a (Winefarthinc).

£8 T. R. E. to £3 at the Conquest, and had risen again to £8 10*s.* at the time of the Survey, but this was done 'cum magna pena'.[1] In the two last-named cases the Survey does not try to make a difference between value and revenue, and speaks of value all along, but it is clear that, in point of fact, we have to deal with an actual revenue artificially forced up beyond the normal value of the estate.

It would be, naturally, out of the question to establish a common average of value for the whole of England. But it is interesting to notice that the *valet* numbers are not taken entirely at random, but that in some districts, at any rate, there is evidently a tendency to bring them to a certain standard. In the midland counties a standard of one pound per hide and ploughland is clearly perceivable.[2] I say per hide and ploughland, because when numbers disagree strongly in regard to these two terms it is difficult to make out which of the two has to be connected with the normal value, and we have often to fall back on the national estimate, viz. the ploughland (*terra carucis*). I may add that the common estimate of values is best seen, not in large manors with many complicated elements of dues and services, but in the simpler combinations, where estates are rated at one hide or two and estimated to contain one ploughland or two. It is evident, however, that though, as a rule, small estates presented more or less regular numbers in regard to value, the reason for the irregularity of the larger ones consisted in their complexity and in the wish to appraise profits which did not occur in the case of small economic units.

Rents.

4. The term 'custom' had a special meaning in mediaeval speech, namely, it signified a service, or rent, due by custom from one person to another. This conception might be applied to persons of all ranks: a great baron might be called a customer of the king, as he had

[1] Dd. ii. 237 b (Helgetuna).

[2] I have given in an Appendix some examples of valuations of small estates in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Hertfordshire.

to perform customary military and court service to him. But in ordinary parlance the term was mostly applied to rural services and rents, with which the lower class was burdened for the benefit of their superiors.[1] The expression was convenient because it enabled men of the time to group all sorts of duties together without being obliged to distinguish very carefully whether these duties were of servile or free origin, and the same may be said about people called *consuetudinarii*, customers. Their subjection was clearly indicated, and so was the manner by which the quantity and quality of their service was fixed—it was the result of usage, practice, custom. But there was no necessity of drawing the delicate and complicated distinctions between born serfs, freedmen, dependent freemen and so forth. If they were all bound to perform customary duties or to render customary dues, they were all by right deemed 'customers'.[2]

I have already had occasion to speak several times of the great arrangements of food-rents known as the farms of one night, or of one day: they were mostly in practice in Royal manors, but similar customs prevailed also in connexion with many ecclesiastical institutions.[3] The component elements of the full farm often linger as customary rents when the larger part of it has been commuted for money. We hear

[1] Dd. ii. 104 a: (Colchester) 'Et burgenses calumpniantur v hidas de Lexsendena ad consuetudinem et Cootum (*sic*, scotum?) ciuitatis quae iacuerunt ad predictam terram quam tenebat Godricus.' ii. 370 b: (Bury St. Edmunds) 'Omnes isti (liberi homines) faciunt consuetudinem ad Rikingahala.'

[2] Dd. ii. 168 a: (Sculthorp, Norfolk) 'Sculetorpa . . . Et xxx sochemanni iacent huic manerio cum omni consuetudine manentes.' ii. 215 a: (Hilgey, Norfolk) 'Hidlingeia . . . De hoc manerio tulit Willelmus de Warenna viii homines, consuetudinarios ad hoc manerium de xliiii acris terrae.' Cf. ii. 265 b (Cherebroc, Norfolk); 273 b (Phincham, Norfolk).

[3] Dd. i. 162 d: (In Cirencester Hd., Gloucs.) 'Ibi ii liberi homines ii carucas habentes. Lanam ouium regina habebat, T. R. E. reddebat hoc manerium iii modios frumenti et dimidium et braisi iii modios et mellis vi sexterios et dimidium et ix libras et v solidos et ter mille panes canibus. Modo reddit xx lib. et v sol. xx uaccas, xx porcos, et pro panibus xvi sol.' 172 d: (Witley, Worcs.) 'Witlege . . . Arnuinnus presbiter tenuit, reddens aecclesiae omnes consuetudines firmae, et i sextarium mellis.'

of tribute in corn,[1] in honey,[2] in beer.[3] Originally these food-rents were claimed at the progresses of the King or of the lord, in order to provide for the feeding of him and of his retainers on the journey. A curious feature of these progresses, dating from the time when the collection of tribute in kind was independent of the existence of any special hall or house, was the erection of a temporary dwelling for the itinerant potentate, and Domesday still shows traces of this custom, in purely English localities.[4] The feeding of dogs is another remnant of ancient practices which had struck deep roots in consequence of the extension of hunting privileges and the importance of the hunting retinue.[5] Next in importance are the presentations of animals—oxen, pigs, sheep—in connexion with herbage and pannage, that is, with payments for the use of pasture.[6] I need not say that presentations of fish are common in sea-shore districts and wherever fisheries become a valuable asset,[7] while

[1] Dd. i. 253 b: (Morville, Salop) 'Membrefelde . . . De ipsa terra huius manerii tenet Ricardus Pincerna ii hidas etc., et molinum reddens x summas annonae.' Cf. 253 d (Archelov).

[2] Dd. i. 238 a: (Warwick) 'Praeter haec reddit xxiiii sextaria mellis cum maiori mensura, et de Burgo vi sextaria mellis. Sextarium scilicet pro xv den.'

[3] Dd. iv. 183: 'De ecclesia Sancti Germani ablata est i hida terrae quae erat de dominicatu predictae ecclesiae et reddebat ibidem pro consuetudine i cupam ceruisii et xxx den.'

[4] Dd. i. 205 a: (Hunts) 'In Witelesmare . . . materiam inuenit ad unam domum lx pedum et uirgas ad curiam circa domum. Reficit etiam domum et curiam si defecerint. Haec conuentio T.R.E. facta est inter eos' (Abb. de Ramesy et Abb. de Torny).

[5] Dd. i. 162 d: (Cheltenham, Gloucs.) 'Chinteneham . . . Huic manerio accreuit prepositus regis W. duos bordarios et iiii uillanos et iii molinos. Horum ii sunt regis, tercius prepositi et i caruca plus est ibi. T.R.E. reddebat ix lib. et v sol. et ter mille panes canibus. Modo reddit xx lib. et xx uaccas et xx porcos et xvi sol. pro panibus.'

[6] Dd. i. 9 d: (Barham, Kent) 'Berham . . . De Auera id est seruitium lx sol. De herbagio xxvi sol. et xx acras prati. De pasnagio cl porci.' Cf. 16 b (Mellinges, Sussex); 16 c: (Pagham, Sussex) 'Pageham . . . De herbagio unus porcus de unoquoque uillano qui habet vii porcos [Similiter per totum Sudsex].' Cf. 17 c (Halestede); 117 d: (Tawland, Devon) 'Tauelande . . . Hoc manerium debet per consuetudinem in Tauetone manerio regis aut i bouem aut xxx den.' 180 a: (Hereford) 'Leofminstre . . . Quisque uillanus habens x porcos dat unum porcum de pasnagio.' Cf. iv. 180 (Cudifort, Cornwall).

[7] Dd. i. 5 c: (Stone, Kent) 'Estanes . . . reddit xx lib. et unam unciam Auri et unum Marsum.' 17 c: (Lewes, Sussex) 'In Lewes x

customary presentations of certain quantities of iron are conspicuous in mining districts.[1]

Welsh tracts, and districts bordering on Wales, are especially rich in food-rents of Celtic origin. The Survey makes a curious distinction between hides rendering English and Welsh customary dues,[2] and from other passages we can gather that the Celtic *gwestwas* were food-rents of a peculiar kind,[3] in which presentations of honey and sheep played a great part.[4]

Services.

It is much to be regretted that the Domesday Survey does not give details as to the 'rustic work'[5] done by the peasants, although it is quite clear that it was one of their chief contributions for the benefit of their lords. As in the

burgenses de lii denariis et de uillanis xxxviii millia allecium et quingenta pro marsuins iiii lib. pro forisfactura uillanorum ix lib. et iii summas de piscis.'

[1] Dd. i. 162 a: (Gloucester) 'Tempore Regis Edwardi reddebat ciuitas ... xxxvi dicras ferri et c uirgas ferreas ductiles ad clauos nauium regis.' 179 d: (Much Marcle, Hereford) 'Merchelai ... De hoc manerio est una hida ad Turlestane quae T.R.E. reddebat l massas ferri et vi salmones. Modo est haec terra in foresta'; iv. 245: (Somerset) 'Stantuna ... l agros pascuae quae reddit iiii blomas ferri.'

[2] Dd. i. 181 a: (Westhide, Hereford) 'Sanctus Petrus de Glouuecestre tenet Westuode caput manerii huius. Rex Edwardus tenuit. Ibi vi hidae. Una ex his habet Waliscam consuetudinem et aliae Anglicam.'

[3] Dd. i. 269 b: (Flintshire) 'In eodem Atiscros Hd. Habuit Rex Grifin i manerium Biscopestreu et in dominio i carucam habebat et Homines eius vi carucas. Quando ipse rex ibi ueniebat reddebat ei unaquaque caruca cc hesthas et unam cuuam plenam ceruisia et unam butiri ruscam.'

[4] Dd. i. 184 a: (Ewias Harold Castle, Hereford) 'In Castellaria de Ewias Rogerius de Laci. In dominio habent ii carucas et iiii Walenses reddentes ii sextaria mellis ... Isdem Rogerius habet unam terram Ewias dictam in fine Ewias haec terra non pertinet ad castellariam neque ad Hundredum. De hac terra habet Rogerius xv sextaria mellis et xv porcos quando homines sunt ibi et placita super eos.' 179 c: (Hereford) 'Ilbertus uicecomes habet ad firmam suam de Arcenefeld consuetudines omnes mellis et ouium quae huic manerio pertinebat T.R.E.'

[5] Dd. i. 172 d: (Kempsey, Worcs.) 'De ipso manerio (Chemesege) tenet Rogerius de Laci ii hidas ad Ulfrintun et Aiulfus de eo. T.R.E. fuerunt in dominio et Alricus eas tenebat etiam tempore regis Willelmi et reddebat inde omnes consuetudines firmae sicuti reddebant antecessores sui excepto rustico opere sicut deprecari poterat a preposito.' 176 d: (Wichbold, Worcs.) 'Wicelbold ... Ibi ... xiii burgenses in Wich secantes ii diebus in Augusto et Marcio et seruientes curiae.'

case of moots and rural officers, we have to turn for particulars to later documents, which enable us to draw a complete picture of these arrangements. Gafolearth is sometimes mentioned,[1] however, and so are boonworks,[2] but the most important labour-service, week-work, is never spoken of except in one case, when it is said that *bordarii* are doing one day's work in the week.[3]

*Averagia*[4]—carrying duties—are noticed sometimes, and *radmen's* service is described[5] as being according to the lord's wish, evidently not a mark of special servility, but of the fact that these riding messengers and servants could not be assigned definite customary work, but had to take orders according to circumstances. Once a lord's oven (cf. the French *four banal*) is mentioned in a Hampshire manor.[6]

Soke of fold.

One special obligation of the dependent peasantry is often spoken of and alluded to, namely, the *soca faldae*—the duty of the peasants to send their sheep to the lord's fold.[7] It is evidently considered as one of the most characteristic incidents of rustic tenure, and often forms a kind of dividing line between the free tenants and their neighbours reduced to a more servile condition, although transitional links are

[1] Dd. i. 179 d: (Marcle, Hereford) 'Merchelai . . . In dominio sunt iiii carucae et xxxvi uillani et x bordarii cum xl carucis, hi uillani arant et seminant de proprio semine quater xx acras frumenti et totidem ad auenas praeter ix acras.' Cf. Cod. Dipl. 661, 977.

[2] Dd. i. 174 c: (Eckington, Worcs.) 'Aichintune . . . De ipsa terra tenet Turstinus . . . iii hidas. Brictric tenuit . . . Hi duo Dunning et Brictric secabant in pratis domini sui per consuetudinem unam diem.'

[3] Dd. i. 186 a (Ewias, Hereford).

[4] Dd. i. 9 d (Berham, Kent).

[5] Dd. i. 172 d: (Lawern, Worcs.) 'De eodem manerio (Laure) tenet Robertus Dispensator dimidiam hidam ad Laure . . . Keneuuardus tenuit et deseruiebat sicut episcopus uolebat.' Cf. 173 a (Abeleng); 174 a (Bennicworte); 174 c (Longedune); 174 d: (Powick) 'Poiwic . . . Ipsi radmans secabant i die in anno in pratis domini et omne servitium quod eis iubebat faciebant.' Cf. 175 a (Pidelet).

[6] Dd. i. 52 d: (Cheverton, Hants) 'Ceuredone . . . Ibidem habet isdem Willelmus de rege unum uillanum cum dimidia virgata terrae et unam acram terrae et dimidiam . . . Furnus comitis fuit ibi.'

[7] Dd. ii. 124 a: (Norfolk) 'In Kerkebei xii homines sequentes faldam Edrici'; 310 b: (Suffolk) 'In Alrincham i liber homo commendationem et socam falde et alia seruitia.' Cf. 204 a (Meltuna, Norfolk); 204 b (Hederseta, Norfolk); 230 b (Thurketeliart, Norfolk); 246 b (Depwada, Norfolk); 362 b (Eteseca, Suffolk), &c.

not wanting,[1] as usual, and we read occasionally of socmen subjected to the suit of the fold. This feature is interesting in many ways. It dates from before the Conquest: a charter of Edward the Confessor[2] combines the fact that a man is fold-worthy—that is, free to send his sheep to a non-manorial fold—with the right and duty to attend the *fyrd* and to attend moots. Thus subjection or freedom in respect of a manorial privilege is thought to be connected in principle with the political rights of the citizen, if we may use this expression—attendance in the host and in public assemblies. Whether we take the latter to mean merely the courts of the hundred and of the shire, or whether we include township moots as well, the combination with the freedom of the fold remains characteristic. It draws a sharp contrast between the people forming the ancient host and the moot organization of the people, and dependants of lords, who cannot send their cattle where they please. The distinction is not peculiar to the northern and eastern, half-Scandinavian, districts; it occurs in a southern charter, and is worded in a way which gives it the aspect of a universal principle. The frequent references to the suit of the fold in the Domesday Survey, especially when contrasted with the barrenness of the latter in regard to other incidents of rustic tenure, corroborate this general proposition by a number of concrete applications. We find in the case of Reedham,[3] Suffolk, that the peasants subject to the lord's

[1] Dd. ii. 129 b: (Norfolk) 'In Modetuna vii liberi homines. In Wichatuna i sochmannus de lvi acris terrae . . . Sunt in soca hundret et isti omnes cum aliis qui sunt in alio hundredo reddunt viii libras blancas et c solidos de consuetudine ad numerum et xx solidos de gersuma. Super omnes istos qui faldam comitis requirebant habebat comes socam et sacam, super alios omnes Rex et comes.' 131 a: (Bedingaham, Norfolk) 'In tempore Regis Edwardi adiacebant huic manerio vi sochmanni cum omni consuetudine, post et modo xxvi. De quibus addidit R. comes xx cum soca falde.' 181 b: (Hadestuna, Norfolk) 'Et xi homines soca falde et commendatione t.r.e. et possent uendere terram, sed consuetudo remanebat in manerio.' 187 b: (Florenduna, Norfolk) 'xv liberi homines . . . soca falde et commendatione tantum.' Cf. ibid., Carletuna, Vrnincham; 206 a (Stou, Norfolk); 364 a (Ingham, Suffolk).

[2] Earle, Land Charters, 343.

[3] Dd. ii. 216 a: (Reedham, Norfolk) 'In Redeham tenuit Sanctus

fold go to his court, while those free of their fold go to the hundred, and it is tempting to compare this instance with the Fersfield (Feruella) one,[1] in which those who own more than 30 acres go to the hundred, while those who own less are subjected to the manorial soke. Taking these two attempts at classification together, we realize the difficulties of social differentiation in these troubled times, and the methods of drawing the dividing lines; in one case the disability in regard to the fold, in the other the size of the holding, are taken as standards, and it is interesting to see that in the latter case 30 acres—a normal virgate—is taken as the unit marking the line of separation: the virgaters are assumed to be moot-worthy. Another important feature consists in the fact that the suggested use of the fold is eminently an incident of champion farming. Of course, folds are made for sheep in separate homesteads as well as in concentrated townships, but the idea of gathering other people's sheep in one's fold is suggested by a system of combined township cultivation. The point is that the lord's demesne arable gets the benefit of the sheep's manure, and the natural places for it are the open fields of a considerable village before seed-time. In a country of scattered homesteads it would have been impossible or difficult to drive the sheep into the lord's fold every night. The use of the fold for purposes of manuring is especially characteristic of the modes of husbandry in which one part of the soil was reserved as 'infield' for more intensive cultivation. In concentrated villages every holding got its strips in the infield, and the question of the distribution of the returning cattle and sheep for the night became a very burning one.

It may be added that the question of the township fold seems to have played a great part in the arrangement of Danish villages (*byer*). The *forta* was a necessary feature

Benedictus t. r. e. i carucatam terrae. Semper ii uillani, v bordarii, i caruca in dominio et i caruca hominum . . . De Redeham habebat abbas socam super hos qui sequebantur faldam, et de aliis soca in hundredo.'

[1] Dd. ii. 130 b: (Fersfield, Norfolk) 'In Feruella iacet soca et saca t. r. e. de omnibus qui minus habeant quam xxx acris. De illis qui habent xxx acras iacet soca et saca in hundredo.'

of those founded on free soil; this was a large green in the middle of the township where the cattle were congregated at night, and from which they started for the pasturages in the morning.[1]

I need hardly say rents in money are already quite common in the age of Domesday. They are mainly of three different kinds: *gafol*,[2] dues assessed originally as regular money tribute; exceptional payments or presentations[3] (*gersuma*); and payments in commutation of rents in kind.[4]

Cross relations of townships and manors.

5. The fundamental union of the population, for purposes of husbandry and local government, is not the manor but the township. Townships are legally supposed, in the feudal age, to cover the entire territory of the kingdom,[5] and where they did not exist naturally they had to be formed for the sake of police and justice; but, of course, this last expedient was taken because there was the model of the actual townships to go by, and because these prevailed as a matter of fact. The same fundamental character of the village or township unit is expressed in early records,[6]

[1] Lauridsen, Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, ii Ser., xi (1896).

[2] Dd. i. 12 d: (Lewisham, Kent) 'Leuesham ... Ibi iii serui et xi molini cum gablo rusticorum viii lib. et xii solid. reddunt.' 14 c: (Newington, Kent) 'Newetone ... lviii solid. de gablo ex his nouem solins.' 26 c: ('Bristelmestune' (Brighton?), Sussex) 'De gablo iiii millia allecium.' 35 b: (Ebsa (Epsom), Surrey) 'tenet unus uillanus dimidiam hidam de qua usque nunc dedit hominibus Ricardi xxx den. de gablo.' 154 c (Sciptone, Oxon). Cf. Cart. Sax. 1317; Thorpe, 129 (A.D. 883).

[3] Dd. ii. 5 b: (Writela, Essex) 'Tunc c uillani iii minus. Post et modo lxxiii. Tunc xxxvi bordarii, post et modo lx. Tunc xxiiii servi, post et modo xviii ... Tunc reddidit hoc manerium x noctes de firma et x lib. Modo reddit c lib. ad pondus et c sol. de gersuma.' Cf. ii. 129 b (Modetuna, Norfolk); 131 a (Bedingaham, Norfolk).

[4] Dd. i. 12 c: (Northbourne, Kent) 'Norborne ... Wadardus ... iiii solins. Ipse uero nullum seruitium reddit abbati nisi xxx sol. quos persoluit in anno.' Ibid. (Great and Little Mongeham) 'Mundingeham ... Wadardus in dominio i carucam ... nullum seruitium inde reddit nisi xxx sol. per annum abbati.' 11 d (Brochestele); 10 b (Bocheland); 11 a (Soltone); 9 d (Selinge).

[5] History of English Law, i. 560.

[6] A good instance is presented by one of the Medhamstead documents (Cart. Sax. 1128): 'Of þam twam hundredum ute on þam nesse þe Medeshamstede onstent man ageaf of six tunan ... tioþunge æt ælcere sylh an foðer cornes ... þonne letan þa tioþunge of þan 24 tunan man ageald to hynstre twa hund æcera sæd and 3 (*sic*).'

and in Domesday by the fact that, when a reference to the local duties and rights is needed, it is generally made to the village or township, and not to the manor.[1] And, as well in the Domesday Inquest as in other cases when an exhaustive inquiry into local conditions is aimed at, the reeve, the priest, and four villagers appear as representatives from each township quite irrespectively of manorial relations and divisions. The four or six villains remain the characteristic delegates of rural population all through the feudal epoch, in the same way as the twelve burgesses were the characteristic delegates of a borough for purposes of local information and administration in the hundred and in the county court.

The existence of the township organization as the basis of society produces a variety of administrative and economic consequences. The vill is rated as a unit to the geld, and the shares of assessment are sometimes distributed among the manors in a complicated way.[2] The artificial, relatively modern, character of the manorial formation, as compared with that of townships, is forcibly illustrated by the fact that its threads reach across the old provincial divisions of hundreds, and even of counties,[3] producing very complicated relations of fiscal and economic dependence. For instance, a Staffordshire manor may attract a number of Derbyshire vills into its sphere of influence.[4] Berkshire and Oxfordshire,[5] Bedfordshire and

[1] Dd. i. 181 d: (Bishop's Frome, Hereford) 'Frome . . . presbiter uillae unam uirgatam terrae . . . Prepositus uillae habet i molinum de xxxii den.' i. 275 b: (Wyaston and Edlaston, Derby) 'Widerdestune et Duluestune . . . he ii uillae sunt de firma Regis in Rouecestre praeter i bouatam que iacet in Osmundestune.'

[2] E. g. Westerfield, Suffolk, Dd. ii. 295 a. See Appendix VIII.

[3] Dd. i. 277 a, b: (Wirksworth, Lea, and Tansley, Derby) 'In Werchesuuorde et Lede et Taneslege iiii bouatae terrae ad geldum . . . Haec terra iacet in Crice, sed geldum reddit in Hamelestan Wapentac.'

[4] Dd. i. 275 a: (Snelston, Derby) 'Snellestune . . . Ibidem dimidia caruca terre soca in Ouere, et iii bouatae terre soca in Rouecestre.' 275 b: (Wilderdestune et Duluestune) 'Hae duae uillae sunt de firma R. in Rouecestre, praeter i bouata que iacet in Osmundestune.' Cf. Cildecote: (272 d, Berewick of Rapendune) 'Haec ad Cliftune pertinet in Stadford.'

[5] Dd. i. 57 d: (Steventon, Berks) 'Stiuetune . . . Ad hoc manerium pertinuerunt in Oxeneford xiii hagae reddentes xii sol. et vi den. et

Huntingdonshire,[1] Staffordshire and Gloucestershire,[2] Worcestershire and Herefordshire,[3] overlap each other freely, vills being appraised for the manorial farm in one county and paying geld in another, or dividing their taxes between them. And with the geld the service, that is the *fyrd* obligation, went in some cases, so that a man might be called to serve in the Huntingdonshire array, although his estate was, as a matter of fact, in Bedfordshire.[4] Some of these cases may have been the result of encroachments, but they are too common to be all explained in this way: the point is that manorial relations, being to a great extent parts of a comparatively recent military and ecclesiastic superstructure, do not conform with previously established tribal, provincial, and local units,—their net is drawn across the original divisions. The relations between single manors are even more intricate. We have already had occasion to observe what a patchwork was presented by East Anglian manors, in spite of a set policy which endeavoured to make them complete, as estates of $3\frac{1}{2}$, or 4, or 5 hides. The chief means of bringing them to their proper size was to accommodate socmen and freemen to

unum pratum de xx sol. Modo homines de hundredo dicunt quod Robertus de Oilgi istud tenet ut suspicantur nil aliud sciunt eo quod est in alia scira.' Cf. 61 d: 'Lonchelei . . . Haec terra iacet et appreciata est in Gratentun quod est in Oxenefordscire et tamen dat scotum in Berchescire.'

[1] Dd. i. 207 c: (Keysoe, Beds) 'Caissot . . : Iacet in Bedefordscira sed geldum dat in Huntedscire.' Cf. 216 d: (Meppershall, Beds) 'Malpertesselle . . . pro iiii hidis se defendit in Bedeforde scire . . . In Herefortscire ipsa uilla se defendit pro iii hidis et una uirgata.'

[2] Dd. i. 172 c: (Kinver, Worcs.) 'Chenefare . . . Haec terra est in Stadfordscire. Similiter est et Suinesforde.' Ibid.: (Terdeberie) 'Vicecomes de Stadfordscire recepit et reddit firmam huius manerii in Suinesforde.' Ibid., Clent. Ibid.: 'In Wich est dimidia hida quae pertinet ad aulam de Glouuecestre.'

[3] Dd. i. 175 c: (Mathon, Worcs.) 'Ipsa aecclesia (Sanctae Mariae de Persore) tenuit Matma. Ibi v hidae sed non geldant nisi iii. Una ex his v hidis iacet in Herefordscire in Radelau Hd. . . . Comitatus de Wirecestre diratiocinauit eam ad opus S. Marie de Persore et pertinet ad supradictum manerium.'

[4] Dd. i. 203 d: (Pertenhall, Hunts) 'In Partenhale habuit Aluuinus i uirgatam terrae ad geldum. Terra dimidiae carucae. Haec terra sita est in Bedefordescire sed geldat et seruitium reddit in Hontedunescyre. Hanc clamant ministri regis ad opus ipsius.'

fill the gaps. No wonder that we constantly come across socmen, and occasionally freemen, of the half-Scandinavian districts who live in one township and 'lie' in another—that is, are joined to its economic organization.[1] In the case of burgesses such a double allegiance was especially common.[2] The position of tenants affected by it must have been very complicated, as we cannot suppose that they were quite liberated from their duties in regard to the locality they were living in, when made to lie in, or to appertain to, another. It is not likely that they could escape, e.g., the duty of catching and keeping thieves, or of helping to trace stolen cattle and fugitive serfs, according to the position of their dwellings, although in all respects touching farm and geld they must have looked to the township to which they appertained as tenants.

Apart from these frequent cases of 'accommodation' of free tenants, the most varied cross relations between manors are to be found in Domesday practice. One carucate out of a batch of four belonging to a certain township may be diverted from its natural dependence and made to lie in a different one.[3] One and the same owner may possess two exactly similar estates in the same township, and of these estates one will be diverted to 'lie' in another township.[4] We cannot tell whether these aberrations are called forth by the history of the estates in question, or by some fiscal or legal expedient which it would be impossible to

[1] Dd. ii. 121 b: (Swathing, Norfolk) 'In Suatinga tenet Hagana liber homo t.r.e. ii carucatas terrae ... Huic manerio iacent xiii socemanni, in eadem uilla manent v, et in Thustuna iiii, et in Turstanestuna iiii'; cf. 122 b (Snaringa); 233 a (Walsingaham; Stiuecai); 271 a (Guella).

[2] Dd. i. 173 c: (Worcester) 'Ad ipsum manerium (Norwiche) pertinent in Wirecestre quater xx et x domus. De his habet episcopus in dominio xlv, nil reddunt nisi opus in curia episcopi ... De burgo Wirecestre habuit episcopus T.R.E. tercium denarium et modo habet cum rege et comite.' Cf. Ballard, Domesday Boroughs.

[3] Dd. i. 273 c: (Kniveton, Mackworth, and Allestree, Derby) 'In Cheniuetun et Macheuorde et Adelardestreu Bereuuichis iiii carucatae terrae ad geldum ... Una carucata ex his iiii iacet in Ednodestun manerio Henrici.'

[4] Dd. i. 275 d: (Osmaston, Derby) 'In Osmundestune habuit Osmundus iii bouatas terrae ad geldum ... In Osmundestune iii bouatae terrae ad geldum pertinent ad Codetune.'

bring to light nowadays. But what can hardly be contested is the inference that these artificial combinations disclose the composite and recent character of manorial arrangements, stretching over the natural growths of the townships. Manors of this kind are assuredly not organic germs of townships.[1] And although, as I say, it would be quite out of the question to trace all the entangled meshes of these manorial cross relations to their sources, one prolific cause of entanglement may easily be seen in the overlapping of manors and sokes. The manor was mainly an estate, and not necessarily endowed with higher forms of jurisdiction. It had to be supplemented, on the latter side, either by hundreds or by private sokes, radiating from other manorial centres,[2] and this gave rise to complications by no means peculiar to the Domesday epoch, but clearly apparent, e.g. in the *Quo Warranto* inquisitions of the close of the thirteenth century.[3]

But the plain and most usual cause of manorial complications lay in the fact that the manor, being originally a unit of property and not of settlement or husbandry, could stand in all sorts of relations to the organic unit of the township; it could include one or several, but could also share with another manor, or several, the basis of a single township. Quite apart from subinfeudation, which produced well-known

[1] Dd. i. 278 b: (Rowthorn, Derby) 'In Rugetorn Ulsi et Steinulf habuerunt i carucatam terrae ad geldum pro manerio, et in Branlege ii bouatas terre de soca de Rugetorn'; cf. 278 d (Englebi); 352 a (Osgotebi, Lincs.).

[2] Dd. i. 273 a: (Mapperley, Derby) 'In Maperlie habuit Stapleuine iiii bouatas terrae ad geldum . . . Ibidem est dimidia caruca terrae de soca pertinens ad Spondune manerium Henrici.' Cf. Rapendun (272 d); Pinneslei (276 c); Ednodestune (276 d). Cf. Dd. ii. 355 b, 356 a: (Holton, Suffolk) 'In Holetuna iii liberi homines . . . Super totam Holetuna habet Comes Alanus soca praeter terram Osberti.'

[3] Placita de Quo Warranto, 45: (Kerdyngton, Beds) 'dicunt . . . quod Iohannes (Pycot) et omnes antecessores sui . . . seisiti fuerunt de . . . uisu et emendis tanquam pertinentibus ad manerium predictum, dicunt tamen quod ipse tenet predictum uisum oneratum de quatuor solidis et sex denariis domino Regi per manum Vicecomitis reddenda. Quesitus si habeat pillorium et tumbrellum dicunt quod habeat tumbrellum set non pillorium. Set dicunt quod idem Iohannes usus est punire delinquentes contra assisam panis et ceruisie per fines et amerciamenta et non per penam corporalem.' Cf. 22 (Leighton Buzzard, Beds); 329 (Fauconesherst, Kent); 392 (Ingoldsby, Lincs.).

results in the parcelling-up of mediaeval estates, they appear, from the very first, in innumerable instances, as fractions of townships. I will just quote a few instances from Derby,[1] Lincoln,[2] Dorset,[3] Devon,[4] and Wiltshire.[5]

Economic unit of township.

6. The township is not only the fundamental and organic unit of rural organization; it is also sufficient in itself for economic purposes, and may exist without any direct interference of the manor in its affairs. This principle finds expression, in the Domesday Survey, in the fact that there are numbers of settlements described in it in which there is no home-farm, and no hall, so that the husbandry of the place is conducted, not on the principle of combined work,

[1] Dd. i. 272 b: (Unstone and Temple Normanton, Derby) 'In Onestune et Normantune ii maneria et Bereuuita habuerunt Leuuine et Eduuine vii bouatas terre et iiii acras ad geldum. Terra xii bouatis. Ibi modo in dominio i caruca et vi uillani et iiii bordarii habentes iiii carucas.' Also ibid., 'Soca Neuuebold, in Normantune, v pars unius carucatae terrae ad geldum ... in Honestune tercia pars unius carucatae terrae ad geldum.' Cf. 272 c, Waletune; Tichenhalle, under Rapendune, 272 d; under Abbot of Burton, 273 b; Turuerdestune, in two manors, 275 b; Burnulfestune, &c. (5 manors), 275 d; Cotenoure et Hainoure et Langeleie et Smitecote (6 manors), 276 b; Echintune, 276 d–277 a; Stratune, alia Stratune, 277 a.

[2] Dd. i. 347 a: (Willingham, Lincs.) '(ii maneria). In Welingeham habuit Staigrim xii bouatas terre ad geldum. Terra ad xii bouatas. Ibidem habuit Gunneuuate vi bouatas terre et iii partem ii bouatarum ad geldum.' Cf. 350 c, d, &c. (Hiboldeston; Linberge; Cucualt; Lobingeham); 354 c (Aplebi, Riscbi et Saleclif); 354 d (Osgotebi); 355 a (Witham et Mannetorp) et Toftlund; 355 c (Aschebi); Clachesbi, 356 c, &c.; Chime, 355 c, &c.; Trinchigeham, 357 b, etc.; Stalinburg, 356 b, &c.; 356 d (Scotstorne et Holme et Sudborc).

[3] Dd. i. 79 b: (Little Herringston, Dorset) 'Ansgerus tenet de Comite (Moritoniensi) Cerne. Duo taini tenuerunt libere T.R.E. et geldabant pro iii hidis ... Radulfus tenet de Comite Cerne. Decem taini tenuerunt in paragio T.R.E. et geldabant pro iii hidis ... Ipse Comes tenet in Cerne ii hidas et dimidiam. Sex taini tenuerunt in paragio T.R.E. .... Ansgerus tenet de Comite Cerne. Brictuinus tenuit T.R.E. et geldabat pro ii hidis.' Cf. Wintreburne, ibid., et 79 c, 83 c, &c.

[4] Dd. iv. 307: (Mutley, Devon) 'Iuhellus habet i mansionem que uocatur Modleia quam tenuit Goduuinus ... pro i uirgata ...; Iuhellus i mansionem que uocatur Modleia quam tenuit Aluuinus et reddit gildum pro i uirgata.' Cf. 308, 309, Meuui; 311, Langadona; 312, Ogham uillae; 319 et alibi, Estocheleia; 362, 363, Lollardesdona; Coma, 367; Biheda, 368.

[5] Dd. i. 68 c: (Robson, in Winterbourn Bassett, Wilts) 'Ipsa aecclesia tenet in Wintreburne vi hidas ... Ipsa aecclesia tenet Wintreburne T.R.E. geldabat pro iiii hidis et dimidia.' Cf. 69 b Wintreburne (*bis*); 70 a, Caldefelle (*bis*).

but by the villagers alone. Some of the instances are drawn from small settlements[1] which had just been converted into manorial land out of private estates, and in this case it may have been deemed superfluous to create a separate domanial superstructure. But this is by no means the only case where the villagers are left to themselves. Many of the recorded instances in question concern large townships,[2] in which economic arrangements must have involved a considerable amount of co-operation and administrative work. The absence of hall and demesne indicates self-governing communities, farming their own dues, an arrangement which can be copiously illustrated from later practice.[3] But even if there were no compromise between landlord and tenants in regard to farm, if the latter were under the direct supervision of a reeve, bailiff, or riding sergeant their dependence on the lord may have consisted largely in tribute;[4] while, on the other hand, it is to be kept in mind that even where there was a distinct demesne it could be let in farm to the

[1] Dd. i. 7 a: (Crofton in Orpington, Kent) 'Anschitillus tenet de episcopo Croctune, pro uno solin et uno iugo se defendit. Terra est. In dominio nichil est, sed iii uillani et iiii bordarii ibi sunt.' 151 d: (Shenley, Bucks) 'In Senelai ii hid. et dim. pro uno manerio. Terra est ii carucis, et ibi sunt cum viii uillanis et ii seruis.' Cf. 168 c (Baudintune, Gloucs.); 248 b (Cressuale, Staffordshire); 253 a (Lartune, Salop); 257 a (Barbingi, Salop); 292 c (Ormestune, Notts); 293 a (Claureburg); Ibid. (Elchesleie); 352 b (Lastone, Lincs.). ii. 151 b: (Nayland, Norfolk) 'In Neilanda xi liberi homines Stigandi l acras, semper i car. et dim.' Cf. ii. 154 (Fasilingaham, Norfolk); Dd. iv. 121 (Bochelanda, Devon).

[2] Dd. i. 10 a: (Ospringe, Kent) 'Ospringes, pro vii solins et dimidio se defendit. Terra est xx carucis. In dominio non sunt carucae. Ibi xxix uillani cum vi bordariis habent xi carucas.' 163 c: (Tewkesbury, Gloucs.) 'In eodem manerio de Teodekesberie pertinebant iiii hidae sine dominio quae sunt in Hanlege.' 170 c: (Woodchester, Gloucs.) 'Widecestre. Ibi sunt xvi uillani et xii bordarii cum xvi carucis. In dominio nichil.' Cf. 239 c (Ailespede, Warwick); 272 b (Neuuebold, Derby); 272 d (Badequella); 342 d (Sotebi, Lincs.); ii. 162 b (Northwolde, Norfolk); ii. 235 b (Frouuesham, Norfolk); ii. 269 b (Binnetre, Norfolk); ii. 292 (Bukelesham, Suffolk); iv. 76 (Bodeleia, Devon).

[3] E. g. Brightwaltham (Seld. Soc.), Select Pleas of Manorial Courts, 172.

[4] Dd. i. 174 c: (Bricklehampton, Worcs.) 'In Bricstelmestune sunt x hidae. Ibi x uillani et x bordarii cum vi carucis et arant et seminant vi acras de proprio semine.'

villagers. These latter cases are numerous enough,[1] although they form the minority in comparison with those of the more common system of combined husbandry, in which the lord's interest was represented by a distinct home-farm, either with a separate plot allotted to it, or with shares in the open field of the township. But, although what may be called the independent township is the exception at the date of the Survey, still it exists, and it is especially interesting, inasmuch as it presents a simpler, more rudimentary, type than the combined system, corresponding best to the indications as to open-field practices given by the Anglo-Saxon laws,[2] and connecting itself naturally with the township as one of the fundamental units underlying the manorial organization. The other fundamental unit is the private estate cultivated by slaves or serfs, and the link between this type and the later combined system is presented by the manors consisting exclusively of a home-farm.[3] The other pole of development has to be sought in the manors consisting of a township without home-farm, and the inquirer has to attend to both lines of development.

The communalism of the independent township was not hidden from the view of the people who made use of it,[4] although we cannot expect them to have had a very clear

[1] Dd. i. 219 d: (Walgrave and Wold, Northants) 'Huic manerio (Fextone) pertinent Waldgraue et Walda. Ibi ii hidae et iii uirgatae terrae et dimidia. Terra est vii carucis. Ibi sunt xiiii sochemanni cum vi carucis.' 236 b: (Oadby, Leics.) 'In Oldebi ix car. terrae et ii bouat. Ibi fuerunt ix carucae et tot carucas habent ibi xlvi sochemanni cum xi bordariis et iii seruis.' Cf. 273 (Begelie, Langeleie, Aiune, Middeltune; Derby); 273 c, d (Lunt, Blanghesbi; Derby). Cf. the tables of Lincolnshire settlements in Appendix IX. Lincolnshire was, to be sure, an exceptionally free shire, but there is not the slightest probability that its social organization should have been entirely peculiar. It presents merely in a reinforced form features which are to be met in Leicestershire, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, &c.

[2] The gedalland of the ceorles. Cf. Growth of the Manor, p. 174.

[3] Dd. i. 257 a: (Wall-Town, Salop) 'Isdem Radulfus (de Mortemer) tenet Walle et Ricardus de eo. Vluric tenuit. Ibi i hida. Terra est ii carucis. Ibi est una cum ii bouariis.'

[4] Dd. i. 213 d: (Goldington, Beds) 'In eadem (Goldentone) tenet Walterus i hidam de Hugone. Terra est i carucae, et ibi est . . . Haec terra est escambium de Wares. Hanc terram tenuerunt homines uillae communiter et uendere potuerunt.'

conception of the extent to which a theory of corporate ownership was involved in their proceedings. Without attempting to analyse in too searching a manner these necessarily rudimentary institutions, we cannot pass them by as insignificant features. Although the indications of the Survey consist of a few words, and do not go into any details as to the way in which the rural organization of such townships was carried on, they are precious indeed, because they give documentary evidence of the existence of conditions in which some kind of by-laws, and orders of champion-farming, were needed. People who had to manage the open-field system in communities like Ospringe, Woodchester, the non-domanial adjunct of Tewkesbury, or Oldeby, could not do it unless they entered into agreements, made by-laws, issued orders, and enforced them in some way or another. It is deplorable that no orders or by-laws of these early periods have come down to us, but no more have the directions of reeves or stewards, and it is by the presence of the problem and the conditions in which it is put, together with later indications, that we have to shape our notions in regard to its solution. It is not from the steward that the independent township could have received directions about the rotation of crops, the stocking of the commons, or the customs as to hedges, drains, paths, &c.[1]

Boroughs as agrarian communities.

The management of townships without demesne is the natural stepping-stone to another important variation of social life, namely, to that of cities or boroughs possessed of agricultural land. It is clear that the passage from the town in a rural sense to the town in the urban sense was a very gradual one, and many transitional forms exist in which the features of both types are mixed up.

To begin with, the beginnings of town life, as expressed in a distinct group of burgesses, may be traced in manors which otherwise do not present any peculiarity in their structure. Calne, near Chippingham, Wilts, is not an im-

[1] See Appendix X.

portant place at the present time, while in the Domesday Survey it appears as a considerable estate, heading the list of the Royal manors of the county. The first lines of its description read like one of the many thousands of notices about rural manors; there is land for 29 ploughs; there is land for 8 plough-teams in the lord's demesne, and 8 serfs; there are 37 villains and 78 smaller tenants, and 10 freedmen, with 21 plough-teams between them. But all at once we seem to be switched off on a new track; there are 47 burgesses, 7 mills, &c.[1] In other words, part of the settlement is still going on with its rural husbandry, while for some reason or other a considerable portion of the inhabitants have taken to other pursuits—industry and trade of some kind. Yet both elements of the population are kept together by the same institutions of village administration and manorial supremacy. The burgess and the peasant evidently stood closely together, and it was not difficult to turn one into the other.

On the other hand, in completely urban settlements—walled towns—land was still held by the burgesses for rural purposes. A well-known instance is Oxford, with its Port Meadow, which still keeps up a trail of corporate ownership running from the time before the Conquest. It is expressly stated in the Survey that it was owned by all the burgesses, that is, by the burgesses in common, and that it yielded profits amounting to *6s. 8d.* a year.[2] It was not a singular case in any sense. The Cambridge burgesses were claiming a common pasture appropriated by the Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, and there can be hardly any doubt that they had the right on their side on this occasion. Indeed, we know from later history that there were vast open fields adjoining the city, and cultivated in the same

[1] Dd. i. 64 d. Professor Tait has referred to the example of Calne in his remarkable review of 'Domesday Book and Beyond': English Hist. Rev. xii. 775. Cf. Tamworth, Dd. ii. 246 d. Sudbury (Suffolk), Dd. ii. 286 b; also Bollington (Sussex), Dd. i. 18 b; Lincolnshire, i. 345 a.

[2] Dd. i. 154 b: 'Omnes burgenses Oxeneford habent communiter extra murum pasturam reddentem vi solidos et viii denarios.'

manner as ordinary unenclosed fields belonging to a rural manor.[1] The description of York in the Domesday Survey shows a very large rural establishment connected with the archiepiscopal city—not less than 84 carucates, or approximately ten thousand acres, were included in the common geld of York, and of these only six carucates, or about 700 acres, were held separately by the archbishops. Even those were evidently mixed up with the strips of the burgesses, and cultivated by them in patches (*per loca*) in consideration of certain payments to the ecclesiastical lord.[2] To mention one more instance—the rural portion of the town of Derby contained twelve carucates. In this case not all the burgesses of the city shared in the ownership,[3] but only forty-one, and the land was partitioned among them, probably in the same way as in York, and on the same principle of open-field holdings which is characteristic of mediaeval rural husbandry.

In the instances quoted we have examples of meadow (Oxford), of wild pasture (Cambridge), and of arable land (York and Derby). Port Meadow, to judge by its name, must have been largely used for making hay, and was kept in defence until Lammas Day in this case, while it stood open as a common for depasturing cattle belonging to the burgesses, or to persons to whom they had rented the use, after the hay had been cut and up to the time in spring when the greensward was put under defence. Grass for hay was very precious in Domesday times, and the meadow may have been distributed among the burgesses by lot, each householder taking his share for one year. This custom obtains even now in villages in the immediate vicinity of Oxford—in Yarnton and Kidlington.[4] Of course, such customs, as well as the practices of champion-farming on the arable fields of York, Derby, or Nottingham, presuppose not only a strong sense of communal solidarity, to

[1] Dd. i. 185 a: 'Reclamant autem super Picotum uicecomitem communem pasturam sibi per eum et ab eo ablatam.' Cf. Maitland, Township and Borough, p. 190.

[2] Dd. i. 298 b. [3] Dd. i. 280 b.

[4] Three Oxford Parishes (Oxford Historical Society).

which all forms of private usage have to conform, but also special regulations as to the time of defence, the means of protecting common and individual rights against trespass and encroachment, the modes of apportioning strips, &c. Of the by-laws elaborated by the town-moots we cannot expect to hear in the Survey, but it is important to note that it lays stress on the communal ownership. The combination of this communal ownership with the superior right of the King and of the various lay and ecclesiastical lords interested in the towns and superimposed on some of their burgesses[1] does not appear to me to be different in essence from the combination of communal and manorial rights in the rural townships. The burgesses were more closely knitted together; they were protected by their walls and their economic importance; they were better able to take care of their rights and to resist encroachments of private lords. But at bottom their union was a modification of the union constituted in every rural township, and it is not necessary to look out for a different principle in the organization of their property and husbandry. The real difference consisted in the widely different re-action of the urban and of the rural townships against feudalism: the first succeeded in preserving and consolidating itself in the struggle, while the latter had to submit, and to shape its legal and economic framework according to the scheme of personal tenure and service.

Summary. The main points of the section on rural organization may be summarized under the following heads:—

1. The open-field system is not especially connected either with free villages or with servile villages: it existed in all the varieties of rural settlements, independently of the condition of the peasants.

2. Manorial organization is characterized in the eleventh

[1] I need not touch on the disputed question of the 'contributory' tenements and of the garrison burgesses (Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 179 ff.; A. Ballard, Domesday Boroughs). It is sufficient for my purpose to note the undoubted fact that many of the town houses were claimed by great lords who held estates in the neighbourhood of the borough, although sometimes in a different county from the one in which the borough was situated. E. g. Dd. i. 154 a (Oxford).

century by a great variety of types, and cannot be traced to the prevailing influence of a single current of economic development.

3. The older and wider basis of rural life is presented by the township. The manorial organization appears as a later superstructure on this original basis.

4. The rural and the urban township have developed from a common stem, and help to explain one another.

# SECTION III: SOCIAL CLASSES

## CHAPTER I

## LANDOWNERS AND FREE TENANTS

1. It has been already made clear that the military tenants, who with the ecclesiastical institutions formed the bulk of the privileged classes in the feudal age, had stepped to a great extent into the place occupied before the Conquest by *thanes*.[1] Indeed, in some cases the same people held the estates from which military service was due both after and before the Conquest,[2] and groups of 'English thanes'[3] survive at the time of the Domesday Survey in all parts of the country as one element of the upper military class which was to rule England during the next centuries. The only question is whether these military tenants of ancient stock would be entered later on as knights or as sergeants.[4] The tie of service between the thane and his

Thanes before and after the Conquest.

[1] Dd. i. 58 d: (Barton, Berks) 'De eodem manerio (Bertune), et de eadem terra tenet Warinus in Sogoorde iiii hidas, et Bernerius v hidas in Soningeuuel et in Chenitun, et Aluuinus i hidam in Genetune. Sex Anglici tenuerunt, et ab aecclesia recedere non potuerunt'; 65 c: (Downton, Wilts) 'Duntone. De eadem terra huius manerii tenet Willelmus de Braiose xiiii hidas, Walerannus v hidas, Radulfus v hidas. Ansgotus iii hidas et dimidiam et rex habet in sua foresta iiii hidas. Aecclesia eiusdem manerii habet iiii hidas et omnes hi de episcopo tenent. Qui has terras tenebant T.R.E. non se poterant ab aecclesia separare ... Modo quod habet in dominio ualet lxxx lib. Quod milites xxiii lib.' Cf. 353 c (Welingeham, Lincs.); iv. 391 (Mereuda, Devon); iv. 392 (Witefella).

[2] Dd. i. 68 a: (Lit. Langford, Wilts) 'Langeford, T.R.E. geldabat pro iii hidis. Terra est ii carucis. Has habent ibi ii angli ... Pater eorum qui nunc tenent tenuit T.R.E. nec potuit ab aecclesia separari.' Cf. 70 c (Chenete, Wilts). 259 c: (Lydley Heys, Salop) 'Auti tenet de comite Litlega. Ipsemet tenuit et liber homo fuit'; 278 d (Riselei, Derbyshire); ii. 204 b (Meltuna, Norfolk); iv. 453 (Bochelanda, Somerset).

[3] Dd. iv. 445: (Devon) 'Terrae Anglorum tegnorum. Aldretus, etc.'

[4] Dd. i. 206 c: (Catworth, Hunts) 'In Cateworde habuit Rex

lord was a broader one than that between the feudal lord and his military vassal: it was originally, as we have seen, a general obligation to serve, which was by no means specifically restricted to the attendance in the armed retinue of the lord for a period of six weeks, or other forms of military duty. Suit of court, household attendance, in some cases messenger services and help in hunting, were its material features, some of which are perceivable in the feudal arrangements of military tenure, and do not come exclusively from English, but also from French traditions although the usages of thaneship lay more stress on the general notion of service, while the French practices, at least at the time of the Conquest and after the Conquest, are more strictly military.[1] The peculiar personal service forming the essential condition of land tenure appears, however, clearly enough at the time of King Edward,[2] and there is no reason to doubt that military attendance in the *fyrd*, apart from cases of general levies, was an essential part of it.[3]

Personal vassalage.

To the class of thanes in England, vassals and *ministeriales* would correspond on the Continent, and it is important to realize that the tie of personal service formed the basis of their condition, because this fundamental notion will help us to unravel some of the otherwise puzzling features of terminology and usage attending their position in the Survey. Free land tenure, for one—that is, a form of land-holding which enabled the tenant to go with his land where he pleased, to sell and give it as he pleased—was an incident commonly connected with thaneship, but not necessarily derived from it, and not essential for the status of a thane.

Edwardus ii hidas ad geldum. Terra iii carucis. Ibi fuerunt viii taini habentes sub rege sacam et socam, hanc terram tenuit Eustachius, et modo est in manu regis, et ibi sunt viii *homines*, et sub eis vii bordarii cum iii carucis.'

[1] The household duties of English thanes are well indicated in such expressions as *discthegn* and *burthegn*. Cart. Sax. 91, 1286.

[2] Dd. i. 67 d: (Durnford, Wilts) 'Darneford . . . Tres angli tenuerunt T.R.E. et non poterant ab aecclesia separari. Duo ex eis reddebant v sol. et tercius seruiebat sicut tainus.'

[3] Rectitudines, 1.

Land was the reward and the usual material equipment for service in those days: it would have been unfair and impossible to keep the allegiance and actual help of thanes as serving-men unless they were recompensed in some way, and unless they had some means to provide for their sustenance and expenses. Therefore the feoffment of land followed as a matter of course, and the more complete and advantageous this feoffment was the more it was appreciated, and the better it corresponded to the idea of recompense for faithful and efficient service. Naturally enough we find, therefore, that the best-endowed and most privileged landowners of Old English society turn out to be thanes, and have received their endowments as grants for service. We may trace thaneship as a constitutive element in the condition of the *alodiarii*,[1] the owners who have their lands as fully at their disposal as was possible in those days; and another form of land tenure, also described as essentially free, that of the tenants *in parage*[2] is besides intimately connected with thaneship. But the privileged quality of the land tenure was not a direct and necessary result of thaneship, nor the condition of a thane a direct consequence of

[1] Dd. i. 1 b: (Kent) 'Has forisfacturas habet rex super omnes alodiarios totius comitatus de Chent, et super homines ipsorum. Et quando moritur alodiarius rex inde habet releuationem terrae, excepta terra S. Trinitatis, et S. Augustini et S. Martini, et Exceptis his, Godric de Burnes, etc. . . . Super istos habet rex forisfacturam de capitibus eorum tantum modo, et de terris eorum habet releuamen qui habent suam sacam et socam.' 39 c: (Knighton and the Down, Hants) 'Rex tenet in dominio Chenistone et Done. Octo liberi homines tenuerunt in alodium de rege Edwardo. Tunc geldauit pro ii hidis, modo pro nichilo. Oda cum ii liberis hominibus habuit dimidiam hidam et quartam partem unius uirgatae. Aluuoldus i uirgatam. Herouldus i uirgatam. Goduinus i uirgatam. Alricus unam uirgatam. Brictric dimidiam hidam. Unusquisque horum partem molini, quaeque pars xxii den. Horum v tainorum terram tenet rex in firma sua, et habet ibi ii carucas in dominio et appreciatur c sol. et tamen reddit viii lib. de firma.' Cf. 61 a (Etingedene, Berks); cf. ibid., Hingepene; 61 b (Cerletone); 63 c (Peteorde).

[2] Dd. i. 79 b: (Radesway in Broadway Chapelry, Dorset) 'Dode man tenet de Comite Wai. Scireuuold et Vluuard tenuerunt (in paragio) T.R.E. et geldabant pro ii hidis.' Cf. 79 c, d, passim; 263 (Doneham, Cheshire); iv. 48: (in Broadway, Dorset) 'Uxor Hugonis f. Grip habet i mansionem que uocatur Waia quam tenuerunt ix tagni pariter . . . poterant ire cum suis terris ad quemlibet dominum' iv. 435 (Pultimora, Devon).

privileged land-holding. By the side of thanes who could go with their land where they pleased and could do with it what they pleased,[1] who thus enjoyed full liberty in regard to commendation and possessed *bócland*, stand other thanes who could not separate their land from some particular estate, or could not leave, with it, the patronage of the king, or of the Church, or of some great man.[2] In the latter case, the tenement of the thane was considered as the property of his lord, as a portion of an estate which had to 'defend' the whole of it in respect of military obligations. This was the reason why the Domesday Commissioners took the fact that a man lived on thaneland which could not be separated from the lord's estate, as an indication that the tenement had to pass under the lordship of the successor of the Saxon lord; while independent estates belonging to thanes did not, as a matter of course, follow their holders' allegiance. A characteristic consequence of the quality of thaneland was that, as a rule, it was estimated for geld with the estate on which it depended.[3] On the contrary, thanes holding *bócland* were in truth only personally sub-

[1] Dd. i. 35 b: (Apps Court, Surrey) 'Isdem Ricardus habet vi hidas in manerio Ebsa, quas abbas Wluuoldus deliberauit ei in emendatione Waletone, sicut homines Ricardi dicunt. Sed homines de hundredo dicunt se nunquam uidisse breuem uel liberatorem regis qui eum inde saisisset. Hanc terram tenuerunt nouem teigni, et cum ea se poterant uertere quo uolebant.' 84 a (Wilchesode, Dorset). 277 d: (Shipley, Derby) 'In Scipelie habuerunt Brun et Odincar ii carucas terrae ad geldum . . . Hanc terram dicunt homines qui iurauerunt non pertinuisse ad Ulf fenisc T.R.E. sed ipsi ii taini ita tenuerunt ut potuissent dare et uendere cui uoluissent.' iv. 88 (Coletona, Devon).

[2] Dd. i. 3 a: (Otford, Kent) 'De hoc manerio (Otefort) tenent iii teigni i solin et dimidium, et ibi habent in dominio iii carucas'; 46 d: (Otterbourn, Hants) 'Otreburne. Cheping tenuit de episcopatu Wintoniensi, non potuit recedere ab aecclesia.' iv. 163: (Tavestock, Devon) 'Tauestocha . . . pro iii hidis et dim. De his tenent vi milites hidam et dim. Quam tenuerunt de abbate iiii tagni qui non poterant ab aecclesia separari.' Cf. iv. 426 (Mochelesberia, Devon); cf. i. 172 a: (Worcestershire) 'Si ita liber homo est ut . . . cum terra sua possit ire quo uoluerit.' 172 b: 'Grastone etc. tenuerunt teini . . . nec poterant recedere a domino manerii.'

[3] Dd. i. 41 a, b: (Witnal, Hants) 'De eodem manerio tenet Willelmus de Fiscanno vii hidas in Windenaie et in aliis ii locis. Duo teigni tenuerunt de episcopo et non potuerunt ire quolibet et geldauerunt cum supradictis hidis.' Cf. 41 b (Eisseburne).

jected to certain obligations in regard to the lord.[1] They could discard him if they found his protection no adequate equivalent for their service, and, at any rate, their land endowment was by right in no way implicated in the estate of the lord.[2] The cases under discussion, besides their direct significance in Old English law, are characteristic for the use and meaning of the expressions 'freedom', 'free'. These expressions admit of divers constructions, and are very wide in their application, but in one of the most prevalent senses given to them they have nothing to do with freedom of status or of personal condition. They are used to denote that a person can dispose of the property in land that he holds, land which belongs properly to him and not to somebody else.[3] The contrast between the forms of land-holding in question might, indeed, be illustrated to some extent by a comparison with the modern distinction between freehold and leasehold.

Certain peculiarities of Old English law account for a good deal in the history of thaneship. It inclined decidedly to the notion that all the sons of a man should be given equal rights in his succession. This view subordinates the interests of efficient husbandry and service to the natural growth of population, and the result must

[1] Dd. i. 145 d: (E. Burnham, Bucks) 'Esburneham . . . Hoc manerium tenuerunt iii teigni T.R.E. et uendere potuerunt et tamen ipsi iii reddiderunt per annum v ores de consuetudine ad monasterium de Stanes.' 163 d: (Tewkesbury, Gloucs.) 'Hoc manerium tenuit Brictric filius Algar T.R.E. et has subscriptas terras aliorum teinorum ipso tempore in sua potestate habuit . . . Qui T.R.E. has terras tenebant et se et terras suas sub Brictrici potestate summiserunt.'

[2] Dd. i. 254 b: (Marchamley, Salop) 'Raynaldus uicecomes tenet de comite Marcemeslei, Seuuar et Aluric pro ii maneriis tenuerunt T.R.E. et erant liberi.' Ibid.: 'Wicford, Sten et Wilegrip tenuerunt et cum terra ista liberi erant.' Ibid., Grotintune. iv. 265: (Bratton, Devon) 'Bratona . . . In ista mansione fuerunt ii tegni t.r.e. qui tenuerunt dim. uirgatam terrae pariter, et potuerunt ire ad quemlibet dominum cum ista terra.' Ibid.: (Bridestow, Devon) 'Cum ista mansione habet Balduinus terram vi tegnorum qui non pertinuerunt ad supradictam mansionem . . . Isti tegni potuerunt ire ad quemlibet dominum cum ista terra.'

[3] Dd. i. 84 a: (Mappowder, Dorset) 'Bollo presbiter tenet Mapledre. Ipse (liber) tenuit cum aliis vii tainis (liberis) T.R.E.' 266 c: (Caldecot, Cheshire) 'Caldecote. Ulgar presbiter et alii iii teini tenuerunt pro iii maneriis et liberi erant.'

always be a multiplication of rights impairing the value of estates, parcelling them up into small fractions, either by real partition or by dependence on too great a number of tenants. The personal character of thaneship expressed itself, among other things, in the absolute character of inherited rights springing from it. Although there were definite standards of efficiency in regard to estates intended to serve as a basis for military service, although it would have been advantageous from a public point of view to keep them up as close units of $3\frac{1}{2}$–5 hides or carucates, as a matter of fact we find, especially on *bócland* estates, the most luxuriant growth of parage tenures, with 8, 9, 10, 14 tenants for each estate,[1] which in itself is sometimes by no means a large one. The movement towards the concentration of estates assumed an overwhelming force directly after the Conquest in the development of French military tenure.

Military Tenure.

Thaneship as a condition of vassalage, or personal service of a higher kind, was not restricted to the following of the King. Great personalities—queens, earls, bishops—had their thanes as well as the King,[2] and in strict terminology

[1] Dd. i. 11 c: (Chillenden, Kent) 'Cilledene, pro uno solin et uno iugo et x acris se defendit . . . Goduinus tenuit de rege Edwardo et alii v teigni.' 72 a: (Wilts) 'Butremare (?) . . . Octo taini tenuerunt T.R.E. et geldabat pro i hida et una uirgata terrae.' 83 c: (in Broadway, Dorset) 'Waia . . . Novem taini tenuerunt in paragio T.R.E. et geldabat pro iv hidis.' 146 c, d: (Woughton-on-the-Green, Bucks) 'Vlchetone . . iiii hid. pro i manerio . . . Hoc manerium tenuerunt viii teigni. Horum iiii homines Alurici dimidiam hidam habuerunt.' 152 a: (Stoke Hammond, Bucks) 'Stoches, pro x hidis . . . Hoc manerium tenuerunt viii teigni. Unus eorum vi hidas dim. uirg. minus tenuit pro uno manerio, et ipse et omnes alii vii potuerunt uendere terram suam cui uolueruut.' Cf. Wluerintone, ibid.

[2] Dd. i. 137 c: (Braughing, Herts) 'Brachinges, pro v hidis se defendit . . . Hoc manerium tenuerunt ii teigni. Horum unus homo Regis Edwardi habuit iiii hidas, et alter homo Ansgari Stalri i hidam habuit. Vendere non potuerunt quia semper iacuerunt in elemosina Regis Edwardi tempore et omnium antecessorum suorum ut scyra testatur.' Cf. 137 d (Merdelai); 371 a: (Colsterworth, Lincs.) 'In Colsteuorde habuit Tainus reginae iiii carucatas terre ad geldum.' ii. 151 b: (Norfolk) 'Torp ten. teinus Stigandi iii carucatas terrae.' Cf. 152 b (Hedenaham). i. 50 a: (Hants) 'Sudberie tenuerunt Ednod et Edwi in alodium de rege.' 376 d: (Lincs.) 'Wapentac dicit Aschil fuisse tainum regis, nec habuisse unquam sub Merlesuen terram suam.'

the King's thanes, with their large *wergeld* and extensive rights, were carefully held apart from ordinary thanes.[1] And yet we mostly read of thanes in Domesday without any qualifying adjunct, and have, if possible, to determine in every particular case whether the persons in question are tenants-in-chief or under-tenants; personal attendants of the king, or of some private person. The fact that *thanes*, as such, occupy such a prominent place in Domesday must be explained by some feature common to all, and there is only one such feature—they are all armed servants, their first and most important duty is to assist the lord in the performance of military duties charged to the estate; as predecessors of the feudal *milites* they are all thanes, the highest as well as the lowest, and stand in sharp opposition to all classes not subjected to special military obligations.

This is very characteristic in the case of small thanes, of whom there is a great number everywhere. Holders of a ploughland, or of fractions of a ploughland, are constantly described as thanes, and it is certainly not the size, but the quality of their tenement and the nature of their service, that give them the right to such a personal distinction. The well-known instance of the Lancashire thanes is worth notice in this respect. These thanes, and the *drengs*, or *homines* corresponding to them, hold estates of one ploughland and less; they have to perform boon-works and ploughings on the King's manorial home-farms, and these agricultural services are emphatically described as being alike to those of villains. The services in question are not numerous or burdensome, but they speak of a subjection which suggests a comparison with downright villains, and imply rustic arrangements in the households of the thanes themselves.[2] They were evidently, for all

[1] This is especially clear in Old English terminology. Liebermann, Gesetze, I, 358, 11 Can. 71.

[2] Dd. i. 269 d: 'Inter Ripam et Mersham: Omnes isti taini habuerunt consuetudinem reddere ii oras denariorum de unaquaque carucata terrae, et faciebant per consuetudinem domos regis et quae ibi pertinebant sicut uillani, et piscarias, et in silua haias et stabilituras, et qui ad haec non ibat quando debebat ii sol. emendabat, et postea ad opus ueniebat et operabatur donec perfectum erat. Unusquisque

purposes, peasants with medium-sized holdings. The lord exercised very stringent rights of relief in cases of succession; and the expressions used by the Survey about the passing of inheritance imply that the system of united holdings prevailed there, and not parage or gavelkind succession.[1] And yet all the terms used to denote the condition of these tenants—thanes, *drengs*, *homines*—distinguish them from the ordinary peasantry, and the stress laid on the organization of justice and the attendance at folk-moots shows these men to have been eminently 'moot-worthy'. There can be no doubt about the condition of these independent freemen: they are 'statesmen', farmers, and warriors at the same time. Their very independent position does not exclude an element of strongly expressed *vassalage*: they are subjected to rules of a distinctly feudal character, and their tenements are liable to confiscation for grave breaches of the obligations resulting from such vassalage.

It need hardly be mentioned that the Conquest, with its wholesale destruction of the English military class, the destruction of property, and the deeds of violence brought about in its sequel, lowered in every direction the position of thanes. We often notice their disappearance, and can readily suspect that they have been replaced by peasants—socmen or villains.[2] In other instances, although they keep their ground, there is very little left to testify of their

eorum uno die in Augusto mittebat messores suos secare segetes regis.' 270 a: 'Lailand: Homines huius manerii et de Salford non operabantur per consuetudinem ad aulam regis neque metebant in Augusto. Tantummodo i haiam in silua faciebant et habebant sanguinis forisfacturam, et feminae passae violentiam. De aliis consuetudinibus aliorum superiorum maneriorum erant consortes.'

[1] Dd. i. 269 d: 'Si quis de terra regis recedere uolebat, dabat xl sol. et ibat quo uolebat. Si quis terram patris sui mortui habere uolebat, xl sol. releuabat. Qui uolebat et terram et omnem pecuniam patris mortui rex habebat.'

[2] Dd. i. 158 d: (Chipping Norton, Oxon) 'Nortone . . . xiiii hid. et i uirg. terrae et dimidiam . . . nunc habet in dominio v hidas de terra uillanorum . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt xiiii taini.' 214 a: (Crawley, Beds) 'Crawelai . . . In dominio ii carucae, et iii carucae uillanorum possunt fieri. Ibi unus uillanus et vii bordarii et i seruus. . . Hoc manerium tenuerunt ix teigni, et cui uoluerunt terram suam dare et uendere potuerunt.'

importance in better times.[1] Indeed, it is almost a wonder that so many traces should have still been left in the Domesday Survey as to their position and rights.

Alodiarii.

2. We have already had occasion to deal with one meaning of the term *liber*, free. It is also often used synonymously with *thane*, or as a qualification to it, marking off one species of the *genus*, namely, the thanes sitting on their own land, and free to go with their land where they pleased.[2] We would sometimes recognize members of the same group even where the word thane is omitted, as 'free English',[3] or *alodiarii*,[4] or 'tenants in parage'.[5] But as these terms were of local application and not determined by an unalterable law, in the case of *alodiarius*—the free tenant holding in *alod*—it is not absolutely necessary to suppose that the term always meant exactly thanes owning land with full right to dispose of it, owning *bócland* in fact, or its equivalent. Some of the local jurors actually spoke of *alodiarii* who were unable to recede, and therefore were not quite free in their rights of ownership.[6] And, what is even more characteristic, the term *alodiarii*, which, as a rule,

[1] Dd. i. 284 d: (Eaton, Notts) 'Ættune, habuerunt x taini quisque Aulam suam. Inter eos vi bouatas terrae et dimidiam et vi partem unius bouatae ad geldum . . . Ibi . . . xiiii uillani et ix bordarii habentes vii carucas.' Cf. ibid., Hedune; 285 d, Westone; ibid., Normentune; 286 d, Ministretone; ibid., Gringeleia; 287 a, Rametone.

[2] Dd. i. 239 d: (Avon Dassett, Warwick) 'Ipse comes (de Mellent) tenet in Derceto x hidas. Tres taini tenuerunt, et liberi fuerunt.' Cf. ibid., Waltone, Scireburne'; 240 a, Snitefeld.

[3] Dd. i. 78 d: (Handley, Dorset) 'Hanlege T. R. E. geldabat pro xx hidis . . . De hac terra tenent ii angli liberi iiii hidas.'

[4] Dd. i. 22 a: (Sussex) 'Lodintone, iiii hid. et dim. . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt vi teigni sicut alodium.' 26 c: (Brighton, Sussex) 'Bristelmestune. In eadem uilla tenet Widardus . . . vi hidas et unam uirgatam, et pro tanto se defendit. Tres aloarii tenuerunt de rege Edwardo et potuerunt ire quolibet. Unus ex eis habuit Aulam, et uillani tenuerunt partes aliorum duorum.' Cf. 27 c (Venningore); 28 d (Ordinges); 58 c (Comenore, Berks); 60 d (Borgefelle, Berks). 53 b: (Shanklin, Hants) 'Sencliz. Sex liberi homines tenuerunt de rege Edwardo in alodio.'

[5] Dd. i. 46 b: (Knapp, Hants) 'Chenep . . . Tres alodiarii tenuerunt in paragio de rego Edwardo et iii aulae fuerunt.' Cf. 54 a (Heceford, Hants).

[6] Dd. i. 52 c: (Swainston in Calbourn, Hants) 'Cauborne . . . De hac terra tenet Robertus vi hidas, Herpul ii hidas, Alsi iii hidas et dimidiam. Has hidas tenuerunt vii alodiarii de episcopo nec poterant recedere alio uel ab illo.'

carries the meaning of as full an ownership as could exist in those times, has been applied exceptionally to people who can hardly be described as thanes, in whose position no element of vassalage is discernible. In the description of the Surrey manor of Codinton,[1] for instance, we read that it defended itself to the geld for 30 hides, of which the earl (Lewin) had twenty, while ten were held by the *alodiarii* of the township, who could go with their land where they pleased. The connexion with the township is the main feature in the status of this particular set of *alodiarii*, and it is much more probable to see in them small independent freeholders of the township than thanes. Indeed, this case makes it clear that the expression *alodiarii* used without further qualification applies chiefly to persons whose condition was characterized by their freehold, thanes forming only one part of the social group. This is borne out by the shades in the application of the right to sell and to go with the land—two rights intimately connected with each other. Between the extreme cases of those who could sell to whomsoever they pleased, and of those who held land belonging to ecclesiastical or secular lordships,[2] we find curious intermediate positions which it would be difficult to rubricate in either category. There are those who have the right to sell to strangers, if they have first offered

[1] Dd. i. 31 d: (Cuddington, Surrey) 'Codintone. Leuuinus comes tenuit. Tunc se defendit pro xxx hidis. De quibus tenebat comes xx hidas et x hidas tenebant alodiarii uillae qui cum terris suis quo uolebant recedere poterant.'

[2] Dd. i. 176 a: (Lench, Worcs.) 'Lenche . . . Ibi iiii hidae geldantes. Duas ex his tenuerunt ii teini, et alias ii tenuit Ælueua quaedam femina. Hi poterant ire quo uolebant, et pro iii maneriis tenebant.' 177 d: (Hampton) 'Hantune . . . Hoc manerium emit abbas eiusdem aecclesiae (Evesham) a quodam taino qui terram suam recte poterat uendere cui uellet, et emptum donauit aecclesiae.' Cf. i. 10 b (Badelesmere, Kent). 185 c: (Linton, Hereford) 'Lintone . . . Lefstan tenuit et non poterat recedere a manerio ipso.' ii. 201: (Rollesby, Norfolk) 'Adhuc in eadem Roluesbei i liber homo de lxxx acris terrae Almari episcopi et Aluuoldi abbatis commend. tantum, et hic homo erat ita in monasterio quod non poterat dare terram suam nec uendere.' Ibid.: (Billockby) 'Bitlakebei tenet Ketel i liber homo dimidia fuit Almari episcopi commendatione, sed tota terra sua fuit ita in monasterio S. Benedicti de Holmo, ad uictum quod non dare nec uendere potuit.' Cf. also i. 40 a (Alresforde, Hants); 257 b (Begestan, Salop); ii. 172 b (Helgatuna, Norfolk).

their land to their lord.[1] There are other freemen who are said to be unable to sell unless they pay a tax of 2 shillings.[2] As a consequence of these variations of meaning, we find that of several freemen (*liberi*) living in one place some are said to possess the right to sell and to give while others in the same group are deprived of it.[3]

3. Another interesting group of cases is presented by the use of the term *terra libera*, free land, or free tenement. It may occur in a general sense, without any qualifications disclosing the character of the freedom or franchise claimed.[4] But there are a sufficient number of instances showing that this freedom was taken to mean, as regards land, either freedom from some kind of pecuniary duty,[5] or freedom to give and to sell.[6] A curious attempt is made once to

Terra libera.

[1] Dd. ii. 260: (Fritton, Norfolk) 'Fridetuna . . . vii homines qui possent uendere terram suam si eam prius obtulissent domino suo.'

[2] Dd. ii. 187: (Palling, Norfolk) 'Palinga . . . In eadem v homines xxxiii acras, quos tenet Hugo de Hosdenc . . . Ex istis erant iiii liberi ut non possent recedere nisi dando ii solidos.'

[3] Dd. ii. 397 b: (Suffolk) 'In Wimundestuna vi liberi homines . . . de sexto qui uocatur Brictricus, nescit hundredum si potuit terram suam uendere uel non t. r. e. sed testatur quod uiderunt eum iurare quod non poterat dare uendere terram suam ab antecessore Ricardi.' Dd. i. 267 d: (Somerford, Cheshire) 'Sumreford. Rauesue et Chetel et Morfar pro iii maneriis tenuerunt. Duo liberi homines fuerunt. Morfar non poterat recedere a domino suo.' Cf. 33 a, b: (Chipstead, Surrey) 'de abbate de Certesy. Turgisus et Vlf tenuerunt T.R.E. Terra Turgisi erat de abbatia. Vlf poterat ire quo uolebat.'

[4] Dd. i. 7 d: (in Harrietsham, Kent) 'Isdem Hugo (nepos Herberti) tenet de episcopo i iugum liberae terrae in Selesburne'; 8 b: (Brunfelle) 'Huic manerio pertinet quaedam libera terra ad iii boues.' Cf. 9 b (Wicheham); ii. 176 (Fiskele, Norfolk).

[5] Dd. i. 31 b: (Bramley, Surrey) 'Brunlei . . . pro xxxiiii hidis. Quattuor ex his hidis fuerunt liberorum hominum qui de Alnod secedere potuerunt. Super hoc est terra ad ii carucas in ipso manerio quae nunquam geldum reddidit.' Dd. ii. 61 b: (Roding, Essex) 'Rodinges . . . pro i hida et iii uirgatis. Haec terra dimidia reddebat socam Ansgaro, et altera pars erat libera quam R. dedit G. ut sui homines dicunt.' Cf. ii. 194 b (Hoccham, Norfolk).

[6] Dd. i. 162 d: (Glouc.) 'In Dudestan Hd. habuit quidam tainus Edmaer iii maneria Hersefel et Athelai et Sanher. Iste homo poterat dare et uendere terram suam cui uoluisset.' Cf. ibid.: (Barton Regis) 'Bertune . . . De hoc manerio tenent ii liberi homines ii hidas, et habent ibi ix carucas. Ipsi se non possunt neque terram separare a manerio.' Dd. ii. 25 a: (Hanningfield, Essex) 'Haneghefeldam tenuit Friebertus pro i manerio, et pro ix hidis t.r.e. modo . . . In eadem tenuerunt xxiii liberi homines xiiii hidas qui possent recedere sine licentia domini ipsius mansionis. Hos tenet Episcopus, sed comitatus

represent free tenure as necessarily a tenure *in capite*. Orgar held four hides in Berwick, Oxon, and one hide in Ganguluesdene, of Milo Crispin. The notice as to these places ends with the remark that the two tenements or estates ought to have been held of the King, as Orgar, as well as his father and uncle, held freely in the time of King Edward.[1] This may have two meanings; either all the lands which were held as *bócland* were assumed to depend directly on the King, so that the licence to sell was at the same time the proof of a direct connexion between the King and the *alodiarius*, or else we have to fall back on a more general use of the term free tenant (*tenens libere*), which would be applied to all those who were suitors of the county and of the hundred courts. It seems to me that in the case under discussion we have to choose the first eventuality. The instances of free tenants holding of great men and of churches are so frequent that it would have been impossible to contest the title of all the lords of free mesne tenants. On the other hand, *bócland* ownership, although often in the hands of mesne tenants in the time after the Conquest, was properly an alodial holding T. R. E., and therefore directly under the king, under whatever obligations the owner may have otherwise stood as to other lords.

Liberi homines.

But, undoubtedly, the expressions 'free' and 'freeman' (*liberi, liberi homines*), when used by themselves, without direct reference to landownership, are primarily meant to denote *status* or condition—the condition of the free suitors of county and hundred. Let us take a rather intricate Essex case to start with. It occurs in the survey of the estates of Hugh de Montfort. A tenant of his, Hugh,

nescit quo modo eos habuerit . . . Has hidas preoccupauit Turoldus de Rouecestra, et abbatia de Eli calumpniatur ii hidas et iii uirgatas quas tenebant ii homines, et hundredum testatur quod ipsi tenebant libere terram suam et tantummodo erant commendati abbatis de Eli.'

[1] Dd. i. 159 c: (Berrick Prior, Oxon) 'Orgar tenet de manerio iiii hidas in Berewiche . . . i hidam in Ganguluesdene . . . Has ii terras quas tenet Orgar de Milone de rege deberet tenere. Ipse enim et pater suus et auunculus tenuerunt libere T.R.E.' Cf. 220 c (Deneforde, Northants); ibid., Wadenho.

son of Mauger, holds Goldhanger.[1] The home manor gelds for 1 hide and 15 acres, and contains only half a plough-team (T. R. E. one full team), with one villain, 6 *bordarii*, and 4 serfs. Besides, there lived in the place 9 freemen (*liberi homines*), with land rated at half a hide, and a 'man thane' (*homo teignus*—a vassal thane?) had 30 acres, and two other freemen 10 acres. The same Hugh, son of Mauger, had accepted (taken, or received?) 15 acres from a free thane (*de uno franco theigno*) and annexed them to his land, but he had no warrant for this according to the testimony of the hundred. The expression *liberi homines* is used here distinctly for very small tenants who had nothing to do with thanage. On the other hand, a thane occurs in the place as frank thane, and it seems, if the wording is not too clumsy for such an interpretation, that this frank thane is distinguished from the man thane, or vassal thane, spoken of before.[2] However this may be, the term *liberi homines* is applied, in our case, without reference to the right to give and sell land, although the franchise of the thane may have consisted in this right. We thus come across the trace of a very numerous class in the East of England which stands distinctly apart from the thanes, and gets its distinctive character from personal freedom and not from any freehold.

In Staffordshire, on the contrary, cases occur where thanes are qualified as *liberi homines*,[3] and these are exact parallels

[1] Dd. ii. 54 a, b: (Goldhanger, Essex) 'Goldhangram tenet idem (Hugo f. Malgeri) quod tenuit Leuuinus post Hagra pro manerio, et pro i hida et xv acris . . . et ix liberi homines manserunt in dimidia hida, et unus homo tegnus tenuit xxx acras, et ii alii liberi homines tenuerunt x acras . . . Quidam miles Hugonis de Monteforti nomine Hugonis f. Malgeri accepit xv acras de uno franco teigno, et misit cum sua terra et non habuit liberatorem sicut hundredum testatur, et ita est in manu regis.'

[2] Cf. Dd. ii. 159 b: (Hilgey, Norfolk) 'In Hidlingheia xxii acrae, quod tenuit t.r.e. viii oẽs (*sic*—homines?). Sed hundredum testatur quod fuit ad uictum monachorum de Sancto Benedicto.' 225 a, b: (Stokesby, Norfolk) 'Stokesbey ten. Eduinus liber homo Guerd iii carucatas terrae . . . et xxi homines lxxx acras terrae (*sic*) iacent semper huic manerio. Rex et comes socam de toto . . . et iii liberi homines quos addidit Harduinus.'

[3] Dd. i. 249 a: (Hilderstone, Stafford) 'Ipse Robertus (de Statford)

to the *francus teignus* of the above-mentioned Essex instance, the freedom or franchise being applied to the relation between the landowner and his lord: the first was not a mere dependant of the second, sitting on thaneland, but a free follower possessed of *bócland*, as I should like to construe it in these cases, and in all others where *liberi homines* appear as T. R. E. landowners.[1] These latter instances are frequent, and the designation *liberi homines* might in all of them be easily altered into that of thanes. Not so in the not less frequent cases where *liberi homines* appear as tenants of an estate along with the priest, the reeve, villains, and *bordarii*.[2] In these the stress evidently lies on the personal condition of the holders. When we find in the Hertfordshire manor of Berlai that there were 1½ hides in demesne, with 6 *bordarii* and 2 *servi*, and that the tenantry consisted of eight freemen (*liberi homines*), we cannot explain the entry on the supposition that the freemen were landowners who could go with their land where they pleased: it seems that the rustics of this particular place were free ceorls who enjoyed full folk-right, and could even defend it as against the Abbey of Ketteris, which held the manor.[3] An attempt may even be made to distinguish between the ordinary tenants of an estate and the freemen settled on it, as is the case, e. g., in the Northamptonshire manor of Byfield.[4]

tenet in Helduluestone quintam partem unius hidae, Dunning et Vluric tenuerunt, et liberi homines fuerunt.' 249 b: (Ellastone) 'Elachestone ... Sex taini tenuerunt T. R. E., et liberi homines fuerunt.'

[1] Dd. i. 23 d: (Glatting, Sussex) 'Clotinga ... Quattuor homines liberi tenuerunt in alodium ...' ibid. Stopeham: Quinque liberi homines ... in alodium.' Cf. 226 d (Hecham Hd., Northants); 238 d (Brome, Warwick).

[2] Dd. i. 48 a: (Houghton, Hants) 'Holstune ... In dominio est caruca et dimidia cum v bordariis et i franco homine et ii seruis.' 169 b: (Brockworth (?), Gloucs.) 'Brocowardinge ... In dominio sunt ii carucae, et viii uillani et vi bordarii et presbiter et ii liberi homines et prepositus. Inter omnes habent xv carucas.' Cf. 220 a (Bassonham, Northants); 239 c (Smitham, Warwick).

[3] Dd. i. 136 b: (Barley, Herts) 'Abbatissa de Cetriz tenet in Berlai iii hidas et dimidiam ... In dominio i hida et dim. Ibi viii liberi homines habent ii carucas et dim. Ibi vi bordarii et ii serui.'

[4] Dd. i. 224 d: (Byfield, Northants) 'Bifelde ... Ibi unus miles cum ii uillanis habent i carucam, et ii liberi homines manent ibi.'

Another group of entries concerning freemen is formed by mentions of such as were added to a neighbouring manor at the Conquest or a little before it. They are often marked off from the rest of the manor by their special assessment to the geld.[1] The source from which these freemen comē is easy to trace: they are free suitors of the hundred who have been passed by the King into the custody of the sheriff or of some great landowner.[2] All these subdivisions of the class are especially strongly represented in the counties where Danish influence was powerful. We find there large numbers of free landowners,[3] of freemen attached to neighbouring estates,[4] and of small rustic tenants entered as *liberi homines*.[5] In most of these cases the persons mentioned are very small people, and certainly had to perform rustic work with their own hands and the help of their families. The remarkable congestion of these small freemen in Danish districts, both in small farms or hamlets and in large villages, has evidently to be explained by the recent Danish conquest, which introduced large numbers of warriors of the *here*, who had after the settlement to provide their own subsistence, and who, although very much lowered by their humble condition and scanty outfit, were still proud of their freedom, and able to

Added freemen.

[1] Dd. ii. 148 b: (Ingham, Norfolk) 'Hincham ten. Edricus homo G. de Laxafelda i carucatam terrae ... et xvi liberi homines commendatione tantum i carucatam terrae et xx acras ... Tunc ualuit manerium xii sol. et liberi homines xii sol. et modo similiter.'

[2] Dd. ii. 183 a: (Norfolk) 'Isti sunt liberi homines Rogeri Bigot Fredrebruge Hd. et dim.'

[3] Dd. ii. 288 a: (Bungay, Suffolk) 'Bongeia ... vi liberi homines xiiij acras et i carucam. Tunc ualuit iiii sol. et postquam rex W. uenit in istam patriam habent partiti ii fratris, i ex eis est in manu regis Vlsi, Vluricus in manu comitis.' Cf. ibid.: 'Burghea: Godricus liber homo xxx acras. Huic manerio pertinent ii dim. liberi homines, et unus integer, de xvi acris.'

[4] Dd. ii. 111 a: (Fakenham, Norfolk) 'Fachenham ... In Estanbyrda iii liberi homines, et in Barsham i, et in Snaringa iii liberi homines et inter hos homines iii acrae terrae.' Cf. 121 b (Runhala, Norfolk); 150 b (Carletuna, Norfolk).

[5] Dd. ii. 159 b: (Fincham, Norfolk) 'In Phincham tenuit liber homo ad socham abbatis de Rameseia ii carucatas terrae t.r.e. ... Tunc xxiiii liberi homines et modo, et vi bordarii et iiii serui ... In eadem uilla semper viii liberi homines, quod tenet Willelmus (de Warenna), et xi bordarii et v serui.'

keep it up. It is not to be wondered at that the freeman appears in the half-Danish counties as a substitute for the thane of the English counties, but it must not be overlooked that, in another sense, he corresponds also, from an economic point of view, to the *villain* of the English counties. Whatever the gulf between these two classes from the point of view of later feudal law may have been, they stood very close to one another in the east of England in point of husbandry, and it was easy to glide down from one to the other, especially as there were many intermediate links between the two, as we shall have to notice by and by.

Freemen and villains.

A most interesting passage of the Worcester survey shows to what extent the social basis of the position occupied by the freemen in the east and the villains descended from free ceorls in the west was identical. I mean the entry as to the respective rights of the churches of Pershore, Westminster, and Evesham.[1] The shire gave evidence that the church of Pershore ought to have church rent from 300 hides, that is, one load of corn at Martinmas, from every hide in which a franklin (*francus homo*) is settled, and if he has more than one hide let the rest be free; if there is a breach in the performance of this duty, at the appointed day the person who has kept back the corn ought to render eleven times as much after having acquitted himself of his due. The Abbot of Pershore has forfeiture from his hundred hides, such as he ought to have from his own land. From the other two hundred hides the Abbot has the load and the acquittal due, while the Abbot of Westminster has forfeiture on his own land (because it is his

[1] Dd. i. 175 c: (Terra Sanctae Mariae de Persore, Worcs.) 'Dicit Comitatus quod aecclesia de Persore debet habere Circset de omnibus trecentis hidis, scilicet de unaquaque hida ubi francus homo manet unam summam annonae in die festo S. Martini, et si plures habet hidas sint liberae, et si dies ille fractus fuerit, qui retinuit annonam persoluet undecies, prius tamen soluet quod debet, et ipse abbas de Persore habet forisfacturam de suis c hidis qualem habere debet de sua terra. De aliis cc hidis habet ipse abbas summam et persolutionem, et abbas de Westmonasterio habet forisfacturam, quia sua terra est, et abbas de Euesham similiter habet de sua terra propria, et omnes alii similiter de suis terris.'

own land), and the Abbot of Evesham has the same from his own land, and all other landlords in the same way. There are few passages in Domesday so replete with information as this. We see the three hundreds in question subdivided in regard to the forfeiture fines, and presumably as to sac and soc, between the great churches of Pershore, Westminster, Evesham, and other great landowners, Pershore wielding the franchise over a full hundred. The distribution of sac and soc follows landownership, but in this particular case landownership, or *dominium*, as we might say, using a Roman legal expression, is not anything else but a landlordship—the power of the *landrica* or *landhlaford*—and goes well with different kinds of subordinate landholding. As to the ancient right of levying churchscot, Pershore possesses a monopoly, evidently going back to a Royal grant not shared by the other ecclesiastical institutions interested in the district. The repartition of churchscot is very characteristic; it is imposed on the hides, and it is assumed that these hides are normally held by franklins, every one being possessed of one hide or more. The exemption of the extra hides in a franklin's possession supposes two things—firstly, that the tax was levied from the free households as such, and secondly, that the accumulation of several hides in one free household was an exception at the time when the tax arose. Anyhow, we see clearly the framework of ancient English society in the west underlying the superstructure of the landlordships which towers over it. It is composed of households of the size of one hide on the average grouped into hundreds, and the heads of these households are reputed franklins; they are, in a sense, *liberi homines*, like their fellows in the east of England. And yet, if from this verdict of the county we turn to the survey of the very hundreds mentioned, we shall not find any group marked off in the same way as the freemen of the half-Danish districts, but almost exclusively villains with no particular claim to a special standing. We are thus reminded that the franklin population, the fyrdworthy, moot-worthy, and fold-worthy tenants, constitutes

one of the elements of villainage. If we look out for English and Scandinavian terms corresponding to the *liberi* and *franci homines* used by Domesday, the only ones that could be applied would be *ceorl*, *twyhyndman* and *frigman*. *Bonde* would hardly do as a distinctive term, because it assumes at a very early period on English soil a tinge of bondage.[1] *Twelvehyndman* and *thane* would apply to the higher groups of the same general class, but we have no means of judging how far the equality of wergeld between all Danish freemen and English twelvehyndmen, stipulated in the tenth-century treaties, was kept up later on.

Standard cases.

4. Before leaving this subject I should like to call attention to a few standard cases, illustrating, in a concrete way, the use of the term *liberi homines* in the eastern counties. Halstead,[2] Essex, assessed to the geld at 2 hides less 4 acres, and held by William de Gare, a tenant of William de Warenne, had been at the time of King Edward in the possession of 30 freemen. The manor was cultivated at both periods by ten ploughs in demesne and three ploughs belonging to tenants. At the time of the Survey there were 8 villains, 23 *bordarii*, and 6 serfs settled there, but the repartition of the teams between demesne and tenant holdings, kept up from the time before the Conquest, and the entire disappearance of freemen after the Conquest, show that only a small number of the later tenants had occupied the same rank T.R.E.: most of the earlier freemen had evidently lost caste through the Conquest and had slipped into the position of villains and *bordarii*. Reverting to the T.R.E. state of things, as indicated by the great number of free landowners and the marked predominance of demesne cultivation, it is not difficult to see that there had been in the township a considerable cluster of small freeholders cultivating their own land and having a few bondmen under them, who,

[1] Villainage in England, 146.

[2] Dd. ii. 37 a: (Halstead, Essex) 'In Haltesteda tenet Willelmus de Gare ii hidas iiii acris minus quas tenuerunt xxx liberi homines t.r.e. In qua terra sunt semper x carucae in dominio, et iii carucae hominum, et viii uillani et xxiii bordarii et vi serui... Tunc et post ualuit x lib. modo xiii lib. et xvii sol. et iiii den.'

however, were certainly too few to feed them by their work. It is worthy of notice that the value of the estate increased as a result of the subjection of the freeholders; from £10 a year it rose to £14 17*s.* 4*d.* The French knight drew a better income from his dependents than the small freemen had been able to do. A somewhat similar case is presented by Huntingfield, Suffolk,[1] where, however, two sets of freemen are clearly distinguished, one, larger, 21 in number with two *bordarii* under them, who have been drawn into the manor of Robert Malet, and another, of four, whose sac and soc still remained in Blideburgh, a Royal manor, for the benefit of the king and the earl, which means, of course, that the public rights of these latter tenants were still kept up.

Nayland, in Essex,[2] consisted of two parts: a manorialized estate of 5½ hides with 18 villains, 42 *bordarii* (formerly 33), and 7 serfs, and a free settlement of 3 hides with 37 *liberi homines* under the lordship of Sweyn, formerly under Robert. From these, one freeman with 7½ acres is distinguished, who could go wherever he pleased; his land had lapsed into Sweyn's hand. The rustic character of the free settlement cannot be doubted, and it is very probable that it represented a group of free peasants closely connected in all husbandry arrangements with the villains and *bordarii* of Sweyn living in the same township, yet

[1] Dd. ii. 311 a: (Huntingfield, Suffolk) 'Huntingafelda ... Et adhuc huic manerio Huntingafelde (de Roberto Malet) iacent modo cc acrae terrae quas tenuerunt xxi liberi homines t.r.e., semper x carucae, et sub eis ii bordarii ... Et haec terra habet i leugam in longo, et ix quar. in lato, et vii den. et obolum reddit de geldo regis. Et adhuc huic manerio iacent in Huntingafelda xl acrae terrae quas tenuerunt iiii liberi homines ... Et de tota hac terra liberorum hominum iacet soca et saca in Blideburh ad opus regis et comitis. Et de omnibus istis hominibus habuit Edricus antecessor Roberti Malet commendationem.'

[2] Dd. ii. 47 a: (Nayland, Essex) 'Eiland tenuit R. pro uno manerio et pro v hidis et dim. Modo tenet Suenus in dominio. Semper xviii uillani. Tunc xxxiii bordarii, modo xlii. Semper vii serui, et ii carucae in dominio, et x carucae hominum ... De hoc manerio tenet Godeboldus de Sueno i hidam et dim. ... Adhuc tenet idem xxxvii liberos homines manentes in iii hidis terrae quos habuit Robertus t.r.e. et Suenus postea ... et quidam liber homo erat commendatus Roberto, tenuit vii acras et dim. et poterat ire quo uellet, et illam terram habet Suenus.'

distinct from them in regard to personal status and legal right as to their holdings.

Hepworth,[1] Suffolk, may stand as an example of a large number of villages within the lordship of Bury St. Edmunds. It was a settlement of 20 freemen, assessed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, who had 3 villains and 4 serfs under them. There is no distinction between home-farm and tenant-land in this case, the cultivation evidently going on in the same way on the holdings of the free and of the villains. The freemen could give and sell their land, but sac and soc, and commendation and some customary dues not further specified, remained in the monastery; the services accruing from these free tenants had to be rendered in the abbatial manors of Stanton and 'Cunegaston'. Similar conditions prevail in a number of other Suffolk townships subjected to the great abbey.

In the same county of Suffolk we find in the survey of the estates of Roger of Poitou[2] evidence of another change in the status of *liberi homines* in Domesday—namely, the gradual subjugation of small squires and scattered farms. A good many of these were encroached upon by the Norman lord, who took advantage of his position as a sheriff, notwithstanding the protection of the church of Ely.

Already, from the examples quoted hitherto, it can be gathered that the quality of freemen did not exclude subjection of various kinds. In a sense, every ordinary freeman

[1] Dd. ii. 365 b: (Hepworth, Suffolk) 'In Hepworda xx liberi homines de ii carucatis et dim. terrae, et habent iii uillanos, et iiii seruos. Semper viii carucae . . . Ecclesia de xv acris libere terrae in elemosina. Hi omnes potuerunt dare et uendere terram suam, sed saca et soca et commendatione et omni consuetudine remanserunt Sancto, et seruitium in Stantunam et Cunegestunam.' Cf. ibid., Watlesfelda, Hopetuna, Berningham; cf. 366, 367.

[2] Dd. ii. 346 a, b: 'Terra Rogeri Pictauiensis. In Grundesburch vii liberi homines commendati Sanctae Ætheldredae t.r.e. xx acras terrae . . . In Haschetuna ten. Aluuinus liber homo Sancte Ætheldredae t.r.e. xl acras . . . hic Aluuinus non potuit terram suam uendere nec dare ab aecclesia de Eli. In eadem vii liberi homines commendati S. Ætheldredae dxvi (*sic*) acras . . . In Thisteldena viii et dim. liberi homines commendati S. Ætheldredae t.r.e. de xxx acris . . . Adhuc in eadem tenet Ærnoldus de Rogero Pictauiensi i liberum hominem l acris post modo, commendatus S. Ætheldredo t.r.e.'

was subjected to soce, but originally it was the soce of the king, and of the earl as the local potentate.[1] By the side of these there appear, however, the freemen owing suit and subjected to the jurisdiction of private lords.[2] Commendation comes in as a second and lesser degree of dependence, and it is especially to commendation and soce that the curious instances apply when the record speaks of entire freemen and half-freemen. The terms 'complete' or 'entire', and the partition of a person, can hardly apply to condition in these cases. In what sense could one speak of a half-free condition as distinguished from that of the socman and the villain? On the other hand, there was sufficient ground to talk of the possession of half a freeman, if a lord could only claim half of the dues from him, either because he had to divide them with some other private lord, or because they remained for one half a source of public revenue.[3]

[1] Dd. ii. 110b: (Breccles, Norfolk) 'In eadem (Breccles) i liber in Saham xxvi acras ... Rex et comes socam.' 120a: (Pickenham, Norfolk) 'In Pichenham tenuit i liber homo lx acras t.r.e. et postquam rex uenit in istam patriam dedit R. com. preposito hundret et per uicecomites regis tenet ille adhuc eam terram.' 133a: (Hevingham, Norfolk) 'In Heuincham i liber homo presbiter xl acras terrae in elemosina ... Hunc tenuit Leustan antecessor Tiheli t.r.e. ... modo eum tenet Godricus. Sed Taraldus homo Willelmi de Warenna eum saisiuit super regem et tenuit per tres annos, modo derationatus super eum, et reddit Turaldus v sol. de catallo regis, et dedit uadem de iustitia facienda.' Cf. ibid., Wittuna. 269b: (Filby, Norfolk) 'Philebey ... Rex et comes socam de liberis hominibus.'

[2] Dd. ii. 160a: (Winebotsham, Norfolk) 'In Winebotesham ... hanc terram tenuerunt xxiii liberi homines ad socam Sancti Benedicti.' Cf. ibid., Danefella. 245a: (Oxburgh, Norfolk) 'Oxenburh ... viii liberi homines tenent c acras ... de illis hominibus liberis calumpniatur Radulf. de Toenio quia antecessor eius cum soca et saca tenuit, ut hundredum testatur.' Cf. 416b (Asetona, Suffolk).

[3] Dd. ii. 174a: (Sutton, Norfolk) 'In Suttuna iacent vii liberi homines et sunt in Repes et Rotholfuesbei i car. terrae, et ix ac. prati, et iii liberos sub eis vii acris terrae. Semper ii carucae. Et unus de his dim. vii liberis testatur hundredum Sancto Benedicto de Holmo, et unus homo R. comitis incursit, et hic dimidius habet vi acras terrae. Appretiati sunt in x lib. Suttune. Sed super eos xiiii sol. et tenet in dominio.' 175a: (Rockland) 'In Rokelunda xiiii integri liberi homines Ulketel commendati t.r.e. et vi dimidii. Inter homines lxxxx acrae terrae.' Cf. 203a (Rokelund); ibid., Brambretuna. Cf. i. 180d: (Suckley, Worcs.) 'Suchelie ... Rogerus comes dedit cuidam Ricardo dimidiam uirgatam terrae in solida libertate.'

Another important feature of subjection was the suit to the lord's fold. Indeed, as we have seen, it is sometimes treated as the dividing line between free and unfree tenants.[1] But in a number of other instances from East Anglia the suit to the fold appears only as an incident, not incompatible with free tenement.[2] Some of the great communities of freemen acknowledging the lordship of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, although emphatically free, are bound to send their sheep to the abbot's folds, and customary service (*consuetudines*) appears closely connected with this duty.[3] It is so in East Anglia, but, as has been already suggested, the soce of the fold, appearing, as it does, as an incident of base tenure, must have played a decisive part in marking the social division between freemen and villains. The aggregate of dues and obligations of different kinds which may be drawn by a lord from his free tenants forms the service of the latter and is assigned to some manor.[4]

The Domesday Survey, with its two lines of entries representing the state of things before and after the Conquest, not only enables us to notice the variations of social condition within the class of freemen to be explained by a process of subjection to lordship, but gives direct and

[1] Dd. ii. 203 b: (Helgheton, Norfolk) 'Halgatuna . . . In eadem uilla xii homines vi quorum erant in soca falde, et alii vi erant liberi.' Cf. 204 a: (Melton) 'Meltuna . . . ix liberi homines soca falde et commendatione tantum.' Cf. ibid., Hederseta; Parua Meltuna; 206 a (Bertuna).

[2] Dd. ii. 135 b: (Raveningham, Norfolk) 'Raverincham . . . x liberi homines soca falde et commendatione.' 230: (?, Norfolk) 'Thurketeliart . . . xv liberi homines falde et commendatione.' Cf. ibid. (? Fincham) 'Pincham . . . Huic manerio iacent v liberi homines ad socam tantum commend. et ii de omni consuetudine.'

[3] Dd. ii. 361 b: (Gt. Barton, Suffolk) 'Bertuna . . . lxx liberi v carucatis terrae . . . Super hos homines habet et semper habuit sacam et socam et omnem consuetudinem et ad faldam pertinent omnes praeter iii.' Cf. 362 a (Ruhham).

[4] Dd. ii. 358 a: (Brockley, Suffolk) 'In Broclega tenent Tebaldus, et Rodbertus de abbate iii liberos homines de ii carucatis terrae . . . Horum duo poterunt dare et uendere terram, sed saca et soca et commendatio remanebat Sancto. Tertius non potest dare nec uendere terram sine licentia abbatis.' Cf. ibid., Reoda. 364 a: (Stow, Suffolk) 'In Stowa xxi liberi homines de ii carucatis terrae . . . hi sunt sancti cum saca et soca et omni consuetudine et seruiunt in Lecfordam. Semper ualet xx sol.' Cf. 363 a (Hametuna).

copious evidence as to the gradual stages of the process. There can be no doubt about its general direction. The number of freemen steadily decreases, and their position gets worse.[1] An apparent increase in some cases[2] is evidently obtained by the annexation to some private manor of freemen who used to belong to Royal hundreds.[3] The absorption of free holdings by manors is mostly achieved in one of two ways. Domesday is full of notices of encroachments or invasions, weak freemen being reduced to subjection by the strong hand of their powerful neighbours.[4] The formation of manors becomes from this point

[1] Dd. i. 257 c: (Grinshill, Salop) 'Griuelesul. Leuiet et Godric et Seuuard et Algar tenuerunt pro iii maneriis et liberi fuerunt ... Ibi sunt iii liberi homines, et reddunt vii sol. per annum. Haec terra ualebat xxxii sol. T.R.E.' ii 47 b: (Stapleford Tawney, Essex) 'Staplefort tenet Siricus de Sueno quod tenuit Godricus pro uno manerio et pro v hidis, et de his v hidis dedit suis x liberis hominibus libere iiii hidas, et i retinuit in dominio, et postquam rex aduenit dono regis tenuit Robertus i hidam et Suenus filius eius adiunxit iiii hidas cum ista post mortem patris sui. Tunc in i hida nullus bordarius erat, et tunc in iiii hidis vi bordarii, modo ii uillani et xviii bordarii.'

[2] Dd. ii. 166 b: (Depham, Norfolk) 'In Depham xxx ac. terrae i liber homo in eadem carrucata ... Tota soca in Hincham regis.' Ibid.: (Windham) 'Wimundham ... xxx liberi homines quando recepit (Willelmus de Warenna), modo xliii. Semper i carucata terrae ... Hoc totum est de escangio de Laquis de terra sanctorum.'

[3] Dd. ii. 109 b: (Massingham, Norfolk) 'Masincham ... Sunt et de hoc manerio ablati xiiii liberi homines et xii uillani quos tenet Radulfus Baignus.' 124 a: (Shotesham) 'Scotessam ... ualuit t.r.e. xxx sol. post et modo xx sol. et omnes isti liberi homines ualent xl sol. sed t.r.e. non erat in censu scotessa. R. blondus adcensauit.' 186 a: (Starston, Norfolk) 'In Sterestuna ... tenuit i liber homo Sanctae Aldrede t.r.e. et Stigandi erat soca et saco in Hersam, sed nec dare nec uendere poterat terram suam sine licentia Sancte Aldrede et Stigandi; dim. car. terre modo tenet Goduinus, et sub eo iii bordarii. Semper i caruca in dominio, et viii liberi homines sub eo de xx acris. Semper iii car. ... Modo Rogerus Bigot reuocat ad feudum liberorum suorum ex dono regis. Sed hundredum testatur quod quando Ricardus Punnatus erat prepositus in Hersam, pertinebat in Hersam, sed ille qui modo tenet, tunc subprepositus Ricardi in Ersam, abstulit et teste hundredo, et dedit censum in Ersam xx sol. et vi den. unoquoque anno de hac terra nominatim, et de alia, sed hoc anno non reddidit, et W. de Noiers habuit huc usque censum.'

[4] Dd. ii. 2 b: (Hatfield, Essex) 'Hadfelda ... Pertinebat huic manerio i sochemannus de dimidia hida t.r.e. quam G. de Magnavilla inde abstulit.' 5 b: (Writela) 'Dimidia hida quam libere tenuit i sochemannus reddens socam in manerio et tamen cum terra sua posset ire quo uellet, hunc comes E. adiunxit sue terre.' Cf. 7 a (Neuport; 449 a (Wiseta, Suffolk).

of view a kind of social integration—the swallowing up of small units unfit for the political struggle by more resisting and aggressive units. Undoubtedly the Conquest, with its violence, its racial collisions, its wholesale expropriation, presented an epoch when this process of aristocratic integration must have made itself felt with especial effect.

Royal grants.

5. But another side of the same process is perhaps even more interesting to watch, and may have had even more extensive results, because it went on with great force a long time before the Conquest. I mean the granting away of freemen—of rights over free citizens, as we should say—by the king and other persons in authority. We read of sheriffs appropriating rights over freemen,[1] or 'accommodating' freemen[2] to some lordship. In a way, these cases would fall under the head of violent encroachment, but it must not be forgotten that the sheriffs act in such cases as representatives of the king, and that what they give away is authority over members of the hundreds and dues to be collected from them.[3] A stricter and more burdensome subjection may grow out of these forms of appropriation, but the original root is the transfer of part of the Royal authority and of Royal income. And this aspect comes even more forcibly to the fore when freemen are said to be granted directly by the king. A notion has to be realized which is very alien to our present conceptions of public law, but which runs through the whole history of the earlier Middle Ages. The authority of the king over freemen is conceived as a regality, a profitable regality, which may be the object of a grant, and, as a matter of fact, is constantly

[1] Dd. ii. 211 b: (Shelfhanger, Norfolk) 'In Sceluagram... Quando Radulfus comes fuit potestatiuus et sui et terrae suae seruientes eius cambierunt cum seruientibus Sancti Edmundi iiii homines de Borstuna pro aliis iiii in Gessinga, quod comes habuit iiii et Abbas iiii.'

[2] Dd. ii. 299 b: (Mildeltuna, Suffolk) 'Kenricus homo Edrici filii Ingoldi et Grimus homo eiusdem, et habent 1 acras terrae ... Rex et comes socam. Grimus et Kenricus fuerunt commendati antecessori R. Malet Edrico et ipse accommodauit Waltero de Gada ... Modo tenet R. Bigot de feudo Hugonis comitis.'

[3] Dd. ii. 99 a: (Essex) 'In Hundret de Laxendena habet rex vii liberos homines, et hos prepositus hundredi habet tenentes dimidiam hidam, et ualet viii sol.'

put into currency in order to acquit debt, fit out servants, recompense for services, &c. The Domesday references are clear and varied as to this point. Eustache de Boulogne has stepped into the rights of Orgar, a *liber homo* in Anmere in Norfolk. On this hand he gets 2 carucates, with one villain, 6 *bordarii*, and 4 serfs. But he has also manorial lordship over six freemen, possessed of one carucate with 2 *bordarii*. These he claims as granted by the King.[1]

There was a dispute in Suffolk[2] between Roger Bigod the sheriff and Hugh the earl in regard to their respective rights over manors and freemen, but a temporary arrangement seems to have been negotiated between them. In the case of a freeman and priest named Suarinus an intricate question arose, however. He held a small estate of 30 acres to the geld, one plough-team, and 2 *bordarii*, and Walter of Dol was seised of him, and Earl Hugh 'after him'. The seisin of the latter was challenged, evidently by Roger Bigod, and evidence was produced in regard to the livery from which it was derived. A certain Normannus appeared as a 'liberator'. He averred that he had received a writ from the king that he should put Ralph de Savigny into seisin of all the freemen of whom Hubert de Port had formerly seised the Bishop of Bayeux, and therefore he put Ralph into seisin of the priest Suarinus aforesaid, but he had to admit that he did not know whether Suarinus did belong to those freemen of whom Hubert de Port had seised the bishop. The king's barons—that is, the Domesday Commissioners—when they came into the county, found this to

[1] Dd. ii. 151 a, b: (Anmere, Norfolk) 'Anemere tenuit Orgar liber homo t.r.e. ii car. terrae . . . Et vi liberi homines de i carucata terrae . . . hos liberos homines reclamat (Eustachius) de dono regis.'

[2] Dd. ii. 377 a: (Ashfield, Suffolk) 'In Asfelda Suarinus presbiter liber homo in soca et commendatione abbatis xxx ac. semper ii bordarii, et i caruca, et ualet x sol. Ex hoc presbitero erat saisitus Galterius de Dol quando forisfecit suam terram, et comes Hugo postea, sicut hundret testatur. Et Normannus dicit quod rex misit ei unum breuem ut saisiret Radulfus de Sauigni ex omnibus liberis hominibus ex quibus Hubertus de Portu saisierat episcopum, et ideo Normannus saisiuit Radulfum ex hoc presbitero, sed tamen nescit si Vbertus prius saisierat episcopum de illo, et hoc inuenerunt barones regis in pace inter Rogerum Bigot et Hugonem comitem quando uenerunt in comitatu, et ita erit in pace donec sit derationatus.'

be true in regard to the arrangement between Roger Bigod, who in this case represents the succession of the bishop, and probably claimed Suarinus as forfeited to the king and Earl Hugh. The case is summed up in the words: 'Let this remain in peace (as in the arrangement) until he (Roger?) has made good his claim.' Some points of this case and of the interpretation I give to it may be obscure and disputable, but the chief point of interest is clear enough. We hear of two acts of delivery of seisin as to freemen effected by Royal sergeants in behalf of the king, and constituting a title to which any claim in respect of these freemen has to go back.

The church of St. Mary of Barking[1] is possessed of different estates in Essex, and, among others, holds 6 freemen in connexion with the manor of Muching, who are said to belong to the hundred. They are free as to the abbey, but the king can do with them what he pleases.

Roger Bigod had appropriated a large number of freemen in Norfolk. Among others there were some in Repps, Bastwick, and Somerton, whom he claimed as the successor of an Englishman, Alwin of Thetford, asserting that the king (Edward the Confessor?) had granted them to the said Alwin with their lands.[2]

If we look back from these Domesday instances to Old English charters, we shall at once perceive that there is an intimate connexion between the two groups of evidence. The hides, with *tributarii*, *cassati*, *manentes*, which form the object of Royal grants in the time before the Conquest, were not necessarily occupied by freemen, but they might be so, and there was nothing in the condition of gafolgelders or men under soke to enable the courts to draw

[1] Dd. ii. 17 b: (Muching, Essex) 'Mucinga . . . In hoc hundredo sunt vi liberi homines tenentes ii hidas et l acras. Isti homines libere exstiterunt ad Berchingum, sed rex modo ex ipsis potest facere quod sibi placuerit.'

[2] Dd. ii. 174 b: (Repps, Bastwick, Oby, Somerton, Norfolk) 'In Repes vii liberi homines, iiii Sancti Benedicti, ii Alwi, i Almari episcopi commendati t.r.e. lxxx ac. terrae . . . In Bastuic ii libere femine Edrici et Rigulfi xiii ac. terrae . . . In Othebei i liber homo vi ac. terrae . . . In Somertuna i liber homo xxi ac. terrae . . . Hos liberos dedit rex Alwio de Tetfordo cum terris suis sic Rogerus Bigot reclamat.'

a line between the ceorls sitting on *gafol* land, or the socmen and the freemen of higher degree and greater independence. In fact, in the light of the Worcestershire verdict as to the three hundreds of Pershore, the typical occupants of the hides at any rate should be franklins. I will not press this argument further, as I have no wish to demonstrate that free ceorls alone formed the bulk of the peasantry, and that holdings similar to theirs were never settled with bondmen and serfs. What I want to make clear is the trail of evidence which shows the gradual absorption of free settlers and warriors by aristocratic formations, a process which was met half-way by another wave of social evolution—the gradual rising of serfs and slaves to the position of dependent householders.

One great difficulty has to be met at the very threshold of such a theory. Even granted that the ideas of the time were so confused as to permit of the transfer of the regalities we have been talking of, how can it be explained that private citizens were subjected to the sway and exploitation of other private citizens? To what extent could they be considered to be free when brought under such private authority? Now it is important to notice that the intention of keeping up the status, rights of possession, and fixed dues of the free ceorls in the same condition as before the grant, is distinctly traceable both before and after the Conquest. In Old English law, the connexion of the free tenant with the hundred and the county courts did not cease because he was placed under a lordship or granted with his land. We even get a few extremely valuable and direct allusions to the wish to keep up the status of transferred tributaries in exactly the same manner as when they were under the king.[1] Now, after the Conquest, a corresponding doctrine is the well-known teaching as to the immutability of ancient demesne condition. This condition was traced to the time of Edward the Confessor, because as to earlier times 'memory did not run', but the main point of it was that the Royal grant should not change the tenure and status of the people

[1] See above, pp. 326, 330.

granted, and that the Royal courts should see that it should not be otherwise. This involved the fundamental contrast between the jurisdictional rights of villain socmen and villains, on which we need not dwell at length here, as the subject has been sufficiently discussed in another work.[1] From our present point of view it is material that the doctrine of ancient demesne covers the cases of small rustic tenants, who otherwise would have lapsed into the same rightless condition as ordinary villains, but were rescued from it by the view that tenants granted by the king should not deteriorate in their condition. The people who availed themselves of the ancient demesne privilege were chiefly peasants of a rather low standing, as the acknowledged free socmen and free tenants naturally took to the ordinary processes of Common Law in vindicating their rights. But there is no reason to doubt that many of the people who had to use the *parvum breve de recto* or the *monstraverunt* came substantially from the same stock as the granted freemen of the abbeys of Pershore, of Abingdon, of Peterborough, &c., and in this case their appeal rested on the broad ground of immutability of custom on Royal manors. In conclusion, I have to remind the reader that the population attached to these Royal manors consisted largely of free suitors of the public courts who had been annexed to some manor for protection and registration. In their case the transfer was meant to be a jurisdictional one in the main, but it must have carried some customary dues and services along with it.

It is hardly needful to say that, in practice, the fixity of tenure and customs aimed at by the doctrine as to the transfer of Royal rights was constantly infringed and set at nought. As a matter of fact the deterioration of the social status of freemen was much greater than legal theory would admit or suppose. But, for tracing the history of English aristocracy, it is very material to notice that it starts, in one sense, from a dispersion of the regality inherent in the public authority of the king over freemen.

[1] Villainage in England, p. 90 ff.

# CHAPTER II

## PEASANTS

1. IT is not easy to draw the line between freemen and socmen. They constantly interchange in the East-Anglian shires. In Norfolk their numbers are about equal; in Suffolk the freemen predominate, but socmen occur also in a certain number of instances.[1] In a general way, the term *freeman* marks the higher condition,[2] but it may come to pass that a socman has freemen under him.[3] One of the

Freemen and Socmen.

[1] Dd. ii. 121 a: (Kimberley, Norfolk) 'Chineburlai . . . Praeter hoc iacent huic manerio in Karletuna xvi liberi homines lx ac. terrae. Semper ii carucae et sunt in superiori pretio, et horum viiii erant sochemanni Stigandi t. r. e. Sed Radulfus comes eos omnes habebat priusquam forisfaceret.' 134 b: (Runham, Norfolk) 'Romham tenuerunt ii liberi homines t. r. e. unus fuit homo Edrici de Laxefelda, et alter Radulfi Stalra, et semper i carucata terrae et dimidia . . . et xi sochemanni et dimidius de dimidia carucata terrae, semper iii carucae . . . et xi liberi homines et dimidius de dimidia carucata terrae et v acris. Tunc iiii carucae, post et modo iii.' 232 a: (Cley, Norfolk) 'Cleietorpa . . . iii sochemanni tenent idem xx acras, et semper dim. car. Et de his iii habet rex socam.' 361 a: (Wortham, Suffolk) 'In Wordham ii sochemanni lx ac. pro ii maneriis t. r. e. . . . In eadem i sochemannus xiiii ac. . . . In eadem Alfahc liber homo in soca et commendatione abbatis xxx ac. pro manerio t. r. e. . . . In eadem Vluricus liber homo xxx ac. soca et commendatione abbatis . . . In eadem xxv liberi homines iii car. terrae.' Ibid: (Gislingham) 'In Gislingheham Aluricus sochemannus xxx ac. . . . In eadem xii liberi homines et i sochemannus viii ac. de xxx ac. in soca eadem terra et commendatione abbatis.'

[2] Dd. ii. 110 a: (Saham-Tony, Norfolk) 'Saham . . . Huic manerio iacebant t.r.e. xlvi sochemanni cum omni consuetudine, post et modo xxxi, iii car. terrae . . . De istis hominibus habet Rainaldus filius Iuonis xv, et Bernerus Arbalister ii.' Ibid.: (Griston) 'In Gristuna xviiii sochemanni i car. terrae t.r.e.' Ibid.: (Caston) 'Castestuna iiii liberi homines Heroldi, cciiii ac. terrae, et sunt additi huic manerio postquam rex aduenit.' ii. 331 a (Dalham, Suffolk) 'Delham . . . i sochemannus pertinet huic terrae quam tenet isdem Ettardus et iacet in Horam de xl acris . . . In eadem i liber homo Stigandi quam (*sic*) tenet idem Ettardus xxx ac. . . Hoc est pro escangio de terra Isac . . . In eadem i liber homo x ac. Stigando commendatus . . . hoc est pro eodem escangio.'

[3] Dd. ii. 371 a: (Stoke Ash, Suffolk) 'In Stoches t. r. e. tenuit

reasons for the confusion, behind which there must, however, lurk real differences, is the variety of local usage; the same term may have been understood with different shades of meaning in places situated close by each other. This is not all, however, and some distinctions may be traced. To begin with, there is an opposition between *socemanni liberi* and *non liberi*, which widens into that between *socemanni* as such and *liberi homines*, on the basis of the right to dispose of one's land.[1] This right is considered, as we know, as an attribute of a free tenement, while it may be said of a less-favoured tenant that he was to that degree socman that he could not dispose of his land.[2] The category of *free* socmen would in this Domesday sense comprise exceptionally privileged socmen, endowed with full power over their land.[3] As the ordinary socman is

Bucardus xiiii acras. Sochemannus abbatis et ualet iii sol. Hanc terram calumpniatur Robertus Fardenc homo Godrici Dapiferi ad manerium regis de Melnessam, et dicit quod Galterius de Dol tenuit quando forisfecit, et hoc uult probare contra totum hundredum omnibus legibus . . . In Wicham ii liberi homines commendati Burcardo de Melnessam.'

[1] Dd. i. 212 d: (Stamford, Beds) 'In Stanford tenet Hugo (de Belcamp) i hidam et dimidiam uirgatam terrae . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt iiii sochemanni quorum iii liberi fuerunt, quartus uero unam hidam habuit, sed nec dare nec uendere potuit.' ii. 57 b: (Essex) 'Teiam . . . In eadem tenuerunt xx sochemanni i hidam et dimidiam et xxxi acras. Modo tenent xxx sochemanni illam terram, et non poterant recedere ab illo manerio . . . et ibi fuerunt iii liberi homines tenentes xii acras, sed non fuerunt de illo manerio quod Goisfridus habet, sed ipse reuocat liberatorem.' Ibid.: 'Wochadunam . . . In hac terra sunt xiii sochemanni qui libere tenent viii hidas et dimidiam et xx acras, et habent xii bordarios et iacent ad hanc firmam de xvi lib.'

[2] Dd. ii. 248 a: (Barton, Norfolk) 'In Bertuna tenet Gaosfridus, iii liberi homines lxxxx ac. . . . Unus ex illis tribus cum xxx ac. erat ita sochemannus Sancti Benedicti ut nullo modo posset recedere.'

[3] Dd. i. 129 b: (Twickenham, Middlesex) 'Ticheham . . . De hoc manerio tenuit Tochi ii hidas, huscarle regis Edwardi fuit, et ii sochemanni ii hidas et i uirgatam, homines Vluuardi fuerunt et Aluuinus i hidam et iii uirgatas, homo Vlsi, filii Manni fuit. Vendere potuerunt quo uoluerunt T. R. E. Haec terra tota iacet modo in Coleham ubi non fuit T. R. E.' 129 d: (Enfield, Middlesex) 'Enefelde . . . In hac terra fuerunt v sochemanni de vi hidis quas potuerunt dare uel uendere sine licentia dominorum suorum.' 224 a: (Holdenby, Northants) 'Aldenesbi . . . Siuuardus cum ix sochemannis libere tenuerunt.' ii. 5 b: (Writtle, Essex) 'Writelam . . . et dimidiam hidam quam libere tenuit i sochemannus reddens socam in manerio, et tamen cum terra sua posset ire quo uellet, hunc Comes Eustachius

bereft of such a right, he is said to belong to an estate, while the typical free tenant is 'added to' an estate, and, as such, stands outside. The socman, being as a rule implicated in the economic management of the estate, is more burdened with service and customary dues, although some dues of the latter kind may fall upon the freeman as well.[1] Ultimately the central notion in the socman's position is his subjection to soke. Freemen are also mentioned in connexion with soke, but when it comes to a distinction between socmen and free tenants or freemen, stress will be laid on the condition of the socman as subject to jurisdictional authority.[2] Some Suffolk cases are well in point to illustrate the general opposition and the relative character of the distinction between *liberi homines* and socmen. In Northbery, a manor of Roger of Poitou, there lived a certain priest Edwin, who was socman of the Abbot of Ely, and held 30 geldable acres, with a team, as a manor. To this

adiunxit sue terrae.' ii. 28 b: (Belchamp Otton, Essex) 'Belcham ... huic manerio iacent v sochemanni quorum ii occupauit Ingelricus tempore regis Willelmi qui tunc erant liberi homines, et habent xxxv acras terrae.'

[1] Dd. i. 141 d: (Widiall, Herts) 'Widihale. Hoc manerium tenuerunt ix sochemanni ... hi per annum uicecomiti inueniebant ix den. uel ii aueras et iiii partem unius auerae.' Cf. ibid., Berchedene. Dd. ii. 1 b: (Witham, Essex) 'Witham ... Tunc xxi uillani, modo xv ... Tunc xxiii sochemanni et modo similiter. Tunc xviii carucae hominum ... In hoc manerio adiacebant tempore regis Edwardi xxxiiii liberi homines qui tunc reddebant x sol. de consuetudine.' 26 b: (Coggeshall, Essex) 'Cogheshala ... Huic manerio pertinent xi sochemanni et i presbiter et i porcarius et i mercepnarius, huic terrae additae sunt xxxviii acrae quas i liber homo tenet de rege.' Cf. 289 b (Bademondesfelda, Suffolk).

[2] Dd. ii. 190 a, b: (Wallington, Norfolk) 'Walinghetuna ... Huic manerio semper iacent iii liberi homines commend. tantum, lx ac. de his habuit Heroldus socam et ual. xl sol.' ii. 287 a, b: (Bergholt, Suffolk) 'De his hominibus qui huic manerio (Bercolt) remansi sunt non habuit Haroldus etiam commendationem t. r. e. praeter de quattuor, Ulnod, Estmunt, Aluricus, Wistricus. Et Guert frater Haroldi habuit commendationem de duobus maneriis, et Aluiet. Omnes alii erant commendati aliis baronibus t. r. e. de i habuit Antecessor Malet commendationem, et Robertus filius Wimarc iiii, et tamen semper Haroldus habebat socam supradictum manerium scilicet Bercolt cum hoc quod ei pertinebat et cum soca de hundreto et dimidio.... Hii liberi homines qui t. r. e. pertinebant in soca de Bercolt unusquisque gratis dabat preposito per annum iiii tantum den. et reddebat soca sicut lex ferebat.' Cf. 288 a (Bramtuna).

estate were added 49 freemen with 10 teams; they were all dependent on the Abbot of Ely, both in regard to soke and to commendation, but one among them was entirely (*omnino*) a socman of the Abbot. The commentary to this significant 'entirely' is presented by an Elmeswell entry which gives five socmen as entirely belonging to St. Edmund—they were unable either to give or to sell without his consent.[1] In Cambas, a manor of Robert Malet, socmen take the place of freemen at the time of Count Bryan, Robert's 'antecessor', and the material side of this change of terms consists in the cutting off of the population from its former parish and from the hundred.[2] Again and again the full subjection of the tenant in regard to his land[3] is coupled with the soke, and one can easily understand that the free peasant, who could not leave the land, nor dispose of it, was in an entirely different position, in respect of the lord, from those who could give or sell, and thus get rid of a situation which became burdensome or unbearable. If these latter are still termed socmen sometimes, the difference between them and the bulk of their fellows is carefully

[1] Dd. ii. 353a: (Suffolk) 'Nordberiam tenuit Eduinus presbiter sochemannus abbatis xxx acras pro manerio t. r. e. Semper i carucam. In eadem xlviiii liberi homines additi huic manerio cclx ac. et dim. Semper x car. . . . Omnes isti fuerunt in soca et commendatione abbatis et unus sochemannus omnino nomine Godricus.' 364b: (Elmswell, Suffolk) 'Elmeswellam . . . v sochemanni de xl acris terrae . . . Hi sunt sancti omnino nec dare uel uendere potuerunt sine licentia abbatis.'

[2] Dd. ii. 291 a, b: (Combs, Suffolk) 'Cambas . . . Postquam comes Brienus antecessor Roberti hoc manerium habuit, nullam consuetudinem reddidit in hundredo . . . xii sochemanni in Cambas solebant esse parrochiani in aecclesia Stou, sed modo sunt in aecclesia Cambas. Idem Nigellus abstulit.'

[3] Dd. i. 129a: (? Harlington, Middlesex) 'Herdintone . . . Hoc manerium tenuit Wigot, et de hac terra tenuit i sochemannus ii hidas, non potuit uendere sine eius licentia.' Cf. 135a (Bigrave, Herts). ii. 353b: (Weston, Suffolk) 'Westuna . . . iii liberi homines . . . Hii poterunt dare et uendere terram suam t. r. e. sed commendatio et soca et saca remanebat sancto Eadmundo, et in eadem x sochemanni Sancti Eadmundi cum omni consuetudine t. r. e.' ii. 357b, 358a: (Flempton, Suffolk) 'In Flemingtuna ten. Uluardus de abbate x sochemannos de i carucata terrae . . . hi sunt sancti cum saca et soca et commendatione, et seruitium debent in Riseby, et in Leacfordam, et in Hemegretham, nec poterant dare uel uendere terram sine licentia abbatis.' Cf. 359a (Melafordam, Suffolk).

noticed,[1] and I suppose that when we hear of a socman, without further qualification, we ought primarily to think of one who could not recede with his land, and thus, notwithstanding his personally free condition and his public rights, was nevertheless actually a '*colonus* ascribed to the glebe', to use the Roman term. One of the natural consequences of this adscription to the glebe was the subjection to economic exploitation on the part of the landlord, and this is noticed in Domesday, from the point of view of the suit of the fold, which is commonly connected with the jurisdictional suit, although, at first sight, it has nothing to do with it.[2] Indeed, we come across expressions which lead to the conclusion that, at least in the mind of some jurors, the socman was the typical suitor of the lord's fold.[3] To sum up, it seems that in a general way the difference between the freeman and the socman amounted to that between a landowner or a contractual tenant on the one hand, and a free peasant attached to a township under lordship on the other. In drawing these general lines I do not wish to dogmatize. The common law of these relations was far from settled, and far from clear in the minds of the people of the day; the local verdicts contain many contradictions and riddles which it would be impossible to unravel,[4] and we must be content with putting the principal distinctions into a strong light.

[1] Dd. i. 129 c: (Greenford, Middlesex) 'Greneforde . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt ii sochemanni. Vnus horum canonicus fuit S. Pauli, ii hidas habuit, potuit inde facere quod uoluit. Alter homo fuit Ansgari Stalri, non potuit dare praeter eius licentiam.' Cf. i. 209 d, 210 a (Dena, Beds); 210 a (Giveldene, Estone, Riselai, Tornai); 210 b (Sernebroc); 212 b (Tamiseforde).

[2] Dd. ii. 356 b: (Risby, Suffolk) 'Risebi . . . vii sochemanni de i carucata et dim. terrae . . . Super hos homines habet S. Eadmundus sacam et socam et commendationem et omnem consuetudinem, nec potuerunt dare et uendere terram sine concessu abbatis, ad faldam etiam omnes excepto uno qui faldam habet pro se. In eadem i liber homo dedit carucatam terrae quam tenet Normannus de abbate . . . hic potuit dare et uendere terram, sed saca et soca et commendatio remansit Sancto . . . hoc manerium, excepto libero, tunc ualuit iiii lib.'

[3] Dd. ii. 194 b: (Begeton or Boyton, Norfolk) 'In Begetuna tenuit episcopus Almarus per emptionem t. r. e. cum soca et saca de comite Algaro de Bor et de sequentibus faldam iii carucatas terrae.'

[4] Dd. ii. 138 b: (Denton, Norfolk) 'In Dentuna xii sochemanni, de

Soke and socmen.

2. Socmen, as members of jurisdictional *sokes*, are very prominent in the eastern, half-Danish shires, especially in Lincolnshire, but also in Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.[1] In most cases the socmen appear as groups of tenants, or single tenants, in *manors* provided with the franchise.[2] The lord's jurisdictional rights stretch, in such cases, not only over the socmen, but also over villains, but whereas they are an adjunct to economic subjection in the case of the latter, they appear as the essential basis in the position of the former, economic subjection being added to this.

his ix habebat Stigandus socam in Ersam, et habebant lx acras, quod nec dare nec uendere poterant terram suam extra ecclesiam, sed Rogerus Bigot addidit in Ersam propter consuetudinem quia soca erat in hundredo. Semper v car. inter omnes.' 139 a: (Thorp Abbots, Norfolk) 'In Torp xx liberi homines, ii Stigandi fuerunt commendate et habebant — ac. terrae, et xviii Sancti Eadmundi commendati, et non poterant reddere sine licentia sancti, sed soca et saca in Hersam.' Cf. ibid., Brodiso.

[1] Dd. i. 339 a: (Gayton, Lincs.) 'Soca huius manerii . . . simul ad geldum xxv carucate et dimidia et i bouata et iii pars bouatae. Terra ad xxxviii carucas. In his sunt clxvii sochemanni, et xxxvii uillani et xxvii bordarii habentes xxxiiii carucas.' 339 b: 'Soca de Hornecastre. Inter totum ad geldum xlii carucate terre. Terra ad lviii carucas. In his sunt ccxii sochemanni et lxvi uillani et lxx bordarii habentes lv carucas.' 299 a: (Allerton, Yorks) 'Aluertune . . . Ad hoc manerium pertinet soca harum terrarum, Neuhuse, etc. Inter totum sunt ad geldum quater xx et v carucatae quas possunt arare xlv carucae. Ibi sunt lx acrae prati. Ibi fuerunt cxvi sochemans. Modo wasta est.' Cf. ibid., Walesgrif; 299 b (Picheringa). Dd. ii. 120 b: (Horningstoft, Norfolk) 'Horninghetoft . . . ix sochemanni et ii bordarii i car. terrae . . . de his nouem sochemannis habuit Stigandus socam t. r. e. sed Radulfus eam inuasit, et ideo habet Godricus.' ii. 126 a: (Stow, Norfolk) 'Stou . . . Huic manerio iacent xxviiii sochemanni iii car. terrae et xxxvi ac. Tunc ualuit x lib. Quando recepit xii lib. et xiii sol. et iiii den. et Godricus eum dedit pro xiii lib. et xiii sol. et iiii den. et xx sol. de gersuma quandiu habebat socam. Modo postquam amisit socam reddit vii lib. et super sochemanos quos amisit sunt vii lib.' Cf. ii. 287 a (Bercolt, Suffolk).

[2] Dd. i. 272 c: (Walton-on-Trent, Derby) 'In Waletune ét Redlauestun . . . iii sochemanni et xxxiii uillani et x bordarii habentes xii carucas.' Cf. 273 c (Blanghesbi); 275 b (Cedesdene); 277 a (Barleburg and Witeuuelle). 282 c: (Sutton-upon-Trent, Notts) 'Sudtone . . . ii car. terrae et vi bou. ad geldum . . . xiii sochemanni de medietate terrae huius.' 284 b: (Barnby-in-the-Willows, Notts) 'Barnebi . . . iiii sochemanni de ii bouatis huius terrae, et ix uillani et vi bordarii habentes iiii carucas et dimidiam.' Dd. ii. 39 b: (Bures, Essex) 'In Buro hab. Ricardus in dominio xiii sochemannos de xxxv acris.' Cf. 40 a, Focsearde, Pebenhers, Alfelmestuna, Mildeltuna, Halsteda. 287 a: (Groton, Suffolk) 'In Grotena iiii sochemanni pertinentes isti

An important group is formed by the socmen of the King, or the men in the King's soke.[1] Some of them were very free, and could dispose of their land, but had to abide in the Royal soke.[2] Others, though under the personal protection of some great man, were still in the Royal soke.[3] They were people appertaining to some Royal manor, and implicated in its jurisdiction and economic arrangements. Their manorial subjection separated them from freemen owing suit to a hundred.[4] There are a number of entries telling of the concentration of duties and payments of socmen in central royal manors. Such was Newark, Notts,[5] to

manerio c ac. terrae et iii bor. Inter omnes i caruca . . . Soca in eadem uilla.'

[1] Dd. i. 133 d: (Pelham, Herts) 'Peleham (ii milites de episcopo) . . . Hoc manerium tenuerunt ii teigni. Unus homo Aschi (Wara) et alter homo Almari (Belintone), et cum eis v sochemanni de soca regis Edwardi, ii uirgatas habuerunt et uendere potuerunt.' Cf. 134 a (Wicheham); Dd. ii. 281 b: (Thorney Green, Suffolk) 'In hoc manerio (Tornai) fuerunt tempore Regis Edwardi xl sochemanni cum omni consuetudine, postquam Rogerus recepit fuerunt omnes ablati exceptis vii, semper habuerunt hi lviii acras et dimidiam carucam. Sed tempore Regis Edwardi i car. inter quattuor. Et prepositus huius manerii tenet xxvi acras in soca regis, tempore Regis Edwardi hoc manerium cum integrum fuit ualuit xv lib. . . . De hoc manerio habet Hugo de Monteforti xx sochemannos, et Rotbertus comes vi, Rogerus de Otburuilla iiii, Frodro habet ii, Rogerus Pictauiensis iii.'

[2] Dd. ii. 78 a: (Stevington, Essex) 'In Stauintuna tenet Renoldus de Alberico xxx acras quod tenuit Aluuinus, et Ordricus tenuit xv acras, et isti ii fuerunt in soca regis, sed eos dedit Alberico . . . In Eadem tenet quidam Anglicus de Alberico xl acras quas tenuit Aluricus sochemannus potens uendere terrae, sed soca et saca remanebat.'

[3] Dd. i. 148 c: (Marston, Bucks) 'Merstone . . . De hoc manerio tenuit Leuric homo Eduini comitis v hidas pro i manerio, et alter homo habuit i hidam et i uirgatam de soca regis Edwardi, et Brictuinus homo Tosti comitis i uirgatam habuit. Omnes hi uendere potuit.'

[4] Dd. ii. 409 a, b: (—— and Thurston, Suffolk) 'In Ciltuna et in Torstuna tenet Hugo in dominio ex liberatione ut dicit xvi sochemannos qui pertinebant in Tornei, manerium regis est cum omni consuetudine . . . Et omnes isti liberi homines e (*sic*) et soca fuerunt liberati sicut omnes Hugonis dicunt pro ii maneriis v carucatarum terrae.' Ibid.: (Newton) 'Newetuna . . . In eadem tenet Hugo in dominio ex liberatione pro escangio ii liberos homines de quibus soca erat in hundret et habent xxvii acras.'

[5] Dd. i. 283 d: (Newark, Notts) 'Ad Neuuerche adiacent omnes consuetudines regis et comitis de ipso Wapentac . . . Soca huius manerii: In Baldretone . . . Cheluintone . . . Sirestune . . . Eluestune . . . Stoches . . . Holtone . . . Cotintone . . . Barnebi . . . Wimuntorp. Simul ad geldum iii carucatae et dimidia bouata. Terra x carucis et dimidiae.

which 145 socmen owed customary suit. Rothley,[1] in Leicestershire, was the centre to which 204 socmen, and 157 villains, gravitated. Newbold,[2] in Derbyshire, occupies a similar position. To Lawford,[3] in Essex, 17 socmen were attached, with all customs. Now this expression 'customs' (*consuetudines*) means that it was not only a question of paying forfeitures, or compounding for them, and attending the manorial court,[4] but also services and payments imposed on these dependent freemen for the profit of the lord.[5] Domesday gives some indications in regard to these services. We hear of *averagia*, carriage services for the sheriff's use.[6] In the borough of

Ibi lxxvii sochemanni cum iiii bordariis habent xv carucas et dimidiam. . . . In Scornelei, Gretone, Spaldesforde, Torneshaie et Wigesleie, Herdrebi, Cotun. Simul ad geldum vi carucatae et dimidia et dimidia bouata. Terra xxi carucis et iii bouatis. Ibi lxxi sochemanni et vii bordarii habent xxi carucas et dimidiam.'

[1] Dd. i. 230 b, c: (Rothley, Leics.) 'Rex tenet Rodolei. Rex Edwardus tenuit . . . Huic manerio pertinent subsequentia membra, Adelachestone, etc. In his sunt cciiii sochemanni cum clvii uillanis et nonaginta iiii bordarii habentes quater xx carucas et ii, et reddunt inter omnes xxxi lib. et viii sol. et i den.'

[2] Dd. i. 272 b: (Newbold, Derby) 'Soca huius manerii (Neuuebold) in Wingreurde ii carucatae terrae ad geldum . . . Ibi xiiii sochemanni habent iiii carucas.' Cf. Greherst, 'Normantune, etc. . . Ad has terras sochemannorum adiacent vii acrae prati.'

[3] Dd. ii. 6 a, b: (Lawford, Essex) 'Lalefordam . . . rex Willelmus . . . Huic manerio iacuerunt xvii sochemanni t. r. e. de i hida reddentes omnem consuetudinem, et postquam rex uenit in hanc terram, et Bainus fuit uicecomes occupauit istam terram Tedricus Pointel et quando eam accepit manebant in ea xvii sochemanni habentes ix carucas, modo sunt in manu regis, et xiii homines tenent hanc terram habentes iiii carucas.'

[4] Dd. i. 211 c: (Dunton, Beds) 'Domtone . . . Hanc terram iiii sochemanni tenuerunt, et terram suam uendere potuerunt. Homines Stigandi archiepiscopi fuerunt.' Cf. ibid., Melehou; Stratone; Cudessane; Chambeltone; Dene. 211 d: (Tillbrook, Beds) 'Tilebroc . . . Hoc manerium idem ipsi sochemanni (xx) qui tenent tenuerunt, et ita de soca et saca regis fuerunt quod dare et uendere terram suam cui uoluissent potuerunt, et recedere ad alium dominum sine licentia eius sub quo fuerunt.'

[5] Dd. ii. 4 a: (Wethersfield, Essex) 'Westrefelda . . . In isto hundredo habet rex xviii sochemannos tenentes xxvi acras et dim. et nunquam reddiderunt consuetudinem praeter seruicium regis.'

[6] Dd. i. 134 b: (Libury, Herts) 'In Sutreshele . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt ii sochemanni homines Leuuini comitis de soca regis Edwardi et uendere potuerunt, et inueniebant uicecomiti regis i aueram uel v denarios et unum quadrantem per annum.' Cf. 134 c (Lufenhate); 134 d (Odenhou).

Stamford there were 77 socmen house-owners who held their land in demesne, and could seek their lords where they pleased, and the King had nothing to claim from them but forfeiture fines, heriots, and toll.[1] These men of Stamford were in a specially privileged condition, but even they had to pay heriot, which is an acknowledgement that they had to redeem their chattels from their lord the King on entering into succession. In a number of cases they appear as rent- or tribute-paying tenants, their services in kind having probably been commuted for certain payments.[2] Indeed, it would be difficult to draw a line between them and the *censores* mentioned sometimes in the Scandinavian district. The difference must have consisted in the greater stability of the arrangement in the case of the socmen.[3] Most socmen were subjected to lighter work and smaller rents in kind than the villains. They had chiefly to attend on boon-days, to ride on errands, and to drive loads,[4] and these services of theirs are well known from records of a somewhat later time than Domesday. On the Peterborough estates they are even subjected to week-work, although of a lighter kind than their villain neighbours,[5] but in a general way their services would rather correspond to those of the

[1] Dd. i. 336 d: (Stamford) 'In his custodiis sunt lxxvii mansiones sochemannorum qui habent terras suas in dominio et qui petunt dominos ubi uolunt, super quos rex nichil aliud habet nisi emendatione forisfacturae eorum, et heriete, et theloneum, et i molinum de xxx sol. quod abstulit Eustachius de Huntedune. Illud erat unius sochemanni.'

[2] Dd. i. 149 b: (Stone, Bucks) 'Stanes . . . Ibi i sochmannus reddit xv sol. per annum.' Cf. 228 b (Riehale, Northants); Dd. ii. 126 b (Ellingham, Norfolk).

[3] Dd. i. 273 a: (Weston-upon-Trent, Derby) 'In Westune ... iiii censarii reddunt xvi sol.'; 274 d: (? Trusley) 'Toxenai . . . Ibi v censarii reddunt v sol. et ii sochemanni v sol.' 276 d: (Ockbrook) 'Ochebroc ... iiii censarii reddunt xiiii sol.' 277 a: (Palterton, Scarcliff, Tunstall) 'In Paltretune et Scardeclif et Tunestal ... Ibi nunc in dominio ii carucae, et x uillani et i sochemannus et ii bordarii habentes iii carucas, et i censarius cum i caruca.'

[4] Black Book of Peterborough (Camden Soc.), 158 (Pilesgete); 159 (Torp, &c.), 162, 163. Cf. Round, Feudal England, 30.

[5] Cf. Dd. i. 284 b: (Collingham, Notts) 'In Colingeham hab. S. Petrus de Burg iiii carucatas terre et dimidiam bouatam ad geldum ... Ibi xxxvii sochemanni de ii carucatis et iii bouatis huius terre, et viii uillani et xx bordarii habentes xiiii carucas.'

*geneat* class than to those of the *gebúr* class in the *Rectitudines*.[1]

Scandinavian socmen and English franklins.

3. The socmen are distributed over England in a very peculiar way. They are very numerous in the Scandinavian and East Anglian districts, and decrease in number as we proceed to the south and west.[2] Still they are to be met sporadically in Essex,[3] Hertfordshire,[4] Cambridgeshire,[5] Bedfordshire,[6] Buckinghamshire,[7] and Kent.[8] But even in these

[1] Dd. i. 219 b: (S. Luffenham and Kelthorpe, Northants) 'Rex tenet Lufenham et Sculetorp ... Ibi sunt xii sochemanni et xvi bordarii cum presbitero habentes xii carucas ... Homines operantur opera regis quae prepositus iusserit.'

[2] Dd. ii. 315 a: (Rushmere, Suffolk) 'In Ryscemara ii sochemanni Goduuini xxx ac.' Cf. 315 b (Grundesburh); 316 a (Aldeburc); 317 a (Holes lea). Dd. i. 219 b: (Ketton, Northants) 'Chetene ... Ibi xii sochemans et xxiiii uillani et v bordarii cum presbitero habentes xi carucas.' Ibid.: (Berchedone) 'x sochemanni.' Ibid.: (Seieton, Torp, Morcote, &c.) 'In his terris sunt xv sochemanni et xxxiii uillani et xxiii bordarii cum presbitero habentes xix carucas.' 221 b–222 a: 'Terra Sancti Petri de Burg in Northants: sochemanni de Eglesworde (viii), Pillesgete (xxvi), Glintone (viii), Widerintone (xix), Adelintone (vi), Sliptone (vi), Erdiburne (iiii).' 221 c: 'Terra Hominum eiusdem aecclesiae: Meletone (vi), Witheringham (xx); Glintone (xxxiii), Writorp (iii), Lidintone (vi), Warmintone (iii), Pochebroc (iii), Winewiche (ii), Stoche (i), Pilchetone (ii), Tircemesse (iii), Clotone (iii), Pihteslea (iiii), Cateworde (iiii), &c.

[3] Dd. ii. 1 b (Witham, Essex), 2 a (Hadfelda); 3 a (Rodingis); 4 a (Westrefelda); 4 b (Stanwega); 5 a (Wochenduna); 6 a (Laleforda); 14 b (Pheringae).

[4] Dd. i. 137 d, 138 a: (Latchworth, Herts) 'Leceworde ... Hoc manerium tenuit Goduinus de Souberie teignus R.E. et uendere potuit, et ibi iii sochemanni homines eius ii hidas et iii uirgatas habuerunt et uendere potuerunt.'

[5] Dd. i. 189 c (Fordeham, Cambs); ibid., Gisleham; ibid., Cumbertone. 189 d (Esselinge); 190 a (Flamingdice Hd.); ibid., Abintone; 190 b (Basingborne); 190 c (Histone); ibid., Gisleham; 190 d (Waratinge); ibid., Belesham; ibid., Coeia; 191 a (Bercheham); 191 b (Escelforde); ibid., Wadone; 191 d (Dodinton), &c.

[6] Dd. i. 209 c (Mildentone, Beds); 209 d (Dim. Hd. de Boch); ibid., Hd. de Bereforde; ibid., Melceburne; ibid., Dena; 210 a (Estone), &c.

[7] Dd. i. 145 c: (Weston Underwood, Bucks) 'Westone ... iiii uillani cum iii bordariis habent vi carucas, et cum eis sunt vii sochemanni et quidam francigena ... Hoc manerium tenuerunt x teigni homines Burgret et uendere potuerunt et ibidem fuit unus homo Alrici iii uirgatas habuit et uendere potuit.'

[8] Dd. i. 11 d: (Wy, Kent) 'Wi ... Radulfus de Curbespina tenet unam denam et unum iugum de terra sochmannorum huius manerii reddit de consuetudine vi den. et Adelulfus ii partes unius solin reddit xii den. et Hugo de Montfort habet ii iuga, reddit ccc Anguillas et ii

counties there is always some suspicion that they represent an admixture of Danish elements. This predominance of a class which appears emphatically as one of free peasants in Scandinavian districts points the same way as the frequent occurrence of free tenants or franklins in these same districts. Evidently both groups represent Scandinavian influence, not in the sense of some peculiar Danish or Norwegian institution, but as a result of the recent appearance on the scene of men who were too small to obtain an aristocratic position and to set up as squires—who had, in fact, to work hard for their living, and to acknowledge the superiority of powerful neighbours, but who maintained a standard of free citizenship which had all but disappeared in the purely English districts. We have more than probabilities for the inference that the state of things so characteristic of Danish England in the eleventh century was not less characteristic of Anglo-Saxon England a couple of centuries earlier. Indeed, the very expression *socmen* is used in a Buckinghamshire verdict[1] in the same sense, and for the same purpose, as the expression *franklin* in the Worcestershire verdict about churchscot. Every socman possessed of a hide has to pay one carriage-load of corn, called *annona*, to his parish church, and there is a provision for the case of non-performance of this duty, as in Worcestershire. This general rule, asserted by the Church, breathes the spirit of an epoch which had gone by long ago at the time of the Survey. Socmen holding hides would be difficult to find in Bucking-

sol. et sacam et socam in T.R.E. reddebant. De xxii hundredis pertinet isti manerio saca et soca et omnia forisfactura quae iuste pertinent regi.' 13 b: (Romney Marsh) 'Hugo in Maresc de Romenel.. Ibi xiiii sochemanni; Rogerius de Hugone unum iugum ... Duo sochemanni tenuerunt; Rotbertus de Hugone ... sextam partem unius iugi. Unus sochemannus tenuit; Isdem Hugo dimidium solin ... Duodecim sochemanni tenuerunt et tenent ... Ipse Hugo unum iugum ... Ibi sunt xii sochemanni cum viii bordariis.'

[1] Dd. i. 143 d: (Stoke Mandeville, Bucks) 'Stoches ... Hoc manerium iacet ad aecclesiam de Elesberie ... De viii hundredis qui iacent in circuitu Elesberie unusquisque sochemannus qui habet i hidam aut plus, reddit unam summam annonae huic aecclesiae. Adhuc etiam de unoquoque sochemanno i acra annonae aut iiii denarii soluebantur huic aecclesiae T. R. E. sed post aduentum regis W. redditum non fuit.' Cf. 174 a, Worcestershire.

hamshire, either T. R. W. or even T. R. E. And yet the rule was a customary one, and certainly not meant to be a dead letter. How it was applied to the villains of the eleventh century it would be difficult to say in detail, but it is clear that they were the direct representatives of the socmen from whom churchscot had to be collected. This ancient tribute, parallel to the king's *gafol*, does not take heed either of the manors or of their lords, but only of socmen and of their hides; it is thus directly imposed on the free peasant households; the servile peasantry is omitted, evidently because it was thought of either as settled behind the socmen or as exempted by the privileges of its lords; in any case it must have formed the exception, in the sense of a group of householders, at the time when the churchscot rule was framed. Another piece of evidence to the same effect is the transformation of the Kentish villains into Kentish socmen; it is evident that the group was formed from the same materials which appear under the rubric of villains in Domesday.[1]

As in the case of freemen, Domesday discloses the constant deterioration of the status of socmen. They are the object of various encroachments. Sometimes they are transferred by force from the fee of one lord to that of another.[2] In a large number of cases they are joined or accommodated to a manor to which they did not belong.[3]

[1] Bracton's Note Book, iii. 1338: 'consuetudo est quod uxores maritorum defunctorum habeant francum bancum suum de terris sokemannorum ... petunt libertatem et consuetudinem comitatus.'

[2] Dd. ii. 133a: (Belagh, Norfolk) 'In Belaga ii sochemanni Sancti Benedicti xxxiiii ac. terrae, et in Berneswrde i sochemannus eiusdem xvi ac. ... Hos sochemannos tenebat Radulfus quando forisfecit. Modo Godricus ad feudum regis, et est in pretio de Ælfsham.'

[3] Dd. i. 130a: (Bedfont, Middlesex) 'Bedefunde ... De hoc manerio tenet Azor viii hidas et dimidiam, et fuit Berewicha in Stanuuelle et iii sochemanni habuerunt i hidam et dimidiam. Vnus horum homo Regis Edwardi fuit. Alter homo Leuuini. Tercius homo Azoris, quisque habuit dimidiam hidam, et potuerunt uendere uel dare, et ad manerium non pertinuerunt T.R.E.' 273b: (Winshill, Derby) 'In Wineshalle ... Ibi apposuit rex Willelmus vi sochemannos pertinentes ad Rapendune.' Dd. ii. 109b: (Massingham, Norfolk) 'De hoc manerio desint xxv sochemanni qui aderant t.r.e. cum omni consuetudine, xx horum tenet Wido angeuinus, et habent ii carucatas terrae et lviii acras et quartam partem unius acre. Et Willelmus de Warenna

Very often people who were masters of an estate are reduced to the position of tenants dependent on a French lord.[1] As often, again, they disappear altogether as socmen, and have to be looked for among the villains or *bordarii*;[2] it may happen that no trace whatever is to be found of them.[3]

iii qui habent cxx acras et dimidiam. Et Rogerus Bigot i qui habet xv acras. Et W. de Foies i de x acris.' ii. 115 a: (Cawston, Norfolk) 'Caustituna ... iiii sochemanni et dimidius ... Unum ex illis iiii sochemannis uendidit prepositus de Caustuna x sol. et Radulfus eum tenebat quando forisfecit.'

[1] Dd. i. 129 a: (Hatton, Middlesex) 'Rogerius comes tenet in Hatone i hidam et dimidiam ... Duo sochemanni tenuerunt eam, homines Alberti Lothariensis erant, uendere et dare poterant. Modo apposita est in Coleham, ubi non erat T. R. E.' 137 b: (Herts) 'Treunge ... Ibi xxi uillani cum vi bordariis et xvi cotariis et iii sochemannis habent ix carucas ... Hoc manerium tenuit Engelri T.R.E. et ibi fuerunt ii sochemanni homines Osulfi filii Frani ii hidas tenuerunt et uendere potuerunt. Hos sochemannos apposuit isdem Engelricus huic manerio post aduentum regis Willelmi ut homines de hundredo testantur, et unus homo abbatis de Ramesyg v hidas de hoc manerio habuit ad eundem modum. Iste non potuit dare uel uendere terram suam extra aecclesiam sancti Benedicti. Quem Engelri apposuit huic manerio post aduentum regis Willelmi qui non fuit ibi T. R. E. ut hundredum testatur. Illi predicti iii sochemanni qui adhuc ibi sunt i hidam habentes homines Engelrici fuerunt et terram suam uendere potuerunt.' 209 d (Hd. de Stodene).

[2] Dd. i. 137 d: (Tiscote, Herts) 'Robertus de Oilgi ... Theisescote ... iii uillani et dim. cum ii sochemannis de una hida ... Hoc manerium tenuerunt v sochemanni. Horum duo homines Brictrici unam hidam et dimidiam habuerunt, et alii duo homines Osulfi filii Fran unam hidam et dim. et quintus homo Edmer Atule i hidam tenuit, nullus eorum ad antecessorem Wigot pertinuit. Sed unusquisque terram suam uendere potuit. Horum unus terram suam emit a Willelmo rege nouem uncis auri ut homines de hundredo testantur, et postea ad Wigotum se uertit pro protectione.' Cf. 138 a (Sapeham); 138 d (Hamsteuuorde); 140 a (Sabrixteworde).

[3] Dd. i. 35 d, 36 a: (Wandsworth, Surrey) 'Wendelesorde ... Sex sochemanni tenuerunt de rege Edwardo et potuerunt ire quo uoluerunt. Ibi erant ii hallae. Tunc et modo se defendit pro xii hidis. Terra est iiii carucis. Hanc terram habuit Ansculfus postquam recepit uicecomitatum, sed homines de hundredo dicunt se non uidisse sigillum nec liberatorem. Ansfridus v hidas, modo pro una hida. Heldredus iii hidas, modo pro nichilo, Uluuardus iii hidas, Walterus uinitor i hidam. Non ded. geldum. In terra istorum sunt ii carucae in dominio et dimidia, et v uillani, et xxii bordarii cum ii carucis et xxii acris prati. Totum manerium T. R. E. ualebat cx sol. et post l sol. Modo viii lib. inter totum.' Cf. 136 c (Scenlei, Herts); 137 a (Wallingtone). Dd. ii. 295 b, 296 a: (Hintlesham, Suffolk) 'Hinclesham tenuit Suwart i carucatam terre pro i manerio t.r.e. sochemanus Stigandi, modo tenet Radulfus de comite, semper iii uillani et iii bordarii, et ii carucae in dominio, et i caruca hominum ... Stigandus soca.'

Holdings of socmen.

The size of the holdings and the position of socmen in the townships vary greatly.[1] They occur both in scattered farms and in champion-farmed country, and appear, therefore, both as holders of homesteads and separate tenements, and as members of large communities of peasants. Although socmen in scattered farms sometimes occupy a position resembling that of small squires,[2] as a rule they are peasants—that is, they have to cultivate their land with their own hands. In a curious Kentish entry from the district of Romney Marsh it is said, in as many words, of some socmen that they have no halls and no demesne.[3] Instances when socmen are said to hold tofts and orchards occur, and the tenants would be not much more than crofters in such cases.[4] On the other hand, a large group is formed by instances in which they

[1] Dd. ii. 109 b: (Titchwell, Norfolk) 'Tigeswella . . . iiii sochemanni ii carucatas terrae, ii carucas. Et ii sochemanni v acras. Et i sochemannus lx acras ii bouatas. Et i sochemannus de quarta parte unius acre . . . Et i carucata terrae quod tenuit i liber homo t.r.e.'

[2] Dd. i. 34 b: (Streatham, Surrey) 'Estreham . . . T. R. E. se defendit pro v hidis . . . Tres sochemanni tenuerunt ii hidas et quo uoluerunt cum eis ire potuerunt.' 128 d: (Harmondsworth, Middlesex) 'Hermodesworde . . . pro xxx hidis se defendit, . . . in hoc manerio fuit quidam sochemannus tenens ii hidas de his xxx hidis, non potuit dare uel uendere extra Hermodesworde T. R. E.' 132 d: (Charlton, Herts) 'Rex Willelmus tenet Cerletone, pro una uirga se defendit, . . . Hanc terram tenuerunt ii sochemanni de Heraldo comite, et uendere potuerunt absque licentia eius. Soca fuit semper in Hiz. Ilbertus quando fuit uicecomes apposuit in Hiz.' Ibid.: (Dunsley) 'Deneslai, pro vii hidis se defendit, . . . Hoc manerium tenuerunt ii sochemanni pro ii maneriis de Heraldo comite T. R. E. et uendere potuerunt. Tamen ii aueras et ii inwardos unusquisque inueniebat in Hiz, sed per uim et iniuste ut hundredum testatur.' Cf. 140 c (Belingehou, Herts).

[3] Dd. i. 11 a: (Romney Marsh, Kent) 'Robertus (de Romenel) tenet de episcopo (baioc.) dimidium solin in Maresc et pro tanto se defendit . . . Sex sochemanni tenuerunt T. R. E. . . . In Adiloutesbrige Hund. Isdem Robertus tenet de episcopo dimidium iugum et pro tanto se defendit . . . Duo sochemanni tenuerunt T.R.E. sine aulis et dominiis.' Cf. 11 c (Midelea).

[4] Dd. i. 337 d: (Grantham, Lincs.) 'Burgenses cxi Toftes sochemannorum teignorum quater xxiii minus.' 344 c: (? Gosberton) 'Gozeberdecherca . . . i sochemannus de suo orto.' 356 b: (Stallingborough) 'Stalinburg . . . ii sochemanni de v toftis.' 359 c: (Beesby and Maltley-le-Marsh) 'In Besebi et Maltebi habuit Agemund vi bouatas terrae ad geldum . . . i sochemannus de iiii toftis huius terrae, et i uillanus cum ii bobus in caruca.' 365 c: (? Keelby) 'Chilebi . . . i sochemannus de ii toftis, et ii bordarii, et xiiii acr. prati.' Cf. ibid., Torgrebi.

cluster in villages, and appear as the occupiers of the regular holdings.[1] Townships may be exclusively composed of their tenements,[2] and it is quite clear that, as a rule, they till the land which they hold. Therefore it is exceptional to find villains dependent on socmen, as peasants depend on a squire.[3] It may happen that some few villains, more often *bordarii*, are attached to large communities of socmen,[4] which means that the help drawn by the latter from the labour of the former is only a subsidiary source of income. As a rule, the two classes appear side by side, and follow evidently the same course of husbandry,[5]

[1] Dd. i. 209 d: (Bedfordshire) 'In Hundredo de Bereforde... Ibi xx sochemanni et xii bordarii et i seruus ... Hoc manerium tenuerunt xxiiii sochemanni et potuerunt dare et uendere terram suam cui uoluerunt.' 337 c: (Kirkby, Lincs.) 'Cherchebi ... xiiii sochemanni ... car (*sic*) v uillani et v bordarii cum i caruca ... Ad eundem manerium pertinet haec soca Oustorp, Welle, Hechintone, Cornintone ... In his habet rex vii sochemannos habentes i carucam.' 338 d: (Soke of Caistor) 'Inter totum ccxi sochemanni et xxiiii uillani, et xxviii bordarii, cum xxx carucis.' Cf. 360 b (Bareuue, Lincs.); Dd. ii. 109 b (Sutmere, Norfolk).

[2] Dd. i. 234 a: (Gilmorton, Leics.) 'Mortone ... Ibi sunt xiiii carucatae terrae T. R. E. erant ibi ix carucae. In dominio sunt ii carucae cum i seruo, et xxiiii sochemanni et iiii francigenae habent v carucas.' 347 a: (Gate Burton, Lincs.) 'In Bortone habuerunt Gonneuuate et Godricus iiii carucatas terrae et vi bouatas ad geldum. Terra ad v carucas. Nunc habet comes Alanus ibi i carucam et x sochemannos habentes iii carucas.'

[3] Dd. ii. 136 b: (Mileham, Norfolk) 'Meleham ... semper xx uillani et xliiii bordarii, Tunc vi serui, post et modo i ... et iii sochemanni i carucatam terrae ..., tunc et post xii uillani, modo iiii, semper x bordarii, ... et iiii sochemanni xxx ac. terre, et i bordarius, ... et i sochemannus i car. terrae, ... et i sochemannus viii ac., inter totum x bord., ... et vii sochemanni xl ac. terrae et i bord.'

[4] Dd. i. 235 c: (Melton Mowbray, Leics.) 'Medeltone, etc.... In his terris T.R.E. fuerunt xlviii carucae. Modo sunt ibi c sochemanni cum x uillanis et xiii bordariis habentes xliii carucas.'

[5] Dd. i. 13 a: (Romney Marsh, Kent) 'Hugo (de Montfort) in Maresc de Romenel i iugum, ... Medietatem huius terrae tenuerunt ii sochemanni, et ii uillani aliam. Ibi sunt modo iiii uillani habentes i carucam, ... Isdem Hugo tenet dimidium iugum quod tenuit unus sochemannus. Ibi ii bordarii sunt modo. Haec terra appreciatur in Titentone, quia illuc arata est cum dominicis carrucis.' 136 c: (Aldbury, Herts) 'Aldeberie, ... viii uillani cum i sochemanno et i francigena habent iiii carucas.' 273 b: (Long Eaton, Derby) 'In Aitone xii carucatae terrae ad geldum. Terra xii carucis. Ibi xxii sochemanni et x bordarii sub ipsis habent ix carucatas de hac terra, et xiii carucas. Aliae iii carucatae terrae sunt uillanorum.' 342 d: (Thoresby and Audby, Lincs.) 'In Toresbi et Alwoldebi, ... xxiii uillani et v bordarii

whatever the difference as to rights and duties in regard to the lord.

Villains.

4. The most numerous and important social class of Domesday is the villains. Their households amount, roughly, to 100,000 out of some 240,000. The most salient feature in their condition is their agricultural work: they are not only peasants, but have to perform agricultural services for their manorial lords.[1] In this sense they are emphatically rustics;[2] their tenements are customary tenements.[3] It may happen that a village which lies in one place has to send its peasants for the performance of services to another place.[4] But this is not sufficient to establish the definition of villainage. The rustic population would comprise the *bordarii* and the cotters as well as the villains. The latter are the main species of the larger genus of rustics. From several entries in Domesday we can gather that the villains were the principal shareholders of the township, the tenants among whom the ploughlands belonging to it were chiefly distributed. The Middlesex survey gives the best information in this respect,[5] but occasional glimpses

cum ii carucis et v bobus, et xxvii sochemanni habentes v carucas ii boues minus.'

[1] Dd. i. 17 b: (Steyning, Sussex) 'In burgo fuerunt cxviii masurae ... et modo sunt cxxiii masurae ... et habent i carucam et dimidiam. Ad curiam operabantur sicut uillani T. R. E.' 41 a: (Chilbolton, Hants) 'Cilbodentune ... De terra huius manerii non habet episcopus nisi v hidas et iii uirgatas et haec est vii carucis. Ricardus Sturmid tenet alias hidas. Quidam prefectus tenuit et non potuit ire quolibet, et ii hidas ex his habuit quasi uillanus.' 246 d: (Drayton, Stafford) 'Draitone ... Ibi sunt ix uillani et iii bordarii cum iiii carucis et dimidia, et viii burgenses in Tamuuorde huic manerio pertinent, et ibi operantur sicut alii uillani.'

[2] Dd. i. 173 c: (Huddington, Worcs.) 'Hudintune ... Vluricus tenuit sicut rusticus seruiens.' Dd. iv. 35 (Langebridia, Dorset); iv. 51 (Lodram, Dorset); cf. Cod. Dipl., 792, 1282.

[3] Dd. i. 154 a: (Oxford) 'Walterius Gifard xvii mansiones reddentes xxii sol. Ex his vii sunt uastae. Vnam ex his habuit antecessor Walterii dono regis Edwardi ex viii uirgatis quae consuetudinariae erant T. R. E.'

[4] Dd. i. 291 c: (Broadholm, Notts) 'In Brodeholm habuerunt Turgot et Halden v bouatas terre ad geldum. Terra ii carucis. Wasta est. Modo habent Berengerus de Todeni et Willelmus de Perci. Terra iacet ad Neuuerce, sed opus uillanorum pertinet ad Saxebi in Lincolescira.'

[5] E. g. Dd. i. 127 d: (Heruluestune) 'Ibi xii uillani quisque de

and material for inferences are afforded by descriptions of other counties too, and by comparison with later records, like the Black Book of Peterborough or the Cartulary of Burton.[1] A villain does not usually hold one full plough-team or the corresponding ploughland.[2] Holders of half-carucates, of virgates, and even of bovates, are more frequent.[3] In Kent it is common to find very large numbers of villains congregated on comparatively small areas,[4] but this may be explained by the peculiarities of

i uirgata et x uillani quisque de dimidia uirgata.' 128 c: (Greneforde) 'Ibi i uillanus habet i hidam et i uirgatam et iiii uillani quisque de dimidia hida, et iiii uillani de i hida.' Cf. 128 d (Hermodesworde); 129 b (Chenetone).

[1] Dd. i. 136 b: (Sandon, Herts) 'Sandone pro x hidis se defendit. Terra est xx carucis. In dominio v hidae, et ibi sunt vi carucae. Ibi presbiter cum xxiiii uillanis, habent xiii carucas, et adhuc una potest fieri. Ibi xii bordarii et xvi cotarii et xi serui.' Cf. 136 c (Wermelai); ibid., Brichendone. 149 b: (Iver, Bucks) 'Eureham, pro xvii hidis se defendit. Terra est xxx carucis. In dominio ii hidae, et ibi iiii carucae, et xxxii uillani habent xxvi carucas. De his uillanis v habent vi hidas. Ibi vi bordarii et iiii serui.'

[2] Dd. iv. 77: (Kerswell, Devon) 'Carsauella ... i hidam et dimidiam possunt arare xvii carrucae ... Inde habet Rex i uirgatam et dimidiam et i carucam in dominio ... uillani i hidam et xvi carucas ... xvi uillanos, xxxiii bordarios, iii seruos.'

[3] Dd. i. 127 b: (Stepney, Middlesex) 'Stibenhede ... In eadem uilla uxor Brien v hidas de episcopo ... In dominio est i caruca et i caruca potest fieri uill. Ibi i uillanus de dimidia hida reddit iiii sol. de domo sua, et alter uillanus de dimidia hida reddit viii sol.' Dd. ii. 4 b, 5 a: (Stanway, Essex) 'Stanewega ... De hoc manerio tulit Reimundus Giraldus i uillanum de dimidia hida, et reddebat consuetudinem, ... Et Rogerus Pictauiensis accepit i uillanum tenentem i acram. Et Ingelricus abstulit i feminam Bricteuam tenentem xviii acras, et reddebat unoquoque anno huic manerio xxxii nommos.' ii. 234 b: (Banningham, Norfolk) 'In Banincham tenet Rogerus i uillanum de Caustuna xvi ac. ii sol. ualet, hoc inuasit Wihenoc, et reddebat v sol. in Caustuna idem uillanus.' Cf. Inq. Eliensis (ed. Hamilton), p. 115: 'Wittleseia, octo uillani quisque de xii acris.' 116: 'Doddintona ... iiii uillani quisque de vii acris et dim.'

[4] Dd. i. 5 a: (Chartham, Kent) 'Certeham, pro iiii solins se defendit. Terra est xiiii carucis. In dominio sunt ii, et lx uillani cum xv cotariis habent xv carucas et dimidiam.' Ibid.: (Godmersham) 'Gomersham, pro viii solins ... lx uillani cum viii cotariis habent xvii carucas.' 5 b: (Westwell) 'Welle, T. R. E. se defendit pro vii solins et modo pro v. Terra est xviii carucis. In dominio sunt iiii, et quater xx et unus uillanus cum v bordariis habent xii carucas et dimidiam.' 7 c: (Milton) 'Meletune, pro uno solin et iii iugis se defendit. Terra est iiii carucis. In dominio est una, et xxi uillani cum ii bordariis habent ii carucas.' 10 c: (Horton): 'Hortone, pro dimidio solin se defendit. Terra est i caruca. Ibi est in dominio, et xiii uillani habent dimidiam carucam.'

Kentish gavelkind, and the great number of households which obtained concurrent rights under this kind of tenure. The same kind of parcelling up of rights to land may be observed in Kentish cartularies of a later period.[1] In the greater part of England villain tenements were held under the rule of single succession, either primogeniture or Borough English, and the passing of the holding to the heir was effected without sufficient regard for the claims of younger brothers and side relations.[2] In connexion with this assignment of holdings to villain households within the township stand the expressions *pleni villani* and *dimidii villani*, which occur now and then. The full villain is the tenant possessed of a full share in the township—a virgate, or a hide, or a half a hide. The half-villain would hold half a share, and would be taxed in a corresponding proportion.[3] Villains are rarely mentioned on demesne land, and the instances when this occurs find their explanation in the fact that the home-farm is not kept separate, but is leased to the tenants.[4] This is distinctly stated in some of the more important instances, and as a result of such an arrangement the hall may be altogether left out.[5]

[1] Growth of the Manor, p. 278.

[2] Dd. i. 166 a: (Hidcot Bois, Gloucs.) 'Hedecote. Ibi iii hidae. In dominio est una caruca, et ii serui, et uxores iiii uillanorum nuper defunctorum habent i carucam.'

[3] Dd. i. 162 b: (Gloucs.) 'Durandus uiçecomes tenet de rege. In Caroen i terram (nomine) Caldecote. Ibi habet in dominio iii carucas, et xv dimidios uillanos et iiii seruos et unum militem. Hĩ omnes habent xii carucas.' Cf. 168 a (Hasedene, Gloucs.); 169 c (Hildeslei, Gloucs.). 252 b: (Onibury, Salop) 'Aneberie... Ibi iii hidae geldantes. In dominio est una caruca et iiii uillani integri et vi dimidii et presbiter et unus cozet cum iii carucis. Ibi i seruus. Ibi i miles tenet i hidam, et habet i carucam, et v uillani T. R. E. erant in hoc manerio ix car.' Cf. Burton Cartulary (William Salt Arch. Soc., part i, vol. v), p. 24: (In Wineshulla) 'De hiis (bouatis) quae sunt ad opus tenent iiii uillani plenarii viii bouatas idest unusquisque ii bouatas. Ceteras, idest vi, tenent vi uillani dimidii, idest, unusquisque i bouatam.'

[4] Dd. i. 8 c: (Delce, Kent) 'Delce, pro uno solin se defendit. Terra est ii carucis, et ibi sunt in dominio et cum uno uillano et v bordariis et vi seruis.' 48 d: (Hants) 'In Sunburne Hd. Isdem Willelmus (filius Stur) tenet unam hidam... Terra est i carucae, et ibi est in dominio cum iiii uillanis'; cf. 53 b (Bordourde et Brandestone et Litesland, Hants).

[5] Dd. i. 10 b: (Ore, Kent) 'Adam tenet de episcopo (baioc.) unum iugum in Ore,... Hanc tenet iii uillani modo ad firmam.' Cf. 12 d

The villains being the principal tenants of the manor, their land is often spoken of as the land of the tenants— the *terra villanorum* almost comes to be the equivalent of *terra hominum*. This is a *pars pro toto*, as there were other classes among the peasants besides the villains. Anyhow, the rights of the villains to part of the land are constantly noticed. Of course, the Domesday Survey does not go the length of discussing the nature of these rights and establishing legal barriers between villains and lords. We do not hear how far the claims of the peasants, as represented by the manorial descriptions, were based on express agreement, or on dependent right, or on custom and practice, but when the Survey enters the number of holdings, teams, or mills belonging to the villains,[1] when it gives the exact partition of geld between the demesne and the holdings of the villains,[2] when it notices encroachments made on the land of the villains,[3] it certainly does not refer to casual

Terra villanorum.

(Bodesham, Kent); ibid., Chenetone. 26 d: (Aldrington, Sussex) 'Eldretune . . . vii hid. et dim. uirg. . . . Non geldauit. Villani tenuerunt T. R. E. Ibi sunt xli uillani et x bordarii cum vii carucis, . . . In eadem uilla ix hid. . . et x uillani et xii bordarii cum ii carucis, . . . In his duabus terris nisi una halla.' 27 b: (Westmeston, Sussex) 'Robertus tenet de Willelmo (de Warene) in Wesmestun xii hidas. Gueda comitissa tenuit, et sub ea tenebant uillani. Non fuit ibi halla, neque geldauit ut dicunt.' 127 d: (Willesden, Middlesex) 'Wellesdone pro xv hidis . . . Terra est xv carucis. Ibi uillani, viii car. et vii possent fieri. Ibi xxv uillani et v bordarii, . . . Hoc manerium tenent uillani ad firmam canonicorum. In dominio nil habetur. Hoc manerium fuit de dominico uictu T. R. E.'; cf. 73 c (Sualocliue, Wilts); iv. 371 (Herstanahaia).

[1] Dd. i. 7 d: (Leeds, Kent) 'Esledes, . . . xxviii uillani cum viii bordariis habent vii carucas, . . . Ibi . . . v molini uillanorum.' 168 c: (Rendcomb, Gloucs.) 'Rindecome, . . . Ibi unus francigena tenet terram duorum uillanorum, et molinum de viii sol. et iiii acras prati.' Cf. 169 c (Omenie, Gloucs.).

[2] Dd. i. 136 c: (Berkhamstead, Herts) 'Berchehamstede, pro xiii hidis se defendit. Terra est xxvi carucis. In dominio vi hidae et ibi sunt iii carucae, et aliae iii possunt fieri. Ibi presbiter cum xiiii uillanis et xv bordariis habent xii carucas et adhuc viii possunt fieri.'

[3] Dd. i. 12 c: (Kent) 'Norborne, pro xxx solins, . . . De terra uillanorum huius manerii tenet Oidelard i solin, . . . De eadem terra uillanorum tenet Gislebertus ii solins dimidium iugum minus . . . Wadardus tenet de isto maherio iii solins lx ac. minus de terra uillanorum, . . . Odelinus, de eadem terra uillanorum i solin, Marcherius, de eadem terra uillanorum quod ualet viii sol. . . . Osbernus filius Letardi, dimidium solin et xi acs. prati de terra uillanorum quod ualet xxv sol.' 67 c: (Tisbury, Wilts) 'Tisseberie, T. R. E. geldabat

arrangements which may be shifted at pleasure by the one-sided will of the lord. Some of the cases in question are worthy of a little more attention. Folkestone[1] was a large manor held by William de Arcis from the Bishop of Bayeux. In the reign of King Edward Earl Godwin held it, and it paid geld for 40 sulungs. There was land there for as many as 120 ploughs, but there were only 14 teams in demesne, and 209 villains and 63 *bordarii* had 45 teams between them. The great disproportion between the available ploughland and the actual cultivation of the estate had partly to be explained by encroachments on the portion of the peasants. Of the land of the villains, Hugh, son of William (Fitzwilliam), had an entire manor carved out for him. Nine sulungs had been abstracted from the villain land, and Hugh had four and a half teams, and 38 villains, with 17 *bordarii*, provided with 16 teams, on his submanor. Smaller fractions had been cut off for other military tenants —Walter of Appeville, Walter, son of Engelbert, Richard, &c. In Breme, Wiltshire,[2] the apportionment of land had

pro xx hidis . . . De hac terra sunt in dominio v hidae, . . . De eadem terra tenet de abbatia Turstinus iii hidas, Gunfridus iii hidas, Albericus ii hidas, . . . Eduuardus uicecomes habet iii carucas in terra uillanorum.' Cf. Dd. iv. 103 (Halsbretona, Devon).

[1] Dd. i. 9 c: (Folkestone, Kent) 'Willelmus de Arcis tenet Fulchestan. T. R. E. se defendit pro xl solins, et modo pro xxxix. Terra est cxx carucis. In dominio sunt xiiii carucae, et ccix uillani et quater xx et iii bordarii. Inter omnes habent xlv carucas. Ibi v aecclesiae de quibus habet Archiepiscopus lv sol. Ibi iii serui et vii molini de ix lib. . . . Hoc manerium tenuit Goduinus comes, . . . De hoc manerio tenet Hugo filius Willelmi ix solins de terra uillanorum, et ibi habet in dominio iiii carucas et dimidiam et xxxviii uillanos cum xvii bordariis qui habent xvi carucas, . . . Walterus de Appeuile tenet de hoc manerio iii iuga et xii acras terrae, et ibi habet i carucam in dominio et iii uillanos cum i bordario . . . Aluredus tenet i solin et xl acras terrae, et ibi habet in dominio ii carucas cum vi bordariis, . . . Walterus filius Engelberti tenet dimidium solin et xl acras, et ibi habet in dominio i carucam cum vii bordariis, . . . Wesman tenet i solin, et ibi habet in dominio i carucam et ii uillanos cum vii bordariis habentes i carucam et dim.; Aluredus Dapifer tenet i solin et unum iugum. . . Eudo, dim. solin . . . Bernardus de S. Audoeno, iiii solins, . . . Baldricus, dimidium solin, . . . Ricardus, lviii acras terrae.'

[2] Dd. i. 67 b: (Wilts) 'Ipsa aecclesia (Malmesberiensis) tenet Breme, T. R. E. geldabat pro xxxviii hidis . . . De hac terra sunt in dominio xvii hidae, . . . Ibi xxxii uillani etc., . . . De eadem terra tenet Eduuardus iiii hidas, et Teodricus iiii hidas, . . . Qui tenebant has viii hidas T. R. E. ab aecclesia non poterant separari. De terra uillanorum

also been disturbed. A series of knights were enfeoffed there. Two of them had received land out of what used to be thaneland in the reign of King Edward. But the villain settlement, represented by 32 villains and 13 *bordarii* with twenty teams, had lost part of its land. One Teodric had received one hide of it from the Abbot of Malmesbury, to whom the manor belonged. Two other hides of the same land had gone to Edward, one of the abbey's knights, from the King himself. The jurors sketch some of the incidents which led to the alienation of this last tenement. An English Abbot had severed it from the ownership of the Church and given it to a certain reeve (made it into reeveland?), and afterwards granted it to a thane to hold as thaneland that could not be separated from the Abbey. How it came into the hands of the King the record does not say.

The term 'demesne' may be coupled with that of *terra villanorum*, but in this case it would merely carry the meaning of ownership, not that of home-farm.[1] On the other hand, stress may be laid expressly on the fact that the land of the villains belongs to them—is their own.[2]

This is no mere manner of speech: very tangible considerations gave the distinction between the two parts of a manor a direct bearing on public interests. Not only were they separately taxed to the geld; the ancient distinction between warland and inland was still not obsolete,

tenet idem Teodricus i hidam quam dedit ei abbas. De eadem etiam tenet Eduuardus ii hidas de rege et Gislebertus de eo. Has abstulit de dominio aecclesiae quidam abbas Anglicus, et dedit cuidam preposito, et postea uni taino, qui nullo modo separari poterat ab aecclesia, . . . Willelmus quoque de Ow tenet de eadem terra unam hidam quam prestitit abbas Alestano.'

[1] Dd. i. 67 a: (Corston, Wilts) 'Corstone, vi hid. . . . De eadem etiam terra tenet Robertus iii hidas et dim. Willelmus ii hidas. Una anglica mulier i hidam. Qui has terras tenuerunt T. R. E. non poterant ab aecclesia separari. De dominio monachorum terra uillanorum (*sic*) tenent ii milites iii hidas et dimidiam. Dominium abbatis quando recepit ualebat xxvi lib. Modo xxx lib. Quod Rannulfus et alii tenent ualet xi lib. et iiii sol.'

[2] Dd. i. 173 b: (Blockley, Worcs.) 'Blochelei . . . Ansgotus tenet i hidam et dimidiam de propria terra uillanorum, et habet i carucam cum i bordario.'

and therefore it was material for the Crown that the warland of the villains should be kept intact. We come, e.g., across the following significant entry in the Survey of Cornwall.[1] St. Constantine has 1½ hides forming 4 ploughlands. In the reign of King Edward it was exempted (*immunis*) from all service, but since the Count (of Mortain) got the estate it has had to pay geld as villain land (*terra villanorum*). The opposition between the two categories could hardly be clearer expressed. The converse case is presented by a Huntingdonshire entry: 'The Abbot of St. Peter of Winchester holds Aulton, which used to be a manor of Queen Edith. There were 10 hides there in the reign of King Edward, and the villains who lived there paid geld for 5 hides. At the present time (at the time of the Survey) the abbot has 5 hides in demesne, but does not pay geld.'[2] This did not prevent the development of the servile theory of villainage which obtained in feudal common law, but the Domesday Survey does not yet consider the villains from that point of view. It takes them more as an economic class—the peasants, on whose work and rents both the private households of the aristocracy and the public one of the King depend.[3]

Servile and free elements.

5. The basis for a servile theory is, however, already existing in some respects. The opposition between the franklin, the freeman, and the villain is often insisted upon.[4] In one famous case the evidence of the best and most

[1] Dd. iv. 188: (Cornwall) 'S. Constantinus habet dimidiam hidam terrae quae t. r. e. fuit inmunis ab omni seruitio sed postquam comes accepit terram semper reddidit gildum iniuste ut terra uillanorum.' Cf. Dd. i. 121 b.

[2] Dd. i. 43 a: (Alton, Hants) 'Abbas Sancti Petri de Wincestre tenet Aultone. Eddid regina tenuit T. R. E. Tunc erant x hidae et uillani qui ibi manebant geldabant pro v hidis. Modo habet abbas in dominio v hidas, sed non geldauerunt.'

[3] Villains have to answer to the Sheriff in regard to these latter obligations. Exceptions are rare. Dd. i. 30 c: (Gomshall, Surrey) 'Gomeselle, . . . Huius uillae uillani ab omni re uicecomitis sunt quieti.'

[4] Dd. i. 127 a: (Harrow, Middlesex) 'Herges, . . . Ad dominium pertinent xxx hide, et ibi sunt iiii carucae et v potest fieri. Inter francos et uillanos xlv carucae et xvi plus possent esse.' Cf. 252 d (Sudtone, Salop); ii. 348 a, b (Cham, Suffolk).

ancient men of the county is opposed to that of villains, of vile plebeians, and of reeves.[1] Not only the admixture of downright serfs settled in tributary holdings, but the whole arrangement of week-work, the burdensome rustic duties, and the harsh discipline of the hall and of the steward, gave to the condition of villainage a particularly humble setting. It was marked as a degradation when a freeman became a villain.[2]

And yet the redeeming features are still very noticeable in Domesday. The free elements cast into the mould assert themselves in many ways. After all, the difference between the socman and the better situated villain was not great, on the testimony of the Survey. A soce over freemen was considered, in one sense, as an extension to them of a power originally established in regard to villains.[3] Among socmen there were many, as we have seen already, who were actually subjected to the same kind of exploitation and supervision as the villains, although in a lesser degree.[4] On the other hand, some of the general customs applied to the villain class disclose in its midst a considerable element

[1] Dd. i. 44 d: (Chardford, Hants) 'Cerdeford . . . In isto hundredo et in isto manerio tenet Picot ii uirgatas et dimidiam de rege. Phitelet tenuit in alodio de rege Edwardo, . . . Istam terram calumniatur Willelmus de Chernet dicens pertinere ad manerium de Cerdeford feudum Hugonis de Port, per hereditatem sui antecessoris, et de hoc suum testimonium adduxit de melioribus et antiquis hominibus totius comitatus et hundredi, et Picot contraduxit suum testimonium de uillanis et uili plebe, et de prepositis qui uolunt defendere per sacramentum aut per dei iudicium quod ille qui tenuit terram liber homo fuit, et potuit ire cum terra sua quo uoluit. Sed testes Willelmi nolunt accipere legem nisi regis Edwardi usque dum diffiniatur per regem.'

[2] Dd. ii. 1 b: (Benfleet, Essex) 'Benflet, . . . In hoc manerio erat tunc temporis quidam liber homo de dimidia hida qui modo effectus est unus de uillanis.'

[3] Dd. ii. 285 b: (Mendlesham, Suffolk) 'Melnessam tenet Burchart, . . . In Cottuna xviii liberi homines . . . huc manerio additi, . . . hundredum testatur quod uere rex et comes habuit soca et saca t. r. e., sed homines illius uille testantur quod Burchardus similiter habuit socam de liberis hominibus sicuti de suis uillanis, et non habent aliquid testimonium praeter se, et tamen nolunt probare omni modo.'

[4] Dd. i. 225 d: (Rushden, Northants) 'Risdene . . . Sochemanni de Risdene et Irencestre et Rande fuerunt homines Burred et iccirco G. episcopus clamat hominationem eorum.' Cf. Liber Niger ecclesiae de Burgo (Camden Soc.), 158: Pilesgete.

reckoned to be free.[1] Curiously enough, we find the same verdict as to churchscot which we have already seen applied to freemen in Worcestershire, and to socmen in Buckinghamshire, applied to free- and to villain-hides in another Worcestershire verdict.[2] These hides have to pay the same loads of corn to the Bishop of Worcester, and are liable to the same kind of forfeitures. This is surely very characteristic. We come across the same framework of Old English society arranged into hides, and the social designation of these hides leaves us the choice in this case between free and villain. The inference is not far to seek, that these expressions correspond to the free and to the socman households of the other two instances, and that the churchscot had primarily to be levied from the hides of the suitors of the hundred, the free settlers, both landowners and agricultural tenants. The very fact that the designation of villains assumes in process of time such a very general and all-embracing sense[3] speaks volumes against the homogeneous origin of the class composing it. It was a common mould for various elements ranging from downright serfage to the ascription of men personally free, and to the subjection of men who might have been classified with the socmen forming so important a group in some parts of the country. Nor can there be a doubt that a most important and considerable part of the villain class is descended from the Old

[1] Dd. iv. 245: (Cricket St. Thomas, Somerset), 'Cruce ... Inde habet Turstinus iiii hidas in dominio et iii carucas, et uillani habent ii hidas et iii carucas. Ibi habet Turstinus vi uillanos et v bordarios et ii seruos et xiiii animalia, ... Haec mansio reddebat per consuetudinem unoquoque anno in Sutpetret mansione R. vi oues cum agnis suis, et unusquisque liber homo i blomam ferri.'

[2] Dd. i. 174a: (Terra Aecclesiae de Wirecestre) 'Dicit uicecomitatus quod de unaquaque hida terrae libera uel uillana quae ad aecclesiam de Wirecestre pertinet debet episcopus habere in die festo S. Martini unam summam annonae de meliori quae ibidem crescit. Quod si dies ille non reddita annona transierit qui retinuit annonam reddet et undecies persoluet, et insuper forisfacturam episcopus accipiet qualem de sua terra habere debet.'

[3] Dd. iv. 107: (Crediton, Devon) 'Chritetona, ... Inde habet episcopus vi hidas et xiii carucas in dominio, et inter milites et uillanos habet ix hidas et clxxii carucas. Ibi habet episcopus cclxiiii uillanos et lxxiii bordarios, xl seruos, xxx porcarios.'

English ceorls, so often described as freemen in Anglo-Saxon laws. Their manorial subjection is the result of the process of formation of a military aristocracy gradually differentiated from the previously indistinct mass of freemen. In their quality of typical members of the townships the villains appear as the natural representatives of the latter in the juries called to give evidence before the Domesday Commissioners, and the composition of these juries proves to be the same as the ordinary representation of townships in the hundred and the county courts: the reeve, the priest, and six villains in the Domèsday Inquests; the reeve, the priest, and four villains in the public moots.[1] The parish priest with his virgate, half-hide, or hide, appears accordingly as one of the villain shareholders of the township, although his tenement is held free of the common service on account of its special obligations.

I have been discussing the typical features of villainage in the agricultural counties of England, but it is hardly needful to mention that in forest, pastoral, or fishing districts the usual terms are applied to the working population, although its occupations would not have much to do with ploughing and other agricultural processes. As we hear of forest hides and Welsh hides, so we come across villains settled and doing work in the forest,[2] or as fishermen,[3] or according to Welsh custom[4]—presumably connected with pastoral and forest pursuits. Individual villains might even be drawn from their ordinary occupations and be employed

[1] Dd. i. 183 b: (Dindor, Hereford) 'Dunre, ... In dominio sunt ii carucae, et xiii uillani cum preposito et v bordariis cum xii carucis. Ibi iiii bouarii et iii ancillae.'

[2] Dd. i. 179 c: (Kingston, Hereford) 'Chingestone. ... Ibi silua nomine Triueline nullam reddens consuetudinem nisi uenationem: Villani T. R. E. ibi manentes portabant uenationem ad Hereford, nec aliud seruitium faciebant ut scira dicit.'

[3] Dd. i. 164 a: (Tidenham, Gloucs.) 'Tedeneham, ... In Sauerna xi piscariae in dominio, et xlii piscariae uillanorum. In Waia i piscaria et uillanorum ii piscariae et dimidia. Rogerus comes creuit in Waia ii piscarias.'

[4] Dd. i. 253 c: (Salop) 'Alretone, ... In dominio est una caruca et v uillani cum i libero homine habent iii carucas, et quidam Walenses ibi laborantes reddunt xvi sol.'

as artizans without losing their standing within the peasant class.[1]

Bordarii. 6. It is very rare to find villains alone by themselves in a manor.[2] They are usually coupled with *bordarii* on the tenant land,[3] and the numbers of these in the aggregate are not much less than those of the villains.[4] They are also rustics, and subjected to the same kind of service as the villains, but the amount of their service is considerably less. In one instance the Domesday Survey tells us, in as many words, that the *bordarii* had to do work for one day in the week.[5] This would connect them directly with the Monday-men, the *Lundinarii* of later 'extents', who are one group of the cottagers, of whom we hear so much both before and after the Conquest.[6] This observation is borne out by the cases where the size of the tenements held by *bordarii* are given. They stand always in contrast with those of the villains, as small plots, whereas the villain holdings correspond to the large fractions of the plough-team and ploughland. The *bordarii* held orchards or crofts, plots of 5 acres; very rarely their tenements rise to as many as 10 or 12 acres.[7]

[1] Dd. i. 30c: (Kingston, Surrey) 'Chingestune, . . . De uillanis huius uillae habuit et habet Hunfridus camerarius unum uillanum in custodia, causa codunandi lanam reginae. De ipso etiam accepit xx sol. in releuamen cum pater eius fuit mortuus.'

[2] E.g. Dd. i. 206 d: (Sawtry, Hunts) 'In Saltrede habuit Turchil x hidas ad geldum. Terra xv carucis. In dominio sunt de hac terra ii hidae et dimidia. Ibi nunc Iudita comitissa ii carucas, et xxvii uillani habentes x carucas. Ibi presbiter et aecclesia.'

[3] Dd. iv. 274: (Kenn, Devon) 'Chent . . . reddidit gildum pro vi hidis, has possunt arare xxv carrucae . . . Ibi habet Balduinus xlii inter uillanos et bordarios.' But cf. Dd. i. 163 b: (Tewkesbury, Gloucs.) 'In Teodechesberie . . . In capite manerii erant in dominio xii carucae, et l inter seruos et ancillas, et xvi bordarii circa aulam manebant.'

[4] Ellis, Introduction to Domesday Book, ii. 511: Bordarii, 82, 119; Bordarii pauperes, 490; Dimidii Bordarii, 15.

[5] Dd. i. 186 a: (Ewias Harold Castle, Hereford) 'Castellum Ewias,... Ibi habet in dominio ii carucas, et ix Walenses cum vi carucis, reddentes vii sextaria mellis, et xii bordarii operantes una die ebdomad. Ibi iiii bouarii, et unus homo reddit vi den. Quinque milites . . . habent v carucas in dominio, et xii bordarios . . . Turstinus . . . et Warnerius . . . Hi habent v bordarios.'

[6] Rectitudines, Villainage in England, p. 256.

[7] Dd. i. 127 d: (Fulham, Middlesex) 'Fuleham, . . . In eadem uilla tenent canonici S. Pauli de rege v hidas pro uno manerio. Terra est v carucis. Ad dominium pertinent iii hide, et ibi sunt ii carucae.

The term and the classification into a group are suggested, not by the membership of the township (*villa*), but by the occupation of a homestead—a *mansura*, a *borda*.[1] The latter was a term well known to the French barons who directed the Survey and to the Frenchmen placed on the local juries.[2] It appears as a peculiarity of the Domesday classification, and disappears quickly from usage, both in the law courts and in economic practice. 'Villain' becomes the one legally recognized designation for manorial subjection, while 'villains' and 'cottagers' divide the class between them as the two main economic groups. In connexion with the usual meaning of *bordarius*, as a crofter, we find them very often in the demesne portion of the manor.[3] They were evidently in this case domanial labourers settled in cottages, and provided with a bit of land of their own, or, perhaps, small peasants who had to undertake the work on the demesne, not as week-work, but as a whole, on certain conditions. In most of these cases the home-farms assigned to the cultivation of the *bordarii* are small. It is quite exceptional to find a

Villani ii carucas, et tercia potest fieri. Ibi viii uillani quisque de i uirgata, et vii uillani quisque de dimidia uirgata, et vii bordarii quisque de v acris.' 238 b: (Coton End, Warwick) 'Cotes, ... Extra burgum c bordarii cum hortulis suis reddunt 1 sol.' Cf. Inq. Cantab. (ed. Hamilton), p. 24, 'Belesham ... xii bordarii quisque de x acris'; p. 40, 'Hestitona, xii bordarii de xii acris'; p. 45, 'Herlestona : .. xv cotarii de suis hortis'; p. 51, 'Trumpintone : .. i bordarius de acra et dim., v cotarii de suis ortis'; p. 77, 'Oreuuella : .. iii bordarii quisque de v acris.'

[1] Dd. i. 38 d: (Eling, Hants) 'Edlinges, ... In Foresta sunt occupatae xvi mansurae uillanorum et iii bordariorum.' 52 b: (Bowcombe, Hants) 'Bouecome, ... Ad ... aecclesiam adiacent xx masurae bordariorum.' 203 a: (Huntingdon) 'In Burgo Huntedone ... sunt modo cxvi burgenses consuetudines omnes et geldum regis reddentes, et sub eis sunt c bordarii qui adiuuant eos ad persolutionem geldi.' ii. 136 a: (Feltwell, Norfolk) 'In Feltwella ... v bordarii t. r. e. modo iii, et ii mansure sunt uacuae.'

[2] Liebermann, Gesetze, i. Leis Willelme, 17 a: 'Le Seignur pur — den. que il donrad si erunt quites ses bordiers e ses bouerȝ e ses serianȝ. Lat. Dominus autem pro uno denario adquietabit bordarios suos et bubulcos et seruientes.'

[3] Dd. i. 223 b: (W. Farndon, Northants) 'Idem (Radulfus) tenet i hidam et dimidiam et unam bouatam terrae in Ferendone. Terra est ii carucis. Ibi est una cum ii bordariis.' Cf. 359 b (Summerlede, Lincs.); 360 c (Stroustune); ibid., alia Pamtone; iv. 178 (Bera, Somerset); 421 (Bicatona, Devon).

large manor settled in such a way that *bordarii* occupy the tenant portion[1] of the estate alone, or almost alone. It is quite common, on the other hand, to find *bordarii* as a group of under-tenants in settlements held by small freemen or socmen.[2]

The cases where *bordarii* are alone would imply that the crofters were provided with ploughs by the lord, or could form plough-teams of their own by joining their oxen, and it is stated exceptionally in the Survey that the *bordarii* have teams.[3] Even in the ordinary cases where villains appear on the scene as the chief occupants of the fields, *bordarii* follow them in the reckoning, in a way which supposes that they had some share, in the ploughlands, and possessed some oxen and agricultural implements, which enabled them to join in the cultivation. But their participation and position must have been subordinate in any case.

The reason for assigning such a considerable place to the crofters and cotters lay in the economic and social necessity for a class of smaller householders, who could assist both the lords and the larger peasants in their routine of agricultural work. The economic basis consisted in the fact that no large agricultural organization could dispense with occasional labourers and do all the work required in it by the help of its ordinary equipment. If it had to employ the same staff in the critical and in the slack periods of the economic year, one of two things would follow: either the labouring population necessary

[1] Dd. iv. 27: (Portland, Dorset) 'Rex habet i insulam quae uocatur Porlanda quam tenebat Eduuardus Rex, . . . Ibi habet Rex iii carucas in dominio, et uillani habent ibi xxiii carucas. Ibi habet rex i uillanum et c bordarios, x minus, et v seruos.'

[2] Dd. ii. 166 a: (Barnham Broom, Norfolk) 'In Berham ii carucatas terre et vi acras tenebant xlvii liberi homines quando recepit (Will. de War.) et modo lvii, semper vii bord. et viii car.' Cf. ibid., Wikelepuda; 166 b (Morlea); ibid., Depham, Wimundham, &c.

[3] Dd. i. 1 c: (Kent) 'Gocistone, . . . Ad hanc terram pertinent xxv acrae terrae in Corneli hundredo, et ibi sunt v bordarii cum dimidia caruca.' 136 d: (Hemel Hempstead, Herts) 'Hamelamestede, . . . Ibi ii francigenae cum xiii bordariis habent xx carucas.' Cf. ii. 134 a (Hemsteda, Norfolk).

for the spring and harvest work would have to sit in comparative idleness during the winter and part of the summer, or else it would have to bear a strain beyond its strength at the critical periods of husbandry. We know that manorial management tried to help itself by an excess of boon-works at these exceptional times. But taking the tasks of the agricultural population as a whole, a demand must have always existed for extra labour at certain periods of the year, somewhat similar to the demand for hop-pickers in Kent nowadays. This kind of demand is always met to a great extent by the influx of outsiders, the *Sachsengänger* of Eastern Germany. Ministers' accounts of the feudal epoch show that this was to some extent the case in manorial husbandry. But the rigid local divisions of the feudal arrangement, and the imperfect conditions of intercourse, put many impediments in the way of the ebb and flow of agricultural labourers, and the economic supplement for migrations of loose 'hands' was presented in most countries of mediaeval Europe by a large class of settled labourers living in very strait circumstances in small crofts and homesteads, and ready to undertake all sorts of auxiliary work and odd jobs in the routine of village life. This appears to be the economic character of the various *bordarii*, bordiers, cottagers, 'husmænd', 'kötter', 'Brinksitzer' of England, France, Germany, and Scandinavian countries. There was plenty of social material for the formation of the class. It consisted chiefly of younger brothers and side relations of the peasants—the villains (*Bauern*)—provided with holdings. The great feature of the holding system which obtained in Western Europe is the concentration of the household shares into close units. In contrast with the gavelkind and parage systems which parcel up rights according to the growth of population, the re-divisions among the kindred practised in Celtic districts, and the periodical re-allotments of Russia, the prevailing mediaeval arrangement of Teutonic Europe tended to sacrifice the interests of the plurality of claimants to the economic

efficiency of the agrarian units—of the Hof, the Hufe, the mansus, the virgate or bovate, and the 'odal'. Superfluous claims were cut off or bought out, and, as a result, a large percentage of the population was thrown out into minor occupations and side settlements. For a time one of the principal exits left open for bachelors (Haistalds, Hagestolzen) was settling in crofts and cots around the main stock of the peasants.[1] The working of these economic and social processes comes to a head in the formation of the class of crofters and cottagers represented by *bordarii* and *cottarii* in England.

Settlements of serfs.

I have dwelt especially on this side of the development, because it has hardly been realized sufficiently by most writers on the subject. But it was supplemented from another side by the influx of settled labourers of servile origin. It may be supposed that in most cases the conversion of a slave into a serf of the glebe was effected by planting a servile household on a small plot of land, and subjecting it to the fluctuating requirements of manorial husbandry, without such definite limits as to customary employment as those which obtained in the case of the more cumbersome and costly arrangements of the large peasant farms. Sometimes the crofts of the *bordarii* might grow into holdings of the higher type; in other cases, on the contrary, they might multiply as cottages. But anyhow they presented one of the steps by which the numerous slave contingents of ancient times advanced towards a more protected and economically advantageous position.

Cottagers.

7. A somewhat puzzling feature of Domesday terminology is the occurrence of cottagers by the side of the 'bordiers'. The Survey mentions *cottarii*,[2] *cotmen*,[3] and *cotsets*[4] in different parts of the country, and the members

[1] Rhamm, Die Grosshufen der Nordgermanen, 140 ff.

[2] Dd. iv. 195: (Faringdon, Devon) 'Ferentona, . . . Ibi habet Bretellus i carucam et ii cotarios.' Cf. i. 128 a: (Ad portam episcopi, Middlesex) 'Canonici ... habent ... x cotarios de ix acris.' 260 d: (Stoke, Salop) 'Stoches, ... ix feminae cotariae.'

[3] Dd. i. 177 b: (Northfield, Worcs.) 'Nordfeld, ... vii uillani et xvi bordarii et vi cotmanni cum xiii carucis, ... Ibi ii serui et i ancilla.'

[4] Dd. i. 64 d: (Bedwin, Wilts) 'Beduinde, ... Ibi ..., lx cozets

of these groups make up a considerable class. They even occur in the same entries with *bordarii*, and are distinguished from them. These facts are not difficult to explain however. *Cotman*, *cotset* is the vernacular designation for the class, and therefore its cropping up is only natural. The Norman Survey uses the French term constantly, however, and even makes attempts to co-ordinate both terms in order to express shades of meaning in regard to the size of the plots assigned to the various crofters.[1] This is carried very far, and distinctions are attempted on this line between *cotarii* and *cotsets*.[2] There may be other elements underlying such minute subdivisions, e.g., the wish to distinguish between cottagers of ancient standing and settlers provided with new homesteads and an outfit. But it is neither possible nor necessary to trace all these shades and niceties in detail. The principal facts are clear enough. They consist in the grouping of the peasantry into two great classes: the holders of the regular farms and tenements in the fields, and the crofters and cottagers surrounding the main stock of the agricultural population.

Besides these two main streams leading to the formation of the crofter class, it has to be noticed that the aristocratic evolution culminating in the Conquest had, as one of its consequences, the breaking up of a great number of full peasant farms, and the eviction of large numbers of free peasants, with a corresponding increase in the number of crofters and cottagers on their precarious small tenements. Many facts of this kind come directly under our notice in the Survey.[3] Sometimes it may be found that this parcelling-up of farms and dispossession of substantial

et xiiii coliberti.' Cf. iv. 46 (Pouertona, Dorset); iii (Coritona, Devon).

[1] Dd. i. 127 b: (Stepney, Middlesex) 'Stibenhede, . . . In eadem uilla . . . Hugo de Berneres, . . . Ibi i uillanus de dimidia hida, et vi uillani de iii uirgatis, et ii bordarii de dimidia uirgata, et iii cotarii et ii acris et dimidio.'

[2] Dd. i. 73 d: (Somerford, Wilts) 'Sumreford, . . . Ibi sunt ii coscez et i cotarius.'

[3] Dd. ii. 90 a: (Thorrington, Essex) 'Torindunam, . . . Tunc i uillanus modo non. Tunc iiii bordarii modo xi.' 247 b: (Kerdiston,

peasant tenants coincides with a certain growth of the demesne farm[1] supported by cottagers work. In a few cases the increase in the number of cottagers seems partly due to the disappearance of serfs,[2] as well as to a lowering in the status of peasants.

Censores.

In some cases, again, the *bordarii* must have held leaseholds which it was impossible to classify as ordinary villain holdings, because they were let for rackrents. In this sense the term *bordarius* would correspond to that of *censarius* or *censor*, and a comparison between Domesday and the Burton Cartulary shows that the transition did actually take place: the older record uses *bordarius* where the later one speaks of *censores*. The numbers do not coincide, and the twelfth-century Cartularies show a considerable increase of these rent-holdings, as is only natural in view of the general progress achieved in the 25–40 years since 1086. But the place of the *bordarii* as a group is clearly taken by the *censores* group in the twelfth century,[3]

Norfolk) 'Kerdestuna, . . . Tunc et post xxx uillani, et modo xvi, et modo xiiii bordarii, . . . Huic terre iacent homines in Refham, et sunt appretiati cum ipsa terra.'

[1] Dd. ii. 191 a: (Great Cressingham, Norfolk) 'Cresincghaham tenet Episcopus in dominio pro manerio et pro ii carucatis terrae. Tunc vii uillani modo iiii, modo iii bordarii. Tunc iiii serui, modo i. Tunc ii carucae in dominio, modo iii. Tunc inter homines i caruca, modo dimidia.'

[2] Dd. ii. 69 b: (Wimbish, Essex) 'Wimbeis, . . . Semper iii carucae in dominio. Tunc xxi carucae hominum, modo xv. Semper xxvi uillani et i presbiter. Tunc xviiii bordarii, modo lv. Tunc vi serui, modo nullus.'

[3] Dd. i. 273 b. In 'Ufre' (Mickel and Little Over) the Abbey of Burton had T.R.W. twenty villain holdings and ten *bordarii* crofts on eight ploughlands. In the earlier twelfth-century surveys there are still twenty villain holdings but no *bordarii*. On the other hand, a good deal of the Warland is at rent, and there are thirteen *censores*. The later twelfth-century survey gives twenty-four villain holdings, but only six *censores*. Part of the land has evidently been again subjected to work instead of being leased for rent. Similar conditions prevail in other Burton manors. Burton Cartulary, William Salt Soc., v, part i, pp. 18 ff. In the paper by Mr. Baring, Engl. Hist. Rev., xi. 98 ff., the *bordarii* are not considered, and no account is taken of the growth of cultivation in the interval between Domesday Book and the twelfth-century surveys. This enables the author to arrive at the startling conclusion that the rent-paying tenants were deliberately omitted in the Domesday Survey of Southern England.

and this fact throws a reflected light on the meaning of *bordarius* in Domesday. The constant occurrence of the latter may explain why *censor* and *censarius* occur so seldom.[1]

8. At the bottom of the social ladder of the Domesday Survey we find a class of unfree servants—*serfs* or slaves (*servi*). Their total number is not very large—some 25,000, and there arises, at the very beginning, the question whether we have to reckon in this case with households or with persons. Serfs have no holdings or tenements, in the proper sense of the word. This is not only a theoretical inference from their general status, but a fact rendered clear by their connexion with the demesne. The Survey, indeed, enumerates them sometimes as one of a series of social groups on the estates, and in this case it may mention them in the same breath with villains and *bordarii*.[2] But in more carefully drawn up descriptions it places them on the demesne,[3] and keeps them quite distinct from the other tenants and the land of the tenants (*terra hominum*). And yet I hesitate to construe the Domesday entries as referring to heads of population. This would be quite out of keeping with all the other items of the Survey, and would lead to a very strange result: serfdom would seem to have almost entirely disappeared in many parts of the country, and to be represented by one or two persons only on a number of estates where it does occur. This would be startling indeed, some fifty years after the Danish invasions. I think the serfs entered in the record are those who held *ministeria*, Servi.

[1] Dd. i. 78 c: (Dorset) 'Oscheruuille . . . ii censores reddunt xv sol.' 314 b: (Yorks) 'Hotun . . . Berengarius habet ibi ii uillanos . . . et iii censarios et alios xiiii uillanos et bordarios.' Cf. 325 c (Ghellinge, Yorks); 362 d (Bertone, Lincs.).

[2] E. g. Dd. ii. 136 a: (Methwold, Norfolk) 'Methelwalde . . . Tunc xxviii villani post xxiiii, modo xviii. Tunc iiii bordarii, post viii, modo xiii, semper xxiiii serui.' 191 b: (Elmenham, Norfolk) 'Semper xli uillani et lxiii bordarii. Tunc vi serui *bor* (*sic*) modo iiii.' Cf. i. 7 c (Grauesham, Kent). Cf. Ipswich, Suffolk, Dd. ii. 393 a: 'In eodem burgo habet Richardus xiii burgenses . . . unus eorum est seruus.'

[3] Dd. i. 8 b: ('Winchelesmere,' Kent) . . . 'Terra est i carucae. Et ibi est in dominio cum iii seruis.' Cf. 11 b (Brochestele); 256 d ('Hantenetune,' Salop).

definite offices connected with the estates or farms; both the members of their families and stray personal attendants must have been omitted. A difficulty presents itself in the fact that female servants[1] (*ancillae*) are often mentioned, but it looks insuperable only at first glance; there must have been many *ministeria* confided to women in a well-ordered estate, and the disappointing feature in this case is rather that offices of this kind are not alluded to more often. The positive reasons for my suggestion, besides the above observations, consist in the fact that in some cases the servile labourers on the demesne appear more specially as ploughmen (*bovarii*). They are designated as such in one or two cases,[2] and in a number of other instances we are led to some conclusion of the kind by the symmetrical correspondence between the number of teams and of serfs on the demesne.[3] Two, and perhaps four in some cases, seem to be reckoned to each plough as a rule. This average would be a reasonable one, as there must have been at least a double personnel to serve the demesne ploughs on well-ordered estates. The foregoing observations appear as a probable solution of the question in regard to some counties, but it would not do to restrict the employment of serfs to the office of ploughmen. They may have acted as herdsmen, keepers, artisans in other places, and this would explain why the numbers vary so much and go on increasing towards the west. Evidently many more serfs were kept in Devonshire, Dorset, Gloucestershire, to fill the household offices of the lord's farm in the west of England, than in the east, where they may have been entrusted to hired labourers or tenants,

[1] Dd. i. 169 d: ('Tantesborne,' Gloucs.) . . . 'v ancillae.' 172 b: ('Bremesgraue,' Worcs.) . . . 'ix serui et i ancilla.' Cf. 224 c ('Niwebotle, Northants).

[2] Dd. i. 256 d: ('Hantenetune,' Salop) . . . 'In dominio sunt ii carucae et iiii serui (bouarii), et ii uillani et ii bordarii et unus radmannus cum i caruca.' Cf. 172 b: ('Grastone,' Worcs.) . . . 'Ibi ii serui et vi bouarii.'

[3] Dd. i. 254 b: ('Hetune,' Salop) . . . 'In dominio est una caruca et iiii serui.' Cf. ibid., 'Stantune; Wicford . . . ii carucae et viii serui.' Dd. iv. 113: (Hermondesuuorda, Devon) 'Ibi habet Drogo i carrucam et ii seruos.'

especially *bordarii*, for a certain consideration, or for the remission of ordinary week-work.[1]

As an exception, serfs may appear connected with fractions of plough-teams.[2] Perhaps the terminology may be somewhat deceptive in this case, and alludes to ploughmen like the above, but even if tenants were meant, it would not be strange, on the face of it, to find such settled serfs, 'serfs chasés,' as they were called in France. The only wonder would be why the record should call them serfs in such cases, and not *bordarii*, cottagers, or even villains, according to the size and nature of their tenement. But of such terminological inconsistencies there are too many in the Survey to allow us to make strict inferences from them.

Evolution of serfdom.

In the treatment of serfs by the Domesday commissioners and jurors, we have one of the many instances of the misleading character of inferences based on a literal adherence to the statements of mediaeval documents without proper consideration of the perspective of their presentation of society. Should we follow implicitly the guidance of thirteenth-century jurists, we might suppose that almost the entire peasant population of the England of their time was of servile condition.[3] If we stand by the Domesday rubrics we may come to the conclusion that serfage was quickly dying out, and had all but disappeared in several of the shires at the time of the Conquest. If we turn to the Old English charters we shall have to recognize that, up to the eleventh century, slavery and manumission from slavery are playing a most important part in social life. Without even referring to such early instances as that of the cultivation of Selsey, which presents a large colony of downright serfs (*theows*),[4] it is sufficient to call attention

[1] Dd. i. 175 c: (Evesham) 'Ibi sunt in dominio iii carucae et xxvii bordarii seruientes curiae.'

[2] Dd. i. 272 b: (Neuuebold, Derby) 'Ibi habet Rex xvi uillanos et ii bordarios et i seruum habentes iiii carucas.' Cf. 275 a (Bubedene); 275 b (Duuelle).

[3] Villainage in England, 44 ff.

[4] Bæda, Hist. Eccl. iv. 13 (Plummer, i. 232): 'Rex Ædilualch donauit reuerentissimo antistiti Uilfrido terram lxxxvii familiarum, ubi suos homines, qui exules uagabantur, recipere posset, uocabulo Selæseu

to the constant references to slave-born men[1] to show that serfdom was a very important item in the social organization of the eleventh century. Although the incidents of the life of this lowest order of society are to a great extent concealed from us by the contemptuous disregard of lords and clerks, and by the peculiar terminology of the sources, the contradictory data of the Codex Diplomaticus, the Domesday Survey, and the thirteenth-century plea rolls have to be reconciled somehow. In reality, these data ought to dovetail into each other, and not to contradict each other.

The solution of the problem has to be sought chiefly in the rearrangement of enormous numbers of serfs according to a new classification in the eleventh century, and the legal consequences drawn from this classification by the rising Common Law. The descendants of the slaves (*theows*) of older Saxon custom are distributed in two distinct classes in the eleventh century—they appear as serfs, domestic and home-farm servants, and as *geburs* or settled labourers who have to be looked for among the *bordarii* and the villains of Domesday Book. This is indicated by the heavy services imposed on the *gebur* according to the Rectitudines.[2] From

quod dicitur Latine insula uituli marini ... Et quoniam illi rex cum praefata loci possessione omnes, qui ibidem erant, facultates cum agris et hominibus donauit, omnes fide Christi institutos, unda baptismatis abluit; inter quos, seruos et ancillas ducentos quinquaginta; quos omnes ut baptizando a seruitute daemonica saluauit, etiam libertate donando humanae iugo seruitutis absoluit.'

[1] Thorpe, Dipl. 152: 'ðreo Witeþeowe men burbærde and ðreo ðeowbærde ða me salde bisceop.' Ibid. 522: 'ic wille þ man frigæ hæalue mine men on elcum tune.'

[2] Rectitudines: 'Gebur-gerihta syn mislice gewar hy syn hefige gewar eac meðeme, on sumen lande is þ he sceal wyrcan to wic-weorce ii dagas, swilc weorc swilc him man tæcð ofer geares fyrst, ælcre wucan, and on hærfest iii dagas to wic-weorce, and of Candelmæsse oð Eastran iii. Gif he aferað ne ðearf he wyrcan ða hwile ðe his hors ute bið. He sceal syllan on Michæles mæsse-dæig x gafol-p. and on Martinus mæsse-dæg xxiii systra beres and ii hen fugelas, on Eastran an geong sceap, oððe ii p. and he sceal licgan of Martinus mæssan oð Eastran æt hlafordes falde. Swa oft swa him to-begæð, and of ðam timan ðe man ærest ereð oð Martinus mæssan he sceal ælcre wucan erian i æcer and ræðan sylf þ sæd on hlafordes berne . to . eacan ðam iii æceras to bene, et ii to gærs-yrðe. Gyf he maran gærses beðyrfe ðonne earnige ðær swa him man ðafige. His gavol-yrðe iii æceras

an interesting entry of the Medhamstead memoranda we gather that on the estates of the Danish Midlands, of which Northamptonshire may be regarded as a standard example, a certain number of agricultural labourers were connected with the regular stock of provisions and cattle on the farm. Both men and women are mentioned, and the entry as to the latter indicates that we have to do with a servile population—they would correspond to the *ancillae*, the dairymaids, and the artisans of whom we occasionally hear in the Domesday Survey. But the numbers of the labourers are so large, and they are so carefully distinguished from a lower group called *young men*, that it would hardly do to regard them merely as farm labourers settled in the lord's demesne.[1] The work of which they are worthy would naturally seem to be week-work and other incidents of customary rustic labour. A corroboration of this view may be found in the frequent allusions to settled serfs made in eleventh-century charters and wills.[2]

These instances form a transition from the old status of the personally enslaved theows to the serfage of the glebe, on which the law books and the law records of the feudal age lay stress. Not that any inference as to the general derivation of villains from servile condition would be warranted in any way, but by the side of the ceorls of free origin, who certainly form one of the constitutive elements of villainage, we have to make room for the servile labourers settled on dependent land, the 'geburs who sit on gafolland', of Anglo-Saxon laws and charters.[3]

erige and sawe of his aganum berne, and sylle his heorð-pænig . twegen and twegen fedan ænne hèador-hund, and ælc gebur sylle vi hlafas ðam in-swane ðonne he his heorde to mæstene drife.'

[1] Cart. Sax. 1128: 'Þonne is æt Farresheafde xvi weorc wurðe men and viii iunge men, . . . Þis is þ erf ge writ æt Geaceslea þryttene wepmen weorc wyrþe and v wimmen and æhta geonge men.'

[2] Thorpe, 435: 'binnon þrym gearum agife þ land þam hirede mid swa myclum swa se hired him on hand sette, þ synd xii þeowe men and ii gesylhde oxan, and i hund sceapa and half hundred foðra cornes.' 519: 'mid mete and mid mannum.' 529: 'mid mete, and mid mannum, and mid eallre tilde.'

[3] Cart. Sax. 1002: 'Dis sindon þa land gemæro þæs ge burlandes to Abbendune þ is gadertang on þreo genamod þ is hengestes ig. and

Freedmen. In the Anglo-Danish treaties, by the side of the ceorls settled on gafol-land, *leysings* (freedmen) are to be found, and manumission is often alluded to in early English charters[1] and inscriptions on holy books belonging to the churches.[2] There can be no doubt that there was a mighty current of emancipation which, though it did not do away with the economic dependence of the serfs, placed them on a better personal footing than that of pure slaves, and, among other things, must have provided them with wergelds. It is curious to notice the reflection of this process in Domesday Book. It is not adequately represented, in so far as a great number of freedmen were certainly included in the *bordarii* and in the *villani* class, with hardly any indication as to their former status or the act of manumission.[3] But the casual resolve of several sets of jurors frequently advises us of the existence of a class of *coliberti*[4] which discloses its origin in its name. It is difficult to say why the shorter and simpler term *liberti* is not used, and why *coliberti* appears instead—perhaps we may trace in it an indication of manumission by groups as distinguished from individual emancipation. There may also be a reminiscence of the Germanic *ge* appearing in such composite words as *gebur* or *geneat*. The relation of the *coliberti* to the estates on which they are found varies a great deal. They are kept distinct from the serfs, villains, and freemen, but they appear sometimes in close connexion with the home-farm,[5] while in other instances they are found

seofocan wyrð.' Thorpe, Diplomatarium, 536: 'be þan lande æt Cinnuc hit agon þa hiwan æt Sceaftesbyrig ofer hyre dæg, and hio ah þæt yrfe and þa men þenne an hio þan hiwum þara gebura þe on þam gafol-lande sittaþ.'

[1] Thorpe, Dip. 591–2: 'Thurkil and Æthelgith: and þo men half fre, þeowe and lisingas.' Ibid. 593, Siflæd: 'And ic [an] mine landsetlen here toftes to owen aihte, and alle mine men fre.'

[2] Earle, Land Charters, 253 ff., 269 ff.

[3] Dd. i. 167 c: ('Heile,' Gloucs.) . . . 'In dominio sunt iii carucae, et ix uillani et xi bordarii cum viii carucis. Ibi erant xii serui quos Willelmus liberos fecit.'

[4] Dd. iv. 81: ('Candetone,' Somerset); ibid., Cruca; 87 (Clistona); 90 (Winnetona, Cornwall).

[5] Dd. i. 64 d: ('Amblesberie,' Wilts) . . . 'In dominio sunt xvi carucae et lv serui et ii coliberti.' Cf. 67 c (Bradeford, Wilts); 38 b

together with *villani*, socmen, or *bordarii* on the tenant land of the manor.[1] In the first case the terminological distinction is easily explained: we have two classes of farm labourers before us—those of servile condition and the freedmen. In the second case the separate mention of *coliberti* is somewhat more difficult to interpret: the material position may be identical either with that of the *villani* or with that of the *bordarii* group, and yet they are held apart. Is it because of recent manumission involving a certain contrast between older settlers and newly colonized freedmen? Or are these peculiarities in their mode of holding land and performing services? It is impossible to give a definite answer to such queries, and perhaps both eventualities have to be considered. However this may be, we certainly find the *coliberti* burdened with rents[2] and services[3] analogous to those of the other groups of peasantry. What is more, there are curious indications of a close connexion between the Low Latin *coliberti* and the early English *buri*. The latter term, so common in Old English documents, occurs very rarely in Domesday Book.[4] But it is definitely equated there to *coliberti* in one instance, and there can hardly be a doubt that in another case the same sort of equation was meant.[5] These indications,

(Menestoche, Hants); 38 c (Brestone, Hants); 65 a (Bretford, Wilts).

[1] Dd. i. 68 a: ('Chelche,' Wilts) . . . 'De hac terra sunt in dominio x hidae et ibi x carucae et xx serui. Ibi quater xx et vi uillani et l bordarii et x coliberti habentes l carucas.'

[2] Dd. i. 38 c: (Barton Stacey, Hants) 'Bertune . . . Nunquam in hidis numeratum fuit, nisi tantum vi hide quas tenuerunt coliberti et tenent, . . . Ibi vi coliberti.'

[3] Dd. i. 174 c: (Eckington, Worcester) 'Aichintune . . . Ibi vi coliberti reddunt per annum xi sol. et ii den. et arant et seminant de proprio semine xii acras.' Cf. 163 b: (Bertune apud Bristou, Gloucs.) . . . 'Ibi ix serui et xviii coliberti habentes xiiii carucas . . . Ibi iiii seruos et xiii colibertos cum iii carucis.' 179 d: ('Lene,' Herts) . . . 'xix uillani et ix bordarii et ii radchenistres cum xvi carucis. Ibi vi serui et ii ancillae et vi coliberti . . . uillani dant de consuetudine xiii sol. et iiii den. et coliberti reddunt iii sextaria frumenti et ordei et ii oves et dimidiam cum agnis et ii den. et unum obolum.'

[4] Dd. i. 182 a (Uptune, Hereford); 182 d (Hereford); Dd. iv. 165, 166 (Bernurtona, Devon).

[5] Dd. i. 38 d: (Wallop, Hants) 'Wallope . . . Coliberti (uel Bures) ut supra reddunt consuetudinem aliorum.' 38 b: (Cosham, Hants)

however slight, go well with the view that the principal channel of emancipation led to the position of holders of small farms burdened with week-work and other kinds of heavier rustic service.

Summary. A few points may be added by way of summary.

1. The distinctions between thanes, *liberi homines*, and socmen are rather in the degrees of freedom than in the essence of status.

2. Villains appear as a composite group in which both servile and free elements are clearly traceable.

3. Domesday Book testifies to a rapid decay of the free classes.

4. The *bordarii* group was largely recruited from freedmen.

5. The extinction of slavery is to be attributed both to the influence of religious views and to economic conditions.

'In Coseham sunt iiii hidae quae pertinent huic manerio ubi T.R.E. erant viii burs i (*sic*) coliberti cum iiii carucis reddentes l sol. viii den. minus. Ibi est in dominio una caruca et viii uillani et viii bordarii cum v carucis et ii serui.'

## SECTION IV

### LAND AND PEOPLE: GENERAL SURVEY

Scope of general survey.

AT the close of our prolonged study of social institutions we may attempt to gather the threads of our investigation and to present a synthetic view of the subject. Such a view must strive to bring clearness and co-ordination into a discussion which in its details has constantly had to reckon with obscurities, contradictions, and gaps. A reader who has had the patience to follow the argument of the book will know in what respects the rough-and-ready dogmatism of such a general survey has to be supplemented by reservations and exceptions. But at this last stage it is no use encumbering a summary with them. We must try not to describe every single institution, but to sketch their mutual relations and organic interdependence.

We have to start from the fact that the social organization of the eleventh century does not fit into one system, but presents a rather incoherent combination of two—of the feudal system and of another which, for want of a better word, we may call the territorial. The latter proceeds from an earlier tribal arrangement; but we need not concern ourselves much now with these beginnings, which fall into earlier ages and ought to be studied rather in connexion with the general history of tribal Europe than with the history of the Commonwealth of England.

Feudal lordship.

The feudal system is predominant on the surface. Its most striking expression is the political and economic sway of a class whose social relations are adjusted on the basis of contract: a contract of personal service resulting in military, clerical, or economic obligations. In the localities the mainstay of the system is the Manor. Domesday Book

shows this institution in full vigour, although not yet in the completeness and legal precision of a later period. The principal element of an eleventh-century manor is the lord, the representative of feudal aristocracy in the place. The manor appears in one sense as the district surrounding the lord's hall. From another point of view it may be said that the manor is a mansion and district in which there lives a lord, a personal follower and officer of the King. Or again, it may be termed an estate serving as a material basis to local political authority. These self-evident propositions account for many particulars in the evidence, and dispose of some interpretations which might otherwise have suggested themselves. Neither the fiscal nor the purely economic explanation of the manor turns out to be sufficient: the lord is not primarily a person responsible for taxes, nor merely a landowner: he is a man in authority over a district connected with his estate, and this authority he wields in consequence of a contract of feudal service. Manorial lordship was in full growth in Anglo-Saxon times, but the rights derived from it were very much subdivided and shifting. Besides, manorial authority had not yet succeeded in disentangling itself from the influence of territorial institutions. It is manifest to what extent the Norman Conquest and the formation of Common Law contributed to consolidate manorial organizations and to make them prevalent.

Free tenants.

Under the sway of the lord two classes of men appear within the manor: free tenants and subject rustics—villains, *bordarii*, &c. The presence of both these elements is usual, but not necessary. In a great many cases the rustics appear alone on the spot and, as a matter of fact though not of principle, their existence in the manor is of vital importance, as the whole structure is mainly supported by their work and dues. But a manor may consist of freemen only, even in the time of King William, or of free tenants in such majority that the presence of a few rustics did not alter its character.[1] Such cases are rare, but their value is

[1] See above, pp. 321 ff., 362 ff., 396 ff., 421 f.

considerable, because they show that the servile status of the tenantry was not of the essence of the institution. An aristocratic lord may be placed over freeholders as well as over villains, and it does not require a very keen sight to notice that such lordships were more common in Saxon times than after the Conquest.[1]

Another characteristic trait of the free tenants of Domesday Book is that a large number of them are, as it were, attached to the manors by a rather slight tie: many have been added or accommodated to their manors in consequence of the Conquest. This refers us to a time when they stood entirely outside, and lived their life as members of the territorial and not of the feudal subdivisions.

In the theory of Common Law, freeholders were tenants by free contract and therefore certain of their tenure. This is demonstrably a later legal fiction framed to meet a situation when legal protection in the King's Courts was refused to villains in their dealings with their lords. The theory would not fit even the state of things described in the Domesday Survey: the great majority of *liberi homines* and socmen mentioned in that record derive their position from recognized social status, and not from agreement or grant. And if we look beyond Domesday we find various social strata of ceorls and free Scandinavians as predecessors of later free tenants and socmen. Their condition had nothing to do with contract, but was based on free ownership under the King or under the authority of magnates who had received special powers from the King.

Villains.

These considerations throw light not only on the history of freeholders, but, indirectly, on that of the largest class of the population—the villains and their satellites, the *bordarii* and cottagers. This wide group appears unified in feudal practice by agricultural service and the denial of protection in the Royal Courts as regards the lord. The uncertainty of tenure and service is the legal result of the

[1] See above, pp. 345 ff., 426 f.

latter feature. But what appears unified and subjected to similar rules in Common Law is seen to be worked out of different elements by the action of convergent forces. From beneath comes the gradual transformation of slavery into serfdom, partial emancipation coupled with a position as subject cultivators which enabled the serfs to claim for their own use a considerable part of their time and of the products of their labour, as well as the plot on which they had been settled. Their tenure was precarious in law, but well established in custom, and in the long run custom cannot fail to produce legal results. From above there goes on the degradation of numerous free-born ceorls, not only in consequence of violence, encroachment, and oppressive patronage, but as a result of slow but sure social processes—subdivision of property, loans, the economic attraction of better-situated neighbours. Material helplessness and agricultural dependence had set in for many of them long before the Norman lawyers devised and carried out the doctrine that the King has no need to interfere in the relations between a manorial lord and his villains. I will not repeat here what I have tried to show in another book, namely, that it was not without hesitation and contradictions that this denial of jurisdiction was applied in Common Law. It may be sufficient to mention that the most important exception preserved in later law—the Ancient Demesne condition—turns out to have roots extending far into Anglo-Saxon antiquity. It is a narrowed and technically circumscribed application of the general rule that Royal grants of territory ought not to have as a result a change in the condition of the King's free subjects. In this broad formulation the rule was equitable, but inefficient: in the narrower form imparted to it by feudal lawyers it was consistently enforced.

Types of manors.

Taking the manor as a unit, and comparing its actual manifestations in the feudal age with those marked T. R. W. and T. R. E. in Domesday Book, we are struck by their disparity. By the side of very small estates with a few cultivators are to be seen large self-governing townships

under administrative patronage; by the side of jurisdictional franchises, fairly developed capitalistic undertakings. The most common type presents, undoubtedly, a combination between a home-farm of moderate size and a circle of rustic tenures supporting it by service and rents. But in order to understand the growth even of this usual type one has to attend to the other varieties as well: they show clearly what distinct elements went to the composition of the manorial groups.

The township.

Beneath the individualistic network of feudal rights a system of territorial organization is clearly discernible. It is of more ancient date than the feudal arrangements, and it has by no means lost its vitality and importance even in the feudal age. We need not trace its beginnings in the settlements of various tribes on English soil. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that the divisions of shires, hundreds, and wapentakes stretch all over the kingdom as a complete organization for the management of military, fiscal, and judicial affairs. The primary cell in this organization is not the manor but the township: it is called upon to perform various administrative duties—to deliver evidence at inquests, to catch and watch thieves, to mend roads, to contribute in keeping up bridges and walls, to assess and levy taxes, to witness transactions, &c. In some cases townships had to be constituted artificially to meet these divers administrative requirements, but there can be no doubt that the main stock of English townships was of natural growth and not constituted at pleasure by higher authority.

Nor did they exist mainly for the sake of performing judicial and administrative service to the King: their every-day life and most vital interest lay in the management of their own affairs. Their yearly routine of such affairs was a very full and complicated one, especially in districts where champion-farming prevailed. Even in regions with scattered settlements the management of pasture and wood recalled to the mind of the individual farmers that neither they nor their lords were quite free to do what they liked with a

considerable part of the land used by them. In open-field country the restrictive and regulating influence of the township extended to all the principal operations of husbandry—to the laying out and apportioning of the arable, to the rotation of crops, the regulation of seasons, the order of ploughing, sowing, hay-harvest and corn-harvest, to the division and allotment of meadows, the erection and removal of fences, the framing and keeping up of numberless rules in regard to agrarian limits and strips, to roads and right of way, to the use of cattle on the pastures, to stinting the commons in various directions, to responsibility for trespassing, &c. This very complicated and very restrictive system was spread all over England as well as in other countries of Western Europe, and its roots are certainly to be sought not in individualistic, but in communalistic notions, which even the individualistic law of feudalism was powerless to remove. Its history goes right back to the tribal period, which provides the best explanation for this communalistic side of rural life in the subjection of the individual to tribal rules and kinship organizations.

Peculiarities of English village community.

It is not enough, however, to note the strong infusion of communalistic elements in English township life. There are several features which give to the village community a very peculiar stamp, and explain why it could combine with institutions based seemingly on an entirely different conception of right. The English rural community, as well as the German and Scandinavian, never aimed at a complete subjection of the individuals constituting the union to the rule of this union, or at the exclusion of all private interests. On the contrary, individuals were left very free to do what they liked with their labour and to start on private enterprises. They could freely leave the unions if they wanted to, could use their private earnings in the village if they liked, and could even start on private cultivation if there was room and they had the means. Whatever obstacles may have existed in all these respects came largely from feudal authority

and not from the community itself, and even the feudal lord mostly contented himself with claiming dues and fines in such cases, without putting insurmountable hindrances in the way. There is no trace of periodical re-divisions of the arable, although there is distinct evidence that arable could be re-alloted according to the original shares on exceptional occasions, and meadows are sometimes subjected to re-partition by lot even to the present day. Although in this way there was a great scope for the development of individual fortunes, and the Germanic communities never tackled the problem of regulating the interdependence between population and soil, they certainly faced the other problem of constituting a union of economically efficient shares to which the rights and uses of rural occupation should be apportioned. The champion husbandry of England, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden cannot be thought of without a system of graduated holdings to support and direct it. The hides, yard-gangs, oxgangs, bóls, ottings, hufen, are different forms of one and the same main institution—the normal holdings sufficient for the support of peasant families on different rungs of the social ladder of a village. To these normal tenements rights and claims are apportioned according to certain scales.

As soon as we reach a standpoint from which all such facts become connected and related to each other, it becomes evident that the village community in question is neither free nor servile in its essence. Both the open-field system and the township combine equally well with free and servile institutions: they are economic and social arrangements suggested by the nature of the agricultural problems and the state of culture, but they cannot be derived exclusively from one or the other stratum of society.

One more observation has to be made in connexion with the township and the open-field system in the Anglo-Danish regions of England. These provinces are conspicuous by the large number of small freemen. At

the same time there are no traces of clan or kinship-settlements. The members of the townships appear as neighbours, not as relations. Altogether, it seems clear that tribal ties did not play an important part in those districts of England conquered and re-colonized by bands of warriors organized as military hosts and voluntary guild associations. This is not to be wondered at in view of the late period when the Scandinavian invasions took place, and their character as the conquests of pirates. Nevertheless, the characteristic features of township organization are not less noticeable in Lincolnshire or Leicestershire than they are in Sussex or Berkshire, in Jutland or in Skone. Evidently, apart from the fact that the Vikings found an English rural organization in full working order, we have to reckon with general conceptions in their midst very similar to those of the conquered English. In fact, it is from half-Danish provinces like Northamptonshire, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, that some of our best evidence in regard to the open-field system and the apportionment of rights to shares or holdings does come. The notices as to tofts, to one-man lands, the carucates as ten-man lands, the *dales* and *stikkas* of the intermixed arable, come from this region. Thus the differences between English and Scandinavian arrangements turn out to be differences in degree and period, not in the essence of institutions.

Private estates.

If I lay stress on these points, I do not wish to imply in the least that private property and private estates did not exist and did not play a very important part in social evolution. The Domesday Survey and Anglo-Saxon charters are full of evidence concerning separate estates, acquired and exploited for private use; and free from the manifold restrictions imposed by village communities on their members. Nor was a class of unfree labourers wanting to supply the work necessary for such private estates. But neither the private estate nor the servile class can be considered as exclusively or even chiefly characteristic of early English land tenure. The problem of the social origins of England cannot be

solved unless we take into account both currents of development—that proceeding from the private estate with its unfree labourers and that connected with the township, as a union of peasant shareholders. Only by studying both elements can we obtain results which will enable us to bring the social evolution of England into harmony with that of the Romanized West of Europe on the one hand, and with Germanic and Scandinavian culture on the other.

# APPENDIX I

## MIDDLESEX HUNDRED ROLL, 7 EDWARD I (PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE).

M. 1. Middlesex. INQUISITIONES facte per preceptum domini Regis coram Rogero de Katheworthe, Radulfo de Septem Fontibus et Willelmo de Hurley, specialiter assignatis de habentibus xx libratas terre vel unum feodum militis integrum sicut dominus rex precepit, per hundredos subsequentes, videlicet, Edelmeton, Elethorn, Spelethorn, Osulueston, Istelworth, et Gor Hundred, apud Crucem Lapidis die sabbati proximo post festum Sancti Bartholomei anno regni regis Edwardi vii.

Edelmeton. Iuratores dicunt per sacramentum suum quod Philippus Culling habet xx libratas terre in totenham et est districtus similiter, et Henricus de Frowik qui habet terram in Sout Mimmis habet respectum per breve habet respectum per breve (*sic*).

Spelethorn. Iuratores dicunt quod Michael de Wintonia habet xx libratas terre in Catenham que est in Soureye et in Litlintone que est in Middlesex. Iohannes de Hanneman tenet in Sanwelle xx libratas terre et reddit inde x marcas Alano de Hanneman patri suo ad vitam ipsius Alani. Inquisitio facta per breve dicit quod non habet xx libratas terre.

Elethorn. Iuratores dicunt quod Willelmus de Harpedene tenet xx libratas terre in villa de Herdinton in libertate honoris de Walingeford. Inquisitio facta per breve dicit quod non habet xx libratas terre.

Istelworth. Iuratores dicunt nichil sciunt.

Gor Hundred. Iuratores dicunt quod Ricardus de Hedersete habet in Harwe xx solidatas terre et credunt quod habet xx libratas terre in villa de Hedersete in comitatu Norfolch.

Item dicunt quod Adam de Stratton tenet xx libratas terre in villa de Eggeswere et alibi in diversis comitatibus, habet respectum per breve.

Item dicunt quod Thomas de Kasing habet unam carucatam terre in Hendene et alibi usque ad xx libratas ut credunt.

Osulueston. Iuratores dicunt quod Henricus le Waleys habet xx libratas terre in Finchelee et alibi.

Item dicunt quod Quintinus de Neuueport habet c solidatas terre in comitatu Middlesex et alibi usque ad xx libratas terre ut credunt.

Item dicunt quod Radulfus Huscrad habet in Stebenhee xvi marcas terre et in Somersete usque ad xx libratas ut credunt.

Iuratores dicunt quod Ricardus de Wyndessore, dominus de Stanewell, qui nuper fuit infra etatem et in custodia domini regis habet viginti libratas terre in Stanewell et Hakeburn et non est miles. Dicunt de Michaele de Wyntonia sicut illi de hundredo de Spelethorn. Dicunt de Iohanne de Haywan sicut illi ut supra in eodem hundredo. Preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod distringat Philippum Culling de Cesterhunte, Henricum de Frowik, Michaelem de Wyntonia, Willelmum de Harpedene, Adam de Stratton, Quintinum de Neuport, Radulfum Huscarle, Ricardum de Wyndesore per omnes terras et catalla sua ad arma militaria sine dilatione suscipienda nisi citra festum Sancti Michaelis proximo futurum respectum sibi a domino rege inde perquirere poterunt, vel quod dominus rex aliud inde fieri mandaverit, ita quod bonam et sufficientem securitatem inde ab eisdem recipiat, etc. Libertas Westmonasterii.

[Torn.] M. 2. Gillingham et Fuleham. Willesdon. Kensinton.

Robertus de Cornhill habet in eadem villa . . . [Torn.]

Dictum manerium seisiatum fuit per Elyam de Fingrith ad opus domini W. la Susch primo, et secundo idem manerium seisiatum fuit ad opus domini W. de Breus per Hugonem pistorem. Et est ibi unum mesuagium cum curtilagio. Valet per annum xii d. Et unum columbarium quod valet per annum iii s. Et una vinea que valet per annum xii d. Et unum molendinum quod valet per annum xx s. Ibidem sunt DC et xxix acre terre arabilis et valent per annum vii lib. xvii s. iii d., scilicet quelibet acra iii d. Et xii acre prati et valent per annum xxxvi s. Et iiii$^{xx}$ acre pasture et valent per annum xx s. Et c acre bosci unde subboscum et pastura valent per annum. vi s. viii d. Ibidem sunt villani qui tenent xvi virgatas et dimidiam terre qui debent a festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis MCCCC et lii operationes et valent lx s. vi d., scilicet quodlibet opus obolum. Et a gula Augusti usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis D et xxviii operaciones et valent xxxiii s., scilicet quodlibet opus iii quadrantes. Et xvi agni et dimidius de redditu et valent xvi s. ix d. ob. Et xxxiii galline et valent ii s. ix d. Et cccc et xv oves et valent xvi d.

quad. Summa redditus termini Sancti Michaelis iiii li, vis. viid. iii quad. Et termini Natalis Domini vid. Et termini Pasche lxixs. viiid. iii quad. Et termini Sancti Iohannis vid. Inde debentur iis. Et ibidem debent dicti consuetudinarii ccccxx acras et iii rode arare per annum, et valent c et vs. iid. quad., scilicet quelibet acra iiid. Et ibidem sunt ii cotarii qui debent per annum vxx et iiii operaciones et valent iiiis. iiiid. Et memorandum quod redditus Sancti Michaelis est in manibus tenentium.

Summa totalis profectus xxx li. xiiii s. iii d. ob.

Twiford. In eadem villa tenet dominus Franco de Boun per heredem qui in custodia eius est quia infra etatem unam carucatam terre cum pertinentiis valoris et rationabilis extente usque ad v marcas et dimidiam tam in terra arabili quam in pratis, homagiis et servitiis, quam in cunctis rebus. Istud tenementum saisitum fuit per servientes domini Roberti de Bruis primo, postea per servientes domini Willelmi de Breus et tercio per servientes domini Edwardi.

Summa v marce et dim.

Ghyburn. Istud manerium seisitum fuit primo per Elyam de Fingrith ad opus domini W. la Susch et secundo ad opus domini W. de Breus per Hugonem pistorem. Redditus de termino Sancti Michaelis viis. ixd. Et de terminis Natalis, Pasche et Sancti Iohannis xxviiis. vd. quad. videlicet ad quemlibet terminum ixs. vd. ob. quad. Sunt ibi ix tenentes. Ibidem est unum mesuagium cum curtilagio et valet per annum vid. Item sunt ibi viiixx acre terre arabilis pretium acre iiid. Item vi acre prati pretium acre vid. Item vxx et xv acre pasture pretium acre iiid. Et Abbatissa de Berking debet habere de dicto manerio ad festum Sancti Michaelis per annum xxxs. Ibidem sunt consuetudinarii qui debent a festo Sancti Michaelis usque gulam Augusti cc et li operationes et valent x s. vd. ob. pretium operationis ob. Et a gula Augusti usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis lvi operationes et valent iiis. vid. pretium operationis iii quad. Et sciendum quod redditus Sancti Michaelis est in manibus tenentium.

Summa totius valoris manerii de Tyburn iiil. xiiis. iiiid. ob. quad.

Et memorandum quod Thomas de Basing tenet in Kensinton de comite Oxon' lxx acras terre arabilis que pertinent ad manerium de Kingesholt pretium acre iiid. Inde dominis feodi debentur xxii s. viiid. per annum. Et sic est extenta nimis cara pro firma quam debet per annum.

In villa de Willesdon Galfridus Godard tenet cvi acras terre et

dimidiam reddendo inde per annum dominis feodi xxvis. vd. ob. Et sic est extenta satis cara. Et fuit seisiata primo per dominum Galfridum le Rus et postea per quendam clericum de familia domini Edwardi.

Thomas Vrel tenet iiii$^{xx}$ v acras terre in socna Sancti Egidii pretium acre viiid. Summa lvis. viiid. De redditu lxs. ad annum ad iiii terminos. Item unum columbarium extentum pro xiid. Item gardinum pro xiid. Item dimidia acra prati precii vid. Item memorandum quod una marca et xxd. de termino S. Michaelis sunt in manibus tenentium. Et dictum tenementum defenditur pro dimidio feodo unius militis. Et debet inde Castro Baynard pro guarda per annum iis. Et sic est summa totius extente per annum cxviis. iid. Ista terra fuit seisiata per dominum Hugonem de Trublevillé nomine domini Edwardi. Sokna Hospitalis Sancti Egidii extra London.

Summa totius profectus cxviis. iid.

In eadem parochia Iohannes Derkin tenet xl acras pretium acre viiid. Summa xxvis. viiid. Item unum mesuagium cum gardino extentum pro xvii s. Inde debet dominis feodi xxxiiiis. per annum. Et sic est extenta totius valoris ixs. viiid. Et fuit seisiatum per dominum Egidium de Wodeham nomine domini Edwardi.

Summa totius profectus ixs. viiid.

Item in manerio de Kingesholt Thomas de Basinges qui infra etatem est tenet xii$^{xx}$ acras terre. Et debentur dominis feodi per annum de eodem manerio xxxiiiis. vd. Et sic est extenta nimis cara. Et seisiatum fuit per dominum Robertum de Bruis Iuniorem.

In dicta parochia predictus Thomas de Basinges infra etatem tenet xii$^{xx}$ acras terre pretium acre viiid. Summa viiili. De redditu viii. iiiid. per annum ad iiii terminos. Et est summa redditus de termino S. Michaelis iis. id. et est in manu tenentium. Et septem aere prati pretium acre xviiid. Et est summa xs. vid. Et debet inde dominis feodi cxixs. viiid. ob. *Margin:* Item unum columbarium pretii iiis. Item unum molendinum ventricium pretii xxs. Sancti Pancratii.

Et memorandum quod quidam nomine Willelmus qui stat cum domino Thoma de Clare venit ibidem ad salvandum omnia tenementa et catalla eiusdem manerii ex parte dicti domini Thome de Clare domini Rogeri de Leucanor ad opus domini comitis Gloucestrie.

In eadem villa dictus Thomas tenet xii$^{xx}$ acras terre pretium acre iiiid. Summa iiiil. Et de redditu assiso xxiiiis. iiid. ob. ad iiii terminos. Et est summa termini S. Michaelis vis. iiiob. et est Fincheleg.

in manu tenentium. Summa ciiiis. iiid. ob. Inde debentur dominis feodi xliiiis. id. ob. Et sic est summa totius profectus lx s. iid.

Et memorandum quod seisina dicte terre facta fuit per dominum Willelmum servientem domini Thome de Clare vel per dominum Rogerum de Leucanor ad salvo custodiendum ad opus comitis Gloucestrie.

Shoredich. In eadem villa tenet Henricus de Coventre civis Londonie unam grangiam et x acras terre et dimidiam de terra arabili pretium acre per annum xviiid. Summa xvs. viiid. De redditu assiso viiis. xd. Exinde debentur dominis feodi per annum xiis. Item Walterus Auberkin civis Londonie tenet ibidem quoddam mesuagium cum gardino et xv acras terre arabilis et dimidiam computato ipso mesuagio cum gardino infra dictas xv acras et dimidiam pretium acre xviiid. Summa xxxiiis. De redditu assiso viiis. viiid. Et dictum tenementum solvit per annum capitalibus dominis feodi xviis. Redditus S. Michaelis est in manu tenentium. Ista tenementa seisiata fuerunt per dominum Egidium de Wodeham ad opus domini Edwardi.

Summa totalis profectus xxixs.

Nomina collectorum reddit' termini S. Michaelis Willelmus de Stratford clericus et Iohannes Punchard.

## APPENDIX II

### (P.R.O.) CHANCERY MISCELLANEA, Bundle 1, No. 1.

Nomina eorum qui tenent xv libratas terre in comitatu Nottingham et Derby, et non sunt milites.

Hertianus de Herdebi habet xv libratas terre in comitatu Nottingham servitio militare.

Rogerus de Vaus eodem modo tenet xv libratas. Iohannes filius Aluredi de Sulem eodem modo tenet xx libratas terre et non est miles.

Iohannes de Vilers eodem modo tenet xx libratas terre et non est miles.

Bingham. Radulfus de Coliston Basset eodem modo tenet xv libratas terre.

Robertus de Wythefordhd eodem modo tenet xv libratas terre.

Thomas Malet eodem modo tenet xv libratas terre. Iohannes Barri eodem modo tenet xx libratas terre. Henricus de Herite tenet xxx libratas terre et amplius et non est miles.

Willelmus de Tuke eodem modo tenet xv libratas terre et non est miles.

Robertus de Tregoz tenet in comitatu Nottingham et alibi xx libratas terre et non est miles.

Ricardus de Marcham eodem modo tenet xv libratas terre.

Stephanus Mallonel in comitatu Nottingham et Ebor. xv libratas terre et eodem modo.

Robertus de Hersi eodem modo tenet xv libratas terre.

Thomas de Harton tenet x libratas terre per servitium militare et c solidatas per liberum sokagium.

Robertus de Vehpunt tenet in comitatu Nottingham x libratas terre et alibi c libratas terre et amplius.

# APPENDIX III

## EXTENTA TERRARUM HONORIS DE RICHMOND. P.R.O. EXCHEQUER; TREASURY OF RECEIPT; MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS, 69.

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Fol. 5
Aquitanie dilectis et fidelibus suis Thome de Normanvill et Iohanni de Crokeslee salutem. Quia quedam feoda de honore Richemund que fuerunt Petri de Sabaudia die quo obiit in comitatibus Lincoln et Nottingham nondum per vos extensa sunt, ut accepimus, licet vobis ea mandaverimus extendere, assignavimus vos ad omnia feoda illa in comitatibus predictis fideliter extendenda. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certos dies et loca quos ad hoc provideritis omnia feoda predicta fideliter extendatis, quantum scilicet valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus et qualiter et quo modo et extentam illam fideliter et aperte factam nobis sub sigillis vestris, et sigillis eorum per quos facta fuerit sine dilatione mittatis et hoc breve. Mandavimus enim vicecomitibus comitatuum predictorum quod ad certos dies et loca que eis scire facietis venire faciant coram vobis tot et tales probos et legales homines de ballivis suis per quos rei veritas in promissis melius sciri poterit et inquireri. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Turri Londonie x die Decembris anno regni nostri nono.

[*Nottingham.*] Extenta facta die S. Edwardi Regis apud Neuwerk anno regni regis Edwardi nono coram Thoma de Normanvill et Iohanne de Crokesle ad hoc assignatis per preceptum domini regis de feodis militis que de domino Petro de Sabaudia tenebantur die quo obiit in comitatu Notingham spectantibus ad honorem Richmond per sacramentum Galfridi de Gorham

in Flintham, etc. Qui dicunt quod dominus Hugo de Babinton et Dominus Henricus de Perpount tenent unum feodum militis in Roleston, Cotyngton, Barneby et Colingham, et reddunt per annum xs. pro warda castri Richemond et debent homagium, relevium et scutagium cum evenerint. Et dominus Robertus de Mustert tenet duo feoda militum in Knyveton, Syreston, Sybethorp, Tyreswell, Ketelthorp et Wivelingham, et reddit per annum xxs. pro warda castri Richmond et debet homagium, relevium et scutagium cum evenerint. Et Iohannes filius Ade de Moscham tenet unum feodum militis in Sutton et debet homagium, relevium et scutagium cum evenerint. Et dicunt quod de exchaetis, wardis, releviis et maritagiis que de dictis feodis accidere poterunt nichil extenditur nisi tantum modo redditus qui debetur per annum.

Summa feodorum iiii. feoda.

Summa denariorum redditus per annum xxx s. . . .

Fol. 6. . . . Extenta facta fuit die veneris proxima post festum Sancti Luce evangeliste anno regni regis Edwardi decimo coram predictis Thoma et Iohanne ad hoc deputatis per sacramentum Hugonis Damisel, etc. qui dicunt quod Iohannes filius Ade de Musham tenet in Sutton et Mering unum feodum militis de honore Richmond per homagium et scutagium et valet per annum ut in dominicis, pratis, pasturis, piscariis, molendinis, liberis servitiis, villenagiis, liberis cur' et in omnibus aliis exitibus, sicut melius et plenius inquiri potest per particulas extentas.

Summa xxxv li. xiii s. ii d.

Et est advocacio ecclesie pertinens ad dictum Iohannem, et valet per annum xxxiiii l. iii s. viii d. . . .

Fol. 7. [*Lincoln.*] Inquisitio et extenta facta per preceptum domini Regis per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum que feoda ad honorem Richemond pertinentia sint in comitatu Lincoln, et que feoda inde sint elemosinata et que alia et qui ea tenent et quantum valeant per annum ut in wardis, servitiis, releviis, maritagiis, escheatis et omnibus aliis exitibus et per sacramentum horum subscriptorum scilicet Henrici le Taillus de Fulbek, etc. Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Iohannes de Britannia comes Richemund tenet dimidium feodum militis in Ledenham et in Fulbek pertinens ad honorem Richemund et valet per annum ut in capitale mesuagio, dominicis terris, pratis, pasturis, villenagiis, redditibus assisis liberorum tenentium, perquisitis curie et in omnibus aliis servitiis et exitibus.

Summa xiiii li.

Margeria filia Simonis de Fulbek tenet unum feodum militis pertinens ad eundem honorem de predicto Iohanne de Britannia per homagium et scutagium, et valet per annum ad opus dicte Margerie ut in capitale mesuagio, dominicis terris, pratis, pasturis, villenagiis, molendinis, redditibus assisis liberorum tenentium, perquisitis curie et omnibus aliis servitiis et exitibus xxiv li. Et de illo feodo tenet Prior de Sempringham sextam partem in elemosina et valet per annum iiii li. xvi s. viii d.

Summa valoris predicti feodi quam dicta Margeria tenet xxiiii li.

Summa valoris predicte partis elemosinate iiii li. xvi s. viii d.

Item predicta Margareta et Ioceus de Hawe tenent medietatem feodi militis de eodem honore in Ledenham et de Fulbek, et valet per annum ut in dominicis et aliis omnibus exitibus ut predictum est xvi li. Summa xvi li.

Nicholaus le Breton tenet de eodem honore in predictis villis de comite Richemond dimidium feodum militis et quartam partem dimidii feodi pro homagio et scutagio, et valet per annum ut in dominicis et aliis omnibus exitibus ut predictum est xiii li. xiii s. et iiii d. Et de feodo illo tenet magister militie Templi in Anglia in elemosina in Fulbek xvi bovatas terre et Prior de Sempringham tenet in elemosina xx acras terre. Et tota illa terra elemosinata valet per annum cvi s. viii d.

Summa valoris predicti Nicholai xiii li. xiii s. iv d.

Summa valoris predicte partis elemosinate cvi s. viii d.

Willelmus Wynnebys, Petrus de Exton et heredes Eustachii de Wykes tenent de eodem honore in Ledenham de predicto comite pro homagio et scutagio tres partes dimidii feodi militis que valent per annum ut in dominicis et aliis omnibus exitibus ut predictum est ix li. Summa ix li.

Rogerus de Colevile tenet de eodem honore in Ledenham et Bracheland de predicto comite pro homagio et scutagio tres partes unius feodi militis que valent per annum ad opus predicti Rogeri ut in dominicis et omnibus aliis exitibus ut predictum est xii li. Et magister militie Templi in Anglia tenet inde in Ledenham in elemosina medietatem predictarum trium partium dicti feodi, et valet per annum xii lire.

Summa valoris partis predicti Rogeri xii li.

Summa predicte partis elemosinate xii li. . . .

Fol. 11. Thomas de Langeton et sui participes tenent in soka de Mumby tria feoda militis et dimidium per homagium et scutagium de eodem honore que valent per annum ut in dominicis et omnibus exitibus ut predictum est lvi li. viii s. iiii d.

Abbas de Barking et alii religiosi tenent de eisdem tribus feodis xx bovatas terre arabilis et iii partes unius bovate et c acras pasture que valent per annum xvii li. xvii s. viii d. Summa . . .

Walterus de Scures ei sui participes tenent in Kylingholyn cum membris de dicto honore unum feodum militis . . . xxi li. iiii s. iii d. quad.

Abbas de Neuhus et sorores de Irford tenent de eodem honore in elemosina vi bovatas terre arabilis que valent per annum xxx s. . . .

Fol. 12. Philippus de Bretton et plures alii liberi sokemanni de soka de Gayton tenent in eadem soka de honore Richemond unum feodum militis et tres partes unius feodi que valent per annum ut in dominicis et omnibus aliis exitibus xlvi l. xiii s. ob. Et Abbas de Langenet et plures alii viri religiosi tenent inde in elemosina ad valorem xxiii li. x s. vii d. ob. . . .

*Extenta terrarum honoris Richemund in comitatu Lincoln in Hoyland.*

Extenta facta die sabbati proxima post festum Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi anno regni regis Edwardi octavo apud Sanctum Botulphum coram Thoma de Normanville, Adam de Wynton, etc. de maneriis de Wykes et Frampton ville et ferie Sancti Botulphi per sacramentum Iohannis de Holand militis, etc.

[*Manerium de Wykes.*] Ibidem est capitale mesuagium quod continet duas acras terre cum edificiis et gardino et valet per annum xx s. Et ccvi acre et dimidia terre arabilis in dominico per perticam xx pedum que valent per annum xl li. vi s. vi d. pretium
Fol. 13. acre xii d. Et xlii acre et dimidia prati que valent vi li. vii s. vi d. pretium acre iii s. Et quedam pastura xiii acrarum et dimidie que nunc est terra arabilis et valet per annum xxii s. vi d. pretium acre xx d. Et quedam pastura xxxiii acrarum et dimidie que valent per annum lv s. x d. pretium acre xx d. Et quoddam molendinum ventricium quod valet per annum l s. Et sex saline que valent per annum lx s. Et vi selde in foro de Donington que valent per annum xii s. Et vi acre terre arabilis et dimidia bovata comune in Drayton in marisco de Holand que valent per annum xiii s. iiii d. Ibidem sunt custumarii qui tenent xxv bovatas terre et dimidiam terre arabilis et prati que

continent vc liii acras et reddunt per annum viil. xxid. ob. quad. Opera eorundem valent per annum viil. ixs. viiid. Iidem reddunt per annum pro quadam consuetudine que dicitur Flourgavill xxs. Quidam predictorum custumariorum tenent xxvii acras et dimidiam et reddunt per annum xxiiis. iiid. Opera eorundem valent per annum xd. Auxilium annuum omnium predictorum custumariorum viiil. Et quidam cottarii qui reddunt per annum xis. Et unus eorum pro Flourgavill xvid. Et lx galline que valent vs. Et due escaete que valent viiis. vid. et continent viii acras. Sunt ibi liberi tenentes qui reddunt per annum cvis. iid. ob. Item inquisitiones curie valent per annum viiil.

Summa lxviil. xvs. iiid. ob. quad.

[*Frampton.*] Ibidem est capitale mesuagium quod valet per annum xiiis. iiiid. Et clxi acre terre arabilis in dominico que valent per annum xl. xvd. pretii acre xvd. Et xxxix acre prati que valent per annum iiiil. xviis. vid. pretii acre iis. vid. Et quedam pastura continens xl acras et valet per annum xls. pretii acre xviiid. Et alia pastura in Cotetoft, Chistilholm et in marisco maris continens xviii acras et dimidiam que valent per annum xviiis. vid. Et quedam pastura que vocatur Holm in villa Sancti Botulphi pertinens ad manerium de Frampton que continet xviii acras que valent per annum xls. pretii acre iiis. iiiid. Et quoddam molendinum ad ventum quod valet per annum xls. Ibidem sunt custumarii tenentes ix bovatas terre que continent cccxvi acras terre arabilis et prati et reddunt per annum liiiis. viiid. Opera eorundem valent iiiil. ixs. ixd. Et plures cottarii qui tenent xli acras terre et prati et reddunt per annum xxxvis. viiid. Opera eorum valent iis. ixd. Et iidem dant xii gallinas que valent xiid. In Fraunc hundred sunt x bovate terre et dimidia pertinentes ad manerium de Frampton que continent cxxxiii acras terre arabilis, prati et pasture et reddunt per annum lxviiis. xd. Opera eorum valent iiiis. xid. ob. Et debent xxviii gallinas que valent iis. iiiid. et v busselos salis que continent secundum mensuram Londonie i quarterium ii busselos, et valent per annum xvd. Auxilium annuum custumariorum predictorum valet s. (*sic*). Ibidem sunt liberi tenentes qui reddunt per annum xviiis. iid. et i libram cimini que valet id. Perquisita attachiamentorum in marisco valent per annum is. Perquisita curie valent per annum lxs.

Summa xlix li. xii d. ob.

In villa de Gosberkirke sunt due carucate et due bovate terre

que reddunt per annum xlvs. iid. ob. In Donington due carucate una bovata et octava pars unius bovate terre que reddunt per annum xliis. xd. ob. quad. In Biker sunt due carucate et dimidia et reddunt per annum is. id. et quad. In Wyketoft sunt tres carucate et vii bovate et reddunt per annum lxxviis. viiid. In Sutterton sunt v carucate terre et dimidia et reddunt per annum cxs.
Fol. 14. iid. ob. quad. In Algerkyrk sunt vi carucate et vii bovate que reddunt per annum vil. xviis. xxd. In Kirketon sunt xiii carucate et v bovate que reddunt per annum xiiil. xiis. vd. Et in eadem villa de feodo Coterel i carucata, vi bovate et dimidia et quarta pars unius bovate et reddunt per annum xxxviis. ob. In Wyberton, Frampton et Skyrbec sunt ix carucate et quarta pars unius bovate terre et reddunt per annum ixl. xis. In Leek sunt x carucate terre et reddunt per annum x l. In Leverton sunt v carucate et reddunt per annum cs. In Donington sunt ii carucate et reddunt per annum xls. id. In Skyrbek sunt ii carucate et ii bovate, et reddunt per annum xlv s. i d. ob. In eadem villa est una carucata quam Radulfus de Rocheford tenet et reddit per annum xixs. x d. Omnes predicti liberi tenentes reddunt in communi pro pannagio quolibet anno bisextili videlicet quolibet quarto anno xxixs. ob. quad. et valet per annum vii s. iii d. ob. quad. per totum in quatuor annis. In villa de Byker est quedam escaeta que reddit per annum xvi s. Et quedam in Skyrbek que reddit per annum iii s. Et due escaete in Leverton que [reddunt] per annum xiii s. vi d. Et quedam in Algerkyrk que reddit per annum iii s. Et quedam in Sutterton que reddit per annum ix s. Perquisita curie soke valent per annum xviii l.

Summa iiii$^{xx}$ viii li. xi s. i d.

# APPENDIX IV: D. BK. MIDDLESEX HOLDINGS

## TABLE I. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GELD AND DETAILED HOLDINGS

The numbers on the left side of the dash (—) show the assessment to the geld, the numbers on the right the aggregates of holdings.

*a-g*, geld greater; *h*, equality; *i*, *j*, geld smaller.

*a.* Herges, 100 h. — 60½ h. 13 a.
Gistelsworde, 70 — 31 h. 1½ v.
Hesa, 59 — 39½ h.
Hermodesworde, 30 — 17 h. 2 v.
Rislepe, 30 — 21 h. 1 v. 28 a.
Ticheham (Cnt, Roger), 9½ — 2¾ h. 20 a.
Hamntone (Walter de S. Walaric), 35 — 28½ h.
Bedefunde (Walter Fitz Other), 10 — 3 h. 2 v. 13 a.
*b.* Adelmetone, 35 — 28½ h. 40
Chenesit, 10 — 3 h. 3½ v.

Herdintone, 10 — 4 h. 11 a.
Chingesberie (Ernulf de Hesding), 7½ — 2 h. 2½ v. 25 a.
Fuleham (Bp. L., Fulchered), 5 — ½ h. 8 a.
Stanmera (Roger de Ramis), 9½ — 5¼ h. 15 a.
Handone (St. Peter), 20 — 16 h.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Hugo de Berners), 5 h. 1 v. — 1 h. 1½ v. 2½ a.
*c.* Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wife of Brien), 5 — 1½ h. 10 a.
Enefelde, 30 — 26¾ h. 30 a.
Ticheham (Geoff. de Mandeville), 3½ h. — 1½ v.
W. Bedefund (Walter F. Other), 8 — 5 h. 10 a.
Cranforde, 5 — 2 h. 1 v. 2 a.
Draitone, 10 — 7 h. 39 a.
Stibenhede (Robt. Fafiton), 4 — 1½ h. ½ v. 26 a.
Haneworde, 5 — 2½ h.
*d.* Greneforde (Geoff. de Mandeville), 3 — ½ h.
Tiburne, 5 — 2½ h. ½ v. 10 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Ran. Flambard), 3½ — 1½ h.
Dallega, 3 — 1 h. 5 a.
Felteham, 12 — 10 h. ½ v.
Isendone (Dem. of St. Paul's), 2 h. — 1 v.
Tueurde (Gueri), 2 h. — 1 v. 6 a.
Eia, 10 — 8 h. 2 v.
*e.* Leleham (Comes Moritoniens), 2 — ½ h.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wm. Camerarius), 1½ h. 1 v. — 1 v. 5 a.
Bedefunt (Comes Moritoniens), 2 h. — ½ h. 8 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Bp. Lisiaensis), 1½ h. — 14 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. London), 32 — 30½ h. ½ v.
Tueurde (Durand), 2 — ½ h. ½ v.
Haitone, 1 h. 3½ v. — 2 v. 5 a.
Chingesberie (St. Peter), 2½ — 1¼ h.
*f.* Stanmere (Comes Moritoniens), 9½ — 8¼ h. 11 a.
Stanwelle, 15 — 14 h. 28 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Engelbric), 1 h. 1 v. — 1 v. 28 a.
Herulvestune, 5 — 4 h. 1 v.
Herefelle, 5 — 4 h. 1½ v. 8 a.
Sunneberie, 7 — 6½ h. ½ v.
Tolentone, 2 — 1 h. 2½ v. 9 a.
Chenetone, 5 — 4 h. 3½ v.
*g.* Stibenhed (Robt. F. Roscelin), 3¼ — 3¼ h. 19 a.
Scepertone, 8 — 7¾ h. 24 a.
Stanes, 19 — 18 h. 119 a.
*h.* Northala, 15 — 15 h.
Greneforde (Westminster), 11½ — 11½ h.
Leleham (Robt. Blund), 8 — 8 h.
Hanewelle, 8 — 8 h.
Hamestede, 4 — 4 h.
Covelie, 2 — 2 h.
*i.* Lilestone, 5 — 5 h. 2 a.
Cerdentone, 5 — 5 h. 8 a.
*j.* Hillendone, 4 — 4 h. 10 a.
Chelched, 2 — 2 h. 15 a.
'Villa ubi sedet aecclesia St. Petri, 13½ — 13½ h. ½ v. 5 a.
Fuleham (St. Paul's), 5 — 5 h. 3½ v. 35 a.
Coleham, 8 — 9 h. 50 a.
Toteham, 5 — 6 h. 3 v. 60 a. + 2 carucates.
Fulcham (Bp. London), 40 — 49 h.

## TABLE II. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PLOUGH-LAND AND DETAILED HOLDINGS

*a-e*, plough-land greater; *f*, equality; *g-k*, plough-land less.

*a.* Gistelsworde, 55 — 31 h. 1½ v.
Herges, 70 — 60½ h. 13 a.
Chenesit, 10 — 3 h. 3½ v.
Stanes, 24 — 18 h. 119 a.
Chingesberie (Ernulf de Hesding), 7 — 2 h. 2½ v. 25 a.
Ticheham (Cnt. Roger), 6 — 2¾ h. 20 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Ran. Flambard), 5 — 1½ h.
Chelched, 5 — 2 h. 15 a.
*b.* Stibenhede (Bp. L., Hugo de Berners), 4 — 1 h. 1½ v. 2½ a.
Hermodesworde, 20 — 17 h. 1 v. 30 a.
Fuleham (Bp. L., Fulchered), 3 — ½ h. 8 a.
Herdintone, 6 — 4 h. 11 a.
Herefelle, 5 — 4 h. ½ v. 38 a.
Ticheham (Geoff. de Mandeville), 2 — 1½ v.
Stanmera (Roger de Ramis), 7 — 5¼ h. 15 a.

Bedefunde (Walter F. Other), 5 — 3 h. 2 v. 13 a.
*c.* Isendone (Dem. of St. Paul's), 1½ — 1 v.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wm. Camerarius), 1½ — 1 v. 5 a.
Tueurde (Gueri), 1½ — 1 v. 6 a.
Stibenhed (Robt. Fafiton), 3 — 1½ h. ½ v. 26 a.
Leleham (Comes Moritoniens), 1½ — ½ h.
Greneforde (Geoff. de Mandeville), 1½ — ½ h.
Dallega, 2 — 1 h. 5 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wife of Brien), 2½ — 1½ h. 10 a.
*d.* Stibenhede (Bp. L., Bp. Lisiaensis), 1 — 14 a.
Tueurde (Durand), 1½ — ½ h. ½ v.
Toteham, 10 — 6 h. 3 v. 60 a. + 2 carucates.
Chingesberie (St. Peter), 2 — 1 h. 1 v.
Cranforde, 3 — 2 h. 1 v. 2 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Engelbric), 1 — 1 v. 28 a.
Hesa, 40 — 39½ h.
Haneworde, 3 — 2½ h.
*e.* Haitone, 1 — 2 v. 5 a.
Bedefunt (Comes Moritoniens), 1 — ½ h. 8 a.
Tiburne, 3 — 2½ h. ½ v. 10 a.
Tolentone, 2 — 1 h. 2½ v. 9 a.
Chenetone, 5 — 4 h. 3½ v.
*f.* Handone (St. Peter), 16 — 16 h.
*g.* Felteham, 10 — 10 h. ½ v.
Stibenhed (Robt. F. Roscelin), 2 — 3½ h. 19 a.
Eia, 8 — 8 h. 2 v.
Sunneberie, 6 — 6½ h. ½ v.
Scepertone, 7 — 7¾ h. 24 a.
*h.* Hamestede, 3 — 4 h.
Covelie, 1 — 2 h.
Cerdentone, 4 — 5 h. 8 a.
W. Bedefund (Walter F. Other), 4 — 5 h. 10 a.
Fuleham (St. Paul's), 5 — 5 h. 3½ v. 35 a.
Stanmere (Comes Moritoniens), 7 — 8¼ h. 11 a.
Herulvestune, 4 — 4 h. 1 v.
*i.* Draitone, 6 — 7 h. 39 a.
Rislepe, 20 — 21 h. 1 v. 28 a.
Lilestone, 3 — 5 h. 2 a.
Hillendone, 2 — 4 h. 10 a.
Coleham, 7 — 9 h. 50 a.
'Villa ubi sedet aecclesia St. Petri,' 11 — 13½ h. ½ v. 5 a.
Adelmetone, 26 — 28½ h. 40 a.
*j.* Leleham (Robt. Blund), 5 — 8 h.
Hanewelle, 5 — 8 h.
Enefelde, 24 — 26¾ h. 30 a.
Hamntone (Walter de S. Walaric), 25 — 28½ h.
Stanwelle, 10 — 14 h. 28 a.
Greneforde (Westminster), 7 — 11½ h.
Northala, 10 — 15 h.
*k.* Stibenhede (Bp. London), 25 — 30½ h. ½ v.
Fuleham (Bp. London), 40 — 49 h.

## TABLE III.

## CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN AGGREGATE PLOUGH-TEAMS AND DETAILED HOLDINGS

*a–d*, aggregate plough-teams greater; *e–j*, aggregate plough-teams less.

*a.* Toteham, 14 — 6 h. 3 v. 60 a. + 2 carucates.
Chenesit, 9 — 3 h. 3½ v.
Stanes, 24 — 18 h. 119 a.
Chingesberie (Ernulf de Hesding), 7 — 2 h. 2½ v. 25 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Ran. Flambard), 5 — 1½ h.
Gistelsworde, 34 — 31 h. 1½ v.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Hugo de Berners), 4 — 1 h. 1½ v. 2½ a.
Ticheham (Geoff. de Mandeville), 2 — 1½ v.
*b.* Tolentone, 3 — 1 h. 2½ v. 9 a.
Haneworde, 4 — 2½ h.
Fuleham (Bp. L., Fulchered), 2 — ½ h. 8 a.
Bedefunde (Walter F. Other), 5 — 3 h. 2 v. 13 a.
Stibenhed (Robt. Fafiton), 3 — 1½ h. ½ v. 26 a.
Ticheham (Cnt. Roger), 4 — 2¾ h. 20 a.
Leleham (Comes Moritoniens), 1½ — ½ h.
Dallega, 2 — 1 h. 5 a.
*c.* Herdintone, 5 — 4 h. 11 a.
Chelched, 3 — 2 h. 15 a.
Isendone (Dem. of St. Paul's), 1 — 1 v.

Chingesberie (St. Peter), 2 — 1 h. 1 v.
Cranforde, 3 — 2 h. 1 v. 2 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wm. Camerarius), 1 — 1 v. 5 a.
Tueurde (Gueri), 1 — 1 v. 6 a.
Herefelle, 5 — 4 h. ½ v. 38 a.
*d.* Stibenhede (Bp. L., Engelbric), 1 — 1 v. 28 a.
Greneforde (Geoff. de Mandeville), 1 — ½ h.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Bp. Lisiaensis), ½ — 14 a.
Tiburne, 3 — 2½ h. ½ v. 10 a.
*e.* Haitone, ½ — 2 v. 5 a.
Bedefunt (Comes Moritoniens), ½ — ½ h. 8 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wife of Brien), 1 — 1½ h. 10 a.
Chenetone, 4 — 4 h. 3½ v.
Scepertone, 7 — 7¾ h. 24 a.
Covelie, 1 — 2 h.
Lilestone, 4 — 5 h. 2 a.
*f.* W. Bedefund (Walter F. Other), 4 — 5 h. 10 a.
Felteham, 9 — 10 h. ½ v.
Stanwelle, 13 — 14 h. 28 a.
Draitone, 6 — 7 h. 39 a.
Stanmera (Roger de Ramis), 4 — 5¼ h. 15 a.
Stibenhed (Robt. F. Roscelin), 2 — 3¼ h. 19 a.
Eia, 7 — 8 h. 2 v.
*g.* Sunneberie, 5 — 6½ h. ½ v.
Herulvestune, 2½ — 4 h. 1 v.
Hamestede, 2 — 4 h.
Fuleham (St. Paul's), 4 — 5 h. 3½ v. 35 a.
Adelmetone, 26 — 28 ½h. 40 a.
Leleham (Robt. Blund), 5 — 8 h.
Hanewelle, 5 — 8 h.
*h.* Hillendone, 1 — 4 h. 10 a.
Coleham, 6 — 9 h. 50 a.
Cerdentone, 1½ — 5 h. 8 a.
'Villa ubi sedet aecclesia St. Petri,' 10 — 13½ h. ½ v. 5 a.
Hermodesworde, 13 — 17 h. 1 v. 30 a.
Stanmere (Comes Moritoniens), 3½ — 8¼ h. 11 a.
Handone, 11 — 16 h.
*i.* Greneforde (Westminster), 6 — 11½ h.
Stibenhede (Bp. London), 25 — 30½ h. ½ v.
Rislepe, 15 — 21 h. 1 v. 28 a.
Northala, 8 — 15 h.
Enefelde, 20 — 26¾ h. 30 a.
Hamntone (Walter de S. Walaric), 20 — 28¼ h.
Hesa, 28 — 39½ h.
*j.* Herges, 49 — 60¼ h. 13 a.
Fuleham (Bp. London), 30 — 49 h.

## TABLE IV A. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN TEAMS IN DEMESNE AND LAND IN DEMESNE

*a*, teams greater; *b*, equality; *c–g*, teams less; *h–k*, comparison incomplete, alphabetically arranged.

*a.* Stanes, 13 — 11 h.
Chelched, 2 — 1 h.
*b.* Stanwelle, 3 — 3 h.
Herefelle, 2 — 2 h.
Toteham, 2 — 2 carucates.
Tolentone, 1 — 1 h.
*c.* Gistelsworde, 6 — 6½ h.
Covelie, 1 — 1½ h.
Stibenhed (Robt. F. Roscelin), 1 — 2 h.
Tiburne, 1 — 2 h.
Fuleham (St. Paul's), 2 — 3 h.
Chenetone, 1 — 2 h. ½ v.
Scepertone, 1 — 3½ h.
*d.* Lilestone, 2 — 4½ h.
Hamestede, 1 — 3½ h.
Stanmera (Roger de Ramis), 1 — 4 h.
Leleham (Robt. Blund), 1 — 4 h.
Sunneberie, 1 — 4 h.
Eia, 2 — 5 h.
Coleham, 3 — 6 h.
*e.* Hanewelle, 1 — 4 h. 1 v.
Cerdentone, 1 — 4½ h.
Greneforde (Westminster), 1 — 5 h.
Draitone, 1 — 5 h.
Stanmere (Comes Moritoniens), 2 — 6½ h.
Hermodesworde, 3 — 8 h.
Felteham, 1 — 6 h.
*f.* 'Villa ubi sedet aecclesia St. Petri,' 4 — 9 h. 1 v.
Northala, 2 — 8 h.
Handone (St. Peter), 3 — 10 h.
Rislepe, 3 — 11 h.
Fuleham (Bp. London), 4 — 13 h.
Hesa, 2 — 12 h.
Enefelde, 4 — 14 h.

*g.* Stibenhede (Bp. London), 3 — 14 h.
Adelmetone, 4 — 16 h.
Hamntone (Walter de S. Walaric), 3 — 18 h.
Herges, 4 — 30 h.
*h.* Bedefunde (Walter F. Other), 1 —
W. Bedefund (Walter F. Other), 1 —
Bedefunt (Comes Moritoniens), ?
Chenesit, 4 —
Chingesberie (St. Peter), 1 —
Chingesberie (Ernulf de Hesding), 2 —
Cranforde, 1 —
*i.* Dallega, 1 —
Fuleham (Bp. L., Fulchered), 1 —
Greneforde (Geoff. de Mandeville), ?
Haitone, ?
Haneworde, 1½ —
Herdintone, 2 —
Herulvestune, 2 —
*j.* Hillendone, 0 — 2 h.
Isendone (Dem. of St. Paul's), ?
Leleham (Comes Moritoniens), ?
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Hugo de Berners), 1 —
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wife of Brien), 1 —
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Ran. Flambard), 2 —
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Engelbric), 1 —
*k.* Stibenhede (Bp. L., Bp. Lisiaensis), ?
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wm. Camerarius), 1 —
Stibenhed (Robt. Fafiton), ?
Ticheham (Cnt. Roger), ?
Ticheham (Geoff. de Mandeville), ?
Tueurde (Durand), —
Tueurde (Gueri), ?

## TABLE IV B.

## CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN VILLAINS' TEAMS AND DETAILED HOLDINGS OF VILLAINS

*a–e*, teams greater; *f*, equality; *g–i*, teams less; *j*, *k*, comparison incomplete, alphabetically arranged.

*a.* Herges, 45 — 30½ h. 13 a.
Adelmetone, 22 — 12½ h. 40 a.
Hamntone (Walter de S. Walaric), 17 — 10½ h.
Stibenhede (Bp. London), 22 — 16½ h. ½ v.
Toteham, 12 — 6 h. 3 v. 60 a.
Felteham, 8 — 4 h. ½ v.
Gistelsworde, 28 — 24 h. 3½ v.
*b.* Stanes, 11 — 7 h. 119 a.
Enefelde, 16 — 12¾ h. 30 a.
Draitone, 5 — 2 h. 39 a.
Chingesberie (Ernulf de Hesding), 5 — 2 h. 2½ v. 25 a.
Handone (St. Peter), 8 — 6 h.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Hugo de Berners), 3 — 1 h. 1½ v. 2½ a.
'Villa ubi sedet aecclesia St. Petri,' 6 — 4 h. 1½ v. 5 a.
*c.* Stanmera (Roger de Ramis), 3 — 1¼ h. 15 a.
Scepertone, 6 — 4 h. 1 v. 24 a.
Rislepe, 12 — 10 h. 1 v. 28 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Ran. Flambard), 3 — 1½ h.
Eia, 5 — 3 h. 2 v.
Sunneberie, 4 — 2½ h. ½ v.
Tolentone, 2 — 2½ v. 9 a.
*d.* Tiburne, 2 — 2½ v. 10 a.
Chenesit, 5 — 3 h. 3½ v.
Hermodesworde, 10 — 9 h. 2 v.
Hamestede, 1 — 2 v.
Herefelle, 3 — 2 h. ½ v. 38 a.
Lilestone, 1 — ½ h. 2 a.
Fuleham (Bp. L., Fulchered), 1 — ½ h. 8 a.
*e.* Bedefunde (Walter F. Other), 4 — 3 h. 2 v. 13 a.
Hanewelle, 4 — 3 h. 3 v.
Chenetone, 3 — 2 h. 3 v.
*f.* Leleham (Robt. Blund), 4 — 4 h.
Haneworde, 2½ — 2½ h.
*g.* Dallega, 1 — 1 h. 5 a.
Cerdentone, ½ — ½ h. 8 a.
Chelched, 1 — 1 h. 15 a.
Chingesberie (St. Peter), 1 — 1 h. 1 v.
Cranforde, 2 — 2 h. 1 v. 2 a.
Stanmere (Comes Moritoniens), 1½ — 1¾ h. 11 a.
Stibenhed (Robt. F. Roscelin), 1 — 1 h. 1 v. 19 a.
*h.* Coleham, 3 — 3 h. 50 a.
Northala, 6 — 7 h.

Hillendone, 1 — 2 h. 10 a.
Herdintone, 3 — 4 h. 11 a.
Fuleham (St. Paul's), 2 — 2 h. 3½ v. 35 a.
Stanwelle, 10 — 11 h. 28 a.
Hesa, 26 — 27½ h.
*i.* Greneforde (Westminster), 5 — 6 h. 2 v.
W. Bedefund (Walter F. Other), 3 — 5 h. 10 a.
Herulvestune, ½ — 4 h. 1 v.
Fuleham (Bp. London), 26 — 36 h.
*i.* Bedefunt (Comes Moritoniens), ? — ½ h. 8 a.
Covelie, ? — ½ h.
Greneforde (Geoff. de Mandeville), ? — ½ h.
Haitone, ? — 2 v. 5 a.
Isendone (Dem. St. Paul's), ? — 1 v.
Leleham (Comes Moritoniens), ? — ½ h.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Engelbric), 0 — 1 v. 28 a.
*k.* Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wm. Camerarius), 0 — 1 v. 5 a.
Stibenhed (Robt. Fafiton), ? — 1½ h. ½ v. 26 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Bp. Lisiaensis), ? — 14 a.
Stibenhede (Bp. L., Wife of Brien), 0 — 1½ h. 10 a.
Ticheham (Geoff. de Mandeville), ? — 1½ v.
Ticheham (Cnt. Roger), ? — 2 h. 3 v. 20 a.
Tueurde (Durand), 0 — ½ h. ½ v.
Tueurde (Gueri), 0 — 1 v. 6 a.

# APPENDIX V: D. BK.

## SOCMAN AND VILLAIN HOUSEHOLDS IN DERBYSHIRE

(The numbers of socman holdings are given in italics)

*Over* 12 *households*

Helmetune (Elmton), 36
Crocheshalle (Croxhall), 35
Marchetone (Markeaton), 33
Dubrige (Doveridge), 30
Westune (Weston-on-Trent), *4* cens., 24
Braideshale (Breadsall), *1* miles, 21
Brailesford (Brailsford), 24
Aitone (Long Eaton), *22*
Lullitune (Lullington), 21
Chedesdene (Chaddesden), *11*, 10
Stavelie (Staveley), 21
Mileburne (Melbourne), 20
Barctune (Barton Blount), 19
Horselei (Horsley), 19
Dochemanestun (Duckmanton), *18* cens.
Holtune (Stoney Houghton), 18
Merstun (Marston), 18
Calehale (Calow), 17
Werchesuorde (Wirksworth), 16 and over
Branzinctun (Brassington), 16
Ednunghale (Edingale), 16
Stapenhille (Stapenhill), 16
Wineshalle (Winshill), *6*, 10
Etewelle (Etwall), 15
Belesoure (Bolsover), 14
Chetun (Catton), 14
Echintune (Eckington), 14 and over
Spondune (Spondon), 14
Ochebroc (Ockbrook), *4* cens., 10
Sudberie (Sudbury), 14
Wingreurde (Wingerworth), *14*
Bectune (Beighton), 13
Moresburg (Mosborough), *13*
Neutone (Newton), 13
Aiune (Eyam), 12
Bradeburne (Bradbourne), 12
Farulveston (Foston), 12
Hiltune (Hilton), 12
Oswardestune (Osleston), 12
Tizinctune (Tissington), 12
Bradelei (Bradley), 11 and over
Winleslei (Willesley, Leic.), *2*, 10

8–11 *households*

Hoge (Hoon), 11
Holintune (Hollington), 11
Toxenai (Trusley), *5* cens., 4 villains and 2 socmen
Broctune (Church Broughton), 10
Ednesoure (Edensor), 10
Holmesfelt (Holmesfield), 10
Sandiacre (Sandiacre), 10
Barleie (Barlow), 9
Eltune (Elton), 9
Sudtune (Sutton-on-the-Hill), 9

Elstretune (Alfreton), 9
Snellestune (Snelston), 9
Topetune (Tupton), *1*, 8
Tibecel (Tibshelf), 9
Alchementune (Alkmonton), 8
Apleby (Appleby), 8
Estune (Aston-on-Trent), 8
Bolun, 8
Boilestun (Boyleston), 8
Bradewelle (Bradwell), 8
Cliptune (Clifton), 8
Clune (Clowne), 8
Estune (Coal Aston), *2*, 6
Eghintune (Egginton), *6* cens., 2
Glapewell (Glapwell), 8
Lunt (duo), (Lowne, by Heath), 8
Middeltune (Stoney Middleton), 8 and over
Mogintun (Muggington), 8
Osmundestune (Osmaston), 8
Scipelie (Shipley), *1*, 7
Stantun (Stanton-by-Bridge), *4*, 4
Winefeld (S. Wingfield), 8
Bradestune (Breaston), 7 and over
Denebi (Denby), 7
Erlestune (Arleston), 7
Eisse (Ash), 7
Gheveli (Yeaveley), 7
Tichenhalle (Tickhall), *2*, 5
Winsterne (Winster), 7
Belidene (Ballidon), 6
Cotune (Coton-in-the-Elms), 6
Caldewelle (Caldwell), 6
Delbebie (Dalbury), 6
Esnotrewic, 6
Englebie (Ingleby), *3*, 4
Henleie (Hanley), *2*, 4
Iretune (Lit. Ireton), 6
Merchenestune (Mercaston), 6
Normentune (S. Normanton), 6
Peurewic (Parwick), 6
Redleslei (Rodsley), 6
Radburne (Radbourne), 6
Rugetorn (Rowthorn), 6
Sorchestun (Swarkeston), 6
Sirelei (Shirley), 6
Siuardingescotes (Swadlincote), *1* cens., 4
Turuerdestune (Thurvaston), 6
Westune (Weston Underwood), 6
Werredune, 6
Sudtune (Sutton Scarsdale), 6

2–5 *households*

Boletune (Boulton), *2*, 3
Chetelestune (Kedleston), 5
Chinewoldemarese (Killamarsh), 5
Fornewerche (Foremark), 5
Halun (Kirk Hallam), 5
Hatune (Hatton), 5
Hortel (Harthill), 5
Riseleia (Risley), 5
Summersale (Potter Somersall), 5
Smidesbie (Smisby), 5
Sapertune (Sapperton), 5
Cobelei (Cubley), 4
Gratune (Gratton), 4
Morelei (Morley), 4
Stantune (Stanton-in-the-Peak), 4
Streitun (Stretton-en-le-field), 4
Tapetune (Tapton), 4 and over
Willetune (Willington), 4
Begelie (Beeley), 3
Celesdene (Chellaston), 3
Caldecote (Chilcote), 3
Dranefeld (Dronfield), 3
Esseburne (Ashbourne), *1 homo*, 2
Essoure (Ashover), *3* cens.
Nortune (Norton), 3
Pechefers (Peak Forest), 3
Barwe (Barrow-on-Trent), *1*, 1
Codentune (Cottons), 2
Collei (Cowley), 2
Langelei (Kirk Langley), 2
Alia Stratune (Stretton), 2
Sedenefeld, (Sinfin), 2
Stanlei (Stanley), 2

*Single households*

Geldeslei (Yeldersley), 1
Giolgrave (Youlgreave), 1
Normantune (Temple Normanton), *1* and over
Normantune (N. by Derby), 1
Osmundestune (Osmaston-by-Derby), 1
Stantun (Stanton-by-Newhall), 1

*Other tenants only*

Alia Summersale (Somersall Herbert)

*No tenants* (6 *bordarii*)

Dore (Dore)
Etelawe (Atlow)
Uluritune

'*Wasta*'

Achetorp (Oakthorpe)
Adelardestreu (Allestree)
Barcouere (Birchover)
Beneleie (Hungry Bentley)
Chenivetun (Kniveton)
Durandestorp (Donisthorpe)
Grehurst (Greyhurst)
Padinc
Habenai (Abney)
Heorteshorne (Hartshorn)
Hochelai (Hucklow)
Hortedun (Hartington)
Langedenedele (Longdendale)
Tornesete (Thornsett)
Lodeuorde (Ludworth)

Cheueneswrde (Charlesworth)
Chiscwrde (Chisworth)
Ceolhal (Chunal)
Hetfelt (Hadfield)
Padefeld (Padfield)
Dentinc (Dinting)
Glosop (Glossop)
Witfeld (Whitfield)
Hedfeld (Hayfield)
Chendre (Kinder)
Linctune (Linton)
Maperlie (Mapperley)
Mers
Messcham (Measham)
Mestesforde (Matlock Bridge)
Middeltune (M. by Youlgreave)
Muchedeswelle.
Neutune (Newton Grange)
Pirelaie (Pilsley)
Rauenestun (Ravenstone)
Salham
Tolingelei (Totley)
Trangesby
Watrefeld (Waterfield)
Winbroc (Ivonbrook)
Wruenele (Wormhill)

*Complicated entries*

Æstun (Aston-upon-Trent), and Serdelau (Shardlow), 4.
Aidele (Edale), v. Hope
Aeluuoldestun (Alvaston), 1 miles, 32
Emboldestune (Ambaston)
Torulfestune (Thurlaston)
Aleuuoldestune (Elvaston)
Estune (Aston-on-Trent), v. Hope
Aisseford (Ashford), with Berewicks:
Ralunt (Rowland)
Langesdune (Longstone)
Hetesope (Hassop)
Calvoure (Calver)
Basselau (Baslow)
Bubenenle (Bubnell)
Berceles (Birchill)
Scelhadun (Sheldon)
Tadintune (Taddington)
Flagun (Flagg)
Presteclive (Priestcliff)
Blacheuuelle (Blackwell)
} 18
Aitun and Segessale (Eaton-on-Dove and Sedsall), 5
Aleuuoldestune, v. Aeluuoldestun
Aneisc, v. Badequella
Badequella (Bakewell), with 8 berewicks:
Hadun (Haddon)
Holun (Holme)
Reuslege (Rowsley)
Burtune (Burton-on-Trent, Notts)
Cranchesberie (Conksbury)
Aneisc (One Ash)
Maneis (Monyash)
Haduna (Over Haddon)
} 1 miles, 35
Banford, v. Hereseige
Barleburg and Witeuuelle (B.) (Barlborough and Whitwell), 10, 10
Basselau, v. Aisseford
Benedlege, v. Esseburne
Berceles, v. Aisseford
Berleie, v. Dereleie
Berenuardescote, v. Burnulfestune
Blacheuuelle, v. Aisseford
Blanghesbi and Hertestaf (Blingsby and Hardstoft), 1, 1
Bredelawe, v. Mapletune
Brandune and Wadescel (Brampton and Wadshelf), 4
Brantune, v. Holun
Bretebi, v. Newetun
Brimintune, v. Newebold
Bubedene (Bupton) et Appendicia, 12
Bubedene, v. Torverdestune
Bubenenle, v. Aisseford
Buitorp, v. Newebold
Bunteshale, v. Meslach
Burnulfestune and Berewardescote (Burnaston and Bearwardcote), 8
Burtune, v. Badequella
Caldecotes, v. Pinneslei
Caldelawe, v. Crunforde
Calvoure, v. Aisseford
Cestrefeld, v. Newebold
Chetesuorde, v. Langeleie
Chiteslei, v. Smalei
Cotenoure (Codnor)
Hainoure (Heanor)
Langeleie (Langley)
Smitecote (?)
} 3, 11
Cotes, v. Dereleie
Cranchesberie, v. Badequella
Crice and Scochetorp (Crich and Oakerthorp), 10
Crunforde (Cromford)
Middeltune (Middleton)
Opetune (Hopton)
Welledene (Weldon)
Ghersintune (Carsington)
Caldelawe (Callow)
Hiretune (Kirk Ireton)
} 36
Dereleie (Darley Dale), with 3 berewicks,
Farleie, Cotes, and Berleie
} 7
Drachelawe and Hedcote (Drakelow and Heathcote), 6
Draicot, v. Salle
Duluestune, v. Widerdestune

Duuelle (Duffield)
Bradelei (Bradley)
Holebroc (Holbrook)
Muleforde (Milford)
Machenie (Mackeney)
Herdebi (?)
} 32
Echintune, v. Newebold
Elnodestune and Hoilant (Ednaston and Hulland), 2
Eitune, v. Elleshope
Elleshope (Alsop le Dale)
Hanzedone (Hanson Grange)
Eitune (Cold Eaton)
Emboldestune, v. Aelwoldestun
Faitune and Stertune (Fenton and Sturston), 11
Farleie, v. Dereleie
Findre, v. Ufre
Flagun, v. Aisseford
Ghersintune, v. Crunforde
Hadun, v. Badequella
Haduna, v. Badequella
Hainoure, v. Cotenoure
Halen, v. Tilchestune
Hanzedone, v. Elleshope
Hedcote, v. Drachelawe
Hegelebec and Litun (Hazelbadge and Litton), 3
Herct, v. Hereseige
Herdebi, v. Duuelle
Hereseige (Hathersage), with 4 berewicks:
Banford, Herct, dimidia Offretune, ⅔ Middeltune
} 8
Hertestaf, v. Blanghesbi
Hetesope, v. Aisseford
Hiretune, v. Crunforde
Hoilant, v. Elnodestune
Holebroc, v. Duuelle
Holun, v. Badequella
Holun, Wadescel and Brantune (Holm, Wadshelf, Brampton), 8
Hope (Hope), with berewicks:
Aidele (Edale), Estune (Ashton-on-Trent)
Scetune (Shatton), dim. Offretune (Offerton)
Tideswelle (Tideswell)
Stoche (Stoke), Muchedeswelle (?)
} 30
Ibeholon, v. Meslach
Langeleie and Chetesuorde, 5
Langeleie, v. Cotenoure
Langesdune, v. Aisseford
Longesdune (Longstone), 10
Lede, v. Werchesuorde
Litun, v. Hegelebec 11
Lodowelle, v. Pilesberie
Maneis, v. Badequella
Middeltune, v. Hereseige
Machenie, v. Duuelle
Mapletune (Mapleton)
Bredelawe (Bradley)
Torp (Thorpe)
Benedlege (Fenny Bentley)
Ophidecotes (Offcote)
Ochenavestun (Hognaston)
} 11
Meslach (Matlock)
Sinitretone (Snitterton)
Wodnesleie (Wensley)
Bunteshale (Bonsall)
Ibeholon (Ible)
Teneslege (Tansley)
} 11
Middeltune, v. Rapendune
Mortune, Oughedestune, and Wistanestune (Morton, Ogston, Wessington), 14
Muchedeswelle, v. Hope
Muleforde, v. Duuelle
Newebold (Newbold), with 6 berewicks:
Witintune (Whittington)
Brimintune (Brimington)
Tapetune (Tapton)
Cestrefeld (Chesterfield)
Buitorp (Boythorpe)
Echintune (Eckington)
} 16
Newetun and Bretebi (King's Newton and Bretby), 19
Nortberie and Roschintone (Norbury and Roston), 17
Ochenavestun, v. Mapletune
Offretune, v. Hereseige
Offretune, v. Hope
Onestune and Normantune (Unstone and Temple Normanton), 6
Opetune, v. Crunforde
Opewelle, v. Salle
Ophidecotes, v. Mapletune
Oughedestune, v. Mortune
Paltretune, Scardeclif, Tunestal (Palterton, Scarcliffe, Tunstall), 1, 10, and 1 cens.
Pentric, v. Ripelie
Pinneslei, Caldecotes, Wilelmestorp (Pilsley, Oldcotes, Williamsthorpe), 12
Potlac, v. Ufre
Presteclive, v. Aisseford
Rapendune and Middeltune (Repton and Milton), 37
Rauenes and Upetun (?), 4
Redlauestun, v. Waletune
Reuslege, v. Badequella
Ripelie and Pentric (Ripley and Pentrich), 13
Roschintone, v. Nortberie
Ralunt, v. Aisseford
Salle, Draicot, Opewelle (Sawley, Draycott, Hopwell), 29

Scardeclif, v. Paltretune
Scelhadun, v. Aisseford
Scetune, v. Hope
Scochetorp, v. Crice
Scrotun (Scropton), with 3 berewicks, *1* miles, 32
Segessale, v. Aitun
Serdelau, v. Aestun
Sinitretone, v. Meslach
Sirelunt and Uftune (Shirland and Ufton), 5
Smitecote, v. Cotenoure
Sothelle and Walestune (Shottle and Wallstone), 3
Stantone, v. Tilchestune
Steinesbi and Tunestalle (Stainsby and Tunstall), 8
Steintune, v. Tuiforde
Stertune, v. Faitune
Stoche, v. Hope
Stratune, Tegestou, Henlege (Stretton, Egstow, Hanley), 6
Tadintune (Taddington), v. Aisseford
Tegestou, v. Stratune
Teneslege, v. Meslach
Taneslege, v. Werchesuorde
Tideswelle, v. Hope
Tilchestune (Ilkeston), 2
Tilchestune, with Halen, Stantone, Braidestone, *10*, 18
Torp, v. Mapletune
Toruerdestune and Bubedune (Thurvaston and Bupton), 3
Torulfestune, v. Aelwoldestun
Tuiforde and Steintune (Twyford and Stenson), 4
Tunestalle, v. Steinesbi
Tunestalle, v. Paltretune
Uftune, v. Sirelunt
Ufre (Mickleover), with 3 berewicks: } 20
Parva Ufre (Littleover) }
Findre (Findern) }
Potlac (Potlock) }
Upetun, v. Rauenes
Wadescel, v. Brandune
Wadescel, v. Holun
Walestune, v. Sothelle
Waletune and Redlauestun (Walton-upon-Trent and Rosliston), *3*, 33
Welledene, v. Crunforde
Werchesworde (Wirksworth), Lede (Lea), and Taneslege (Tansley), 3
Widerdestune and Duluestune (Wyaston and Edlaston), 9
Wilelmestorp, v. Pinneslei
Wistanestune, v. Mortune
Witewelle, v. Barleburg
Witintune, v. Newebold
Wodnesleie, v. Meslach

# APPENDIX VI: D. BK.

## SOCMAN AND VILLAIN HOUSEHOLDS IN ESSEX

(The numbers of socman holdings are given in italics)

### Hundred of Tendring

*Over* 12 *households*

Aeldulvesnasa (Eadwulfsness), 63
Clachintuna (Clacton), 47 (or 45)
Brictriceseia (Brightlingsea), 24
Cice (St. Osyths), 22
Erleia (Ardleigh), *6* l. h., 14
Laleforda (Lawford), *3*, 16
Rameseia (Ramsey), 18
Fulepet (Beaumont), *1*, 17
Adem (Little Oakley), 17
Holanda (Holland), 17
Wica (Wix), 16
Mosa (Mose), 14
Almesteda (Elmstead), 13

6–11 *households*

Accleia (Great Oakley), 11
Bradefelda (Bradfield), 7 l. h., 4
Wileia (Weeley), 11
Benetlea (Little Bentley), 10
Tenderinge (Tendring), 9
Cliva, *8* l. h.
Hoilanda (Little Holland), 8
Benetleia (Great Bentley), 6
Wrabenasa (Wrabness), 6
Druvrecurt (Dovercourt), 6

2–5 *households*

Frietuna (Frinton), 5
Fuletuna (Foulton), 4
Torinduna (Thorrington), 3
Michelestou (Michaelstow), 2
Elesforda (Alresford), 2
Brumlea (Little Bromley), 2

Single *household*

Manestuna (Bradfield Manston), 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Sciddinchou (Manningtree), 15 bord., 1 ser.
Birichou (Birch Hall), 8 b., 1 s.
Dicheleia (Dikeley), 8 b.
Fratinga (Frating), 3 b., 2 s.
Frorwica (Frowick Hall), 3 b., 1 s.
Mitteslea (Mistley), 1 b.
Witelebroc, 1 b.
Burna, none

### Hundred of Lexden

*Over* 12 *households*

Eiland (Horkesley), *37* l. h., 20
Pheringae (Feering), *12*, 27
Teia (Marks Tey) *30*
Stanwega (Stanway), *16*, 9
Laingaham (Langham), 17
Teia (Great Tey), *16*, 2
Widemondefort (Wormingford), *19*, 4

6–11 *households*

Forham (Fordham), 7
Bricceia (Great Birch), *1*, 6
Bocchesteda (Boxted), *1*, 5
'Colun' (the Colnes), 7 (in Wakes Colne)

2–5 *households*

Delham (Dedham), 5
Lessendena (Lexden), 5
Wivnhou (Wivenhoe), 5
Bercolta (W. Bergholt), 5
Bura (Mt. Bures), 5
Metcinges (Messing), 3

Single *households*

Peresteda (Prested), *1* l. h.

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Bricia (Little Burch), 13 b., 6 s.
Dunulanda (E. Donyland), 16 b., 1 s.
Estorp (E. Thorpe), 8 b., 2 s.
Crepinga (Creping Hall), 6 b.
Witesworda, 1 b.
Aldeham (Aldham), 4 s.

### Hundred of Hinckford

*Over* 12 *households*

Haingheham (Castle Hedingham), *13*, 33
Westrefelda (Wethersfield), 28
Haltesteda (Halstead), *22*, 9
Stibinga (Stebbing), 27
Pentelawa (Pentlow), *18*, 8
Raines (Rayne), 23
Belcham (Belchamp St. Paul's) 24
Phincinghefelda (Finchingfield), *11*, 13
Phensteda (Felstead), 20
Foxearde (Foxearth), *19*
Ghestingetorp (Gestingthorpe), *11*, 8
Bummesteda (Steeple Bumpstead), *3*, 15
Tumesteda (Twinstead), *18*
Pebeners (Pebmarsh), *18*; with Little Maplestead, *5* l. h.
Bura (Bures), *13*, 3
Belcamp (Belchamp Walter), 15
Cheneboltuna, *15*
Alfelmestuna (Alphamstone), *15*
Lamers (Lammarsh), *8* l. h., 6
Hedingham (Sibil Hedingham), 14
Ridewella (Ridgwell), 14
Mildeltuna (Middleton), *13*
Stanburna (Stambourn), 14, with Topesfelda
Stanburna, *13* l. h.

6–11 *households*

Belcham (Belchamp Otton), 6
Barlea (Borley), 10
Babiterna (Bapthorne), 6
Penfelda (Panfield), 8
Branduna (Brandon), 7
Listuna (Liston), 7 l. h.
Goldingham (Goldingham), 6
Bridebroc (Birdbrook), 6
Geldham (Little Yeldham), 6

2–5 *households*

Henies (Great Henny), 5
Tiliberia (Tilbury by Clare), 5
Celvestuna, *5*
Mapledesteda (Great Maplestead), 5
Wicham (Wickham St. Paul's), 5
Clare (Claret), 4
Stanesteda (Stansted Hall), 4
Salinges (Great Saling), 2 and pst.
Smedetuna (Smeeton Hall), 3
Ovituna (Ovington), 3
Sturmere (Sturmer), 3
Hersa (Hersham Hall), 3
Bineslea, 2
Topesfelda (Toppesfield), 4, Stanburna and Topesfelda together 14 more
Mapledesteda (Little Maplestead), 1 pst.; *5* l. h. Mappesteda and Pebeners

Single *households*

Belcham (Beauchamp St. Ethelbert), *1*
Boituna (Boyton Hall), 1
Heni (Little Henny), 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Westuna (Weston), 10 b., 4 s.
Belindune (Balingdon), 9 b., 4 s.
Assewella (Ashwell Hall), 7 b.
Polheia (Polhey), 6 b.
Asee (Ashen), 6 b.
Weninchou (How Hall), 5 b., 4 s.
Horstedafort, 5 b.
Alreforda (Alderford), 4 b.
Gerham, 3 b., 1 s.
Bulenemera (Bulmer), 1 b.
Westuna (Weston), none

**Hundred of Freshwell**

*Over* 12 *households*

Birdefelda (Great Bardfield), 23
Redewintra (Radwinter), 22
Hamsteda (Hempstead), 22
Ascenduna (Ashdon), 20
Sanfort (Great Sampford), 16
Sanforda (Little Sampford), 2 franci, 14
Bunsteda (Helion Bumpstead), 14
Cadenhou (Hadstock), 12

6–11 *households*

Benedisc (Bendish Hall), 1, 8
Newham (Newenham), 9
Henham, 8
Birdefelda (Little Bardfield), 6

2–5 *households*

Stavintuna (Stevington End), 2 l. h., 3

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Roda (Rothe End), none

**Hundred of Clavering**

*Over* 12 *households*

Clavelinga (Clavering), 17

6–11 *households*

Benefelda (Bendfieldbury), 9
Magghedana (Manuden), 8
Ugghelea (Ugley), 7
Bolituna (Bollington), 1 l. h.; 7, with Bertuna
Plichedana (Pledgdon), 6

2–5 *households*

Berdane (Berden), 4
Pherneham (Farnham), 4
Pachenhou (Payton Hall), 2

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Pincepo (Pinchpoles), 3 b., 1 s.
Smaltuna, none

**Hundred of Uttlesford**

*Over* 12 *households*

Waledanu (Saffron Walden), 46
Litelbyria (Littlebury), 39
Deppedana (Debden), 36
Cristeshala (Chreshall), 32
Neuport (Newport), 26
Elmerduna (Elmdon), 26
Cestreforda (Great Chesterford), 24
Richelinga (Rickling), 20
Amberdana (Amberden), 19
Haidena (Heydon), 18
Tacheleia (Takeley), 16 and pst.
Widituna (Widdington), 15
Tunreslea (Thunderley), 11 and pst.
Stanesteda (Stansted Mountfichet), 11 and pst.

6–11 *households*

Elsenham (Elsenham Hall), 11
Cestrefort (Little Chesterford), 10
Wicam (Wickham Bonhunt), 9
Wendena (Great Wenden), 9
Wicgepet, 9
Cishella (Great Chishall), 7
Scilcheham, 6
Strathala (Strethall), 6
Cishella (Little Chishall), 6

2–5 *households*

Wendena (Wenden Loughts), 5
Lea (Leebury), 5
Archesdana (Arkesden), 4
Kuenadana (Quendon), 3
Cesewic (Cheswick Hall), 3
Eineswrda (Eynsworth), 3
Wendena (Little Wenden), 2
Monehala (Manhall), 2

**Single** *households*

Sortegrava (Shortgrove), 1
Becangra (Birchanger), 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Gerdelai (Yardley), 7 b.
Banhunta (Bonhunt), 4 b.
Crawelaea (Crawleybury), 2 b.

**Hundred of Dunmow**

*Over* 12 *household*

Tachesteda (Thaxted), 52
Estra (High Easter), 47
Wimbeis (Wimbish), 26 and pst.
Dommawa (Great Dunmow), 19 (or 23) and pst.
Dommawa (Little Dunmow), 20 (or 24) and pst.
Estanes (Great Easton), 19 and pst.

Lindesela (Lindsell), 18 and pst.
Broccheshevot (Broxted), 18
'Rodinges' (the Rodings (9)), *1*, 55, and 4 psts.

*6–11 households*

Canefelda (Great Canfield), 11
Canefelda (Little Canfield), 9 and pst.
Estra (Good Easter), 8
Bernestuna (Barnston), 7
Alferestuna (Bigods, in Great Dunmow), 7
Vdecheshale, 6

*2–5 households*

Niwetuna (Newton Hall), 5
Scelda (Shellow Bowells), *3*, 2
Eistanes (Little Easton), 3 and pst.
Ulingehala (Willingale Spain), 4
Willingehala (Willingale Doe), 3
Tileteia (Tiltey), 3

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Plesinchou, 7 b., 3 s.
Cicchenai (Chickney), 14 b. and pst.

**Hundred of Witham**

*Over* 12 *households*

Witham, *23*, 17
Chellevedana (Kelvedon), 27
Ruenhale (Rivenhall), *2*, 18
Bochinges (Bocking), 18
Nutlea (Black Notley), *2* l. h., 15
Hadfelda (Hatfield Peverel), 15
Stiesteda (Stisted), 13

*6–11 households*

Terlinga (Terling), *1*, 10
Cogeshala (Coggeshall), 9
Brachesteda (Great Braxted), *1*, 7
Nutlea (White Notley), 6 or 8

*2–5 households*

Fairsteda (Fairsted), 4
Breddinchon (Bennington Hall), 4
Vltinga (Ulting), 4
Hobruge (Hubbridge Hall), 3
Blundeshala (Blunt's Hall), *1*, 2
Melesham (Great Mulsham), 2

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Falcheburna (Faulkbourne), 8 b., 3 s.
Bracteda (Little Braxted), 8 b., 2 s. and pst.
Coghessala (Little Coggeshall), 8 b., 1 s.
Retleia (Ridley Hall), 3 b., 1 s.
Smalelant (Smalland), 1 b., 1½.
alia Molesham (Little Mulsham), 2 s.
Slamondesheia (Slamondsay), none

**Hundred of Winstree**

*Over* 12 *households*

Meresaia (W. Mersea), 36
'Legra' (the Layers), 14

*6–11 households*

Wicgheberga (Great Wigborough), 10
Meresai (E. Mersea), 8
Langhou (Langenhoe), 9

*2–5 households*

Wigheberga (Little Wigborough), 3
Peltenduna (Peldon), *1*, 3

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Edburghetuna (Abberton), 8 b., 1 s.
Borooldituna (Barnwalden), 4 b.
Salcota (Salcot Verley), 3 b., 1 s.
Samantuna (Sampton), 2 b.

**Hundred of Thurstable**

*Over* 12 *households*

Tidwoldituna (Heybridge), 16
Tolesberia (Tollesbury), 12
Toleshunta, (the Tolleshunts (3)), *16* l. h., 32, and *4* knights

*6–11 households*

Toteham (Great Totham), 9
Wicham (Wickam Bishops), *1* l. h., 5

*2–5 households*

Langefort (Langford), *4* 'homines', 1 villain
Goldhangra (Goldhanger), *2* l. h., 1

*Single household*

Toteham (Little Totham), 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Uveseia (Ovesey Isle), 3 s.
Blacham, none

**Hundred of Chelmsford**

*Over* 12 *households*

Writela (Writtle), 76 and pst.
Waldham (Great Waltham), 75
Haneghefelda (S. Hanningfield), *23* l. h., 4
Ratenduna (Rettendon), 26
Vdeham (Woodham Ferrers), 24
Badwen (Great Baddow), *3*, 16
Ginga (Mountnessing), *1* l. h., 16
Newelanda (Newland Hall), 15
Ginga (Margaretting), 13

*6–11 households*

Brumfelda (Broomfield), 9
Springinghefelda (Springfield), 8

Runewella (Runwell), 8
Phingberia (Fingrith), 6
Berewic, 6
Badwen (Little Baddow), *4* franci, 2

**2–5** *households*

Lega (Lees), 5
Celmeresfort (Chelmsford), 4
Cingehala (Chignal), 4
Cinga (Batsbury), 4
Inga (Ingatestone), *1*, 2
Pacinges (Patching Hall), 3
Molesham (Moulsham), 3
Inga (Frierning), 2
Waltham (Little Waltham), *1*, 1
Cetham (Chatham), 2

**Single** *households*

Richeham (Culverts), 1
Laghenberia (Old Lawn), 1
Keventuna (Kewton Hall), 1
Cinguehella (Chicknal Zoyn), 1
Borham (Boreham), *1* l. h.
Danengeberia (Danbury), 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Bedenesteda (Sandon), 22 b., 3 s.
Walcfara (Walkfares), 15 b., 5 s.
Haningefelda (E. Hanningfield) 9 b., 2 s.
Festinges (Fresling), 4 b.
Haningefeld (W. Hanningfield), 4 b., 3 s.
Massebirig (Mashbury), 3 b., 1 s.
Belesteda (Belstead Hall), 3 b., 2 s.
Cubrigea (Cowbridge), none

## Hundred of Harlow

*Over* **12** *households*

Hadfelda (Hatfield Broadoak), 60
Herlava (Harlow), 13

**6–11** *households*

Halingeberia (Little Hallingbury), 10
Ovesham (Housham Hall), 10
Matcinge (Matching), 9
Halingeberia (Great Hallingbury), 8
Ruindune (Roydon), 8
Lattuna (Latton), 6 and pst.
Cuica (Quick Bury), 6

**2–5** *households*

Sceringa (Sheering), 3
Perenduna (Great Parndon), 3
Walda, 2

**Single** *household*

Siriceslea (Rise Marses), 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Walla (Wallbury). 6 b.
Perinduna (Little Pandon), 5 b., 3 s.

## Hundred of Waltham

*Over* **12** *households*

Waltham (Waltham Abbey), 80

**6–11** *households*

Nasinga (Nazing), 6
Cinghefort (Chingford St. Paul's), 8
Cingerfort (Chingford Earls), 7

**2–5** *households*

Epinga (Epping), 2, Nasinga and Epinga together, 7

## Hundred of Ongar

*Over* **12** *households*

Stanfort (Stanford Rivers), *1* l. h., 24
Nasestoca (Navestock), *12* 'men', 12
Cinghewella (Chigwell), 19 and 7 l. h.
Walla (N. Weald Basset), 17
Stapleforda (Stapleford Abbots), 12
'Taindena' (the Theydons), 23

**6–11** *households*

Gernesteda (Greensted), 10
Alvertuna (Alderton Hall), 9
Angra (Chipping Ongar), 8
Fifheda (Fyfield), 8
Nortuna (Norton Mandeville), 6
'Laghafara' (the Lavers), 11

**2–5** *households*

Parva Stanfort (in St. Rivers), 5
Senleia (Shelley), 5
Passefelda (Passelow), 5
Ulfelmestuna (Wolverston), 4
Tippedana (Debden), 4
Mortuna (Moreton), 4
Staplefort (St. Tany), 2
Lochetuna (Loughton), 2
Kelvenduna (Kelvedon Hatch), 2

**Single** *households*

Lamburna (Lambourne), 1
Plumtuna, 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Angra (High Ongar), 6 b., 1s.
Babingeorda (Bobbingworth), 2 b., 2s.

## Hundred of Dengie

*Over* **12** *households*

Lalinge (Lawling), 21
Tillingham, 20
Purlai (Purleigh), 16 and pst.

Munduna (Mundon), 15
Sudmunstra (Southminster), *14* 'homines', 11

**6–11** *households*

Nortuna (Cold Norton), *6* l. h., 5
Daneseia (Dengie), *4* l. h., 6
Lacenduna (Latchingdon), *4* l. h., 4
Wdeham (Woodham Walter), 6
'Melduna' (Little Maldon), 9

**2–5** *households*

Halesheia (Hazeleigh), 5
Estolleia, 4 (or 7)
Odeham (Woodham Mortimer), 4
Fenne (Stow Maries), 6
Dona (Down Hall), 4
Niwelant (W. Newland), 3
Carseia (Northey Isle), 3
Essecestra (Bradwell), *3* l. h.
Stanesgata (Stangate), 2
Weneswic, 2
Fanbruge (N. Fambridge), 2

**Single** *households*

Wringehala, *1*
Halesduna, 1
Niwelanda (E. Newland), *1* l. h.
Altenai (Iltney), 1
Burneham (Burnham), 1
Stepla (Steeple), *1* l. h.
Ulwinescherham, 1 *famulus regis*

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Copeforda (Copford), 14 b., 3 s.
Hacflet, 10 b.
Witham (E. Whettenham), 8 b., 1 s.
Criccheseia (Cricksea), 4 b., 2 s.
Hainctuna (Asheldham), 4 b.
Mildemet (Middlemead) 3 b., 2 s.
Acleta, 1 b.
Uleham (in Lawling), 1 b., 2 s.

**Hundred of Melduna** (½)

*Over* **12** *households*

Malduna (Maldon), burgesses, 1 socman (5 bordarii), *2* (or *4*) l. h.

**Hundred of Rochford**

*Over* **12** *households*

Hocheleia (Hockley), 27
Carenduna (Canewdon), 16
Essoberia (Shoebury), 15 and *1* l. h.
Sudcerca (Southchurch), 14

**6–11** *households*

Hachewella (Hawkswell), 8
Mildentuna (Milton Hall), 8
Rageneia (Rayleigh), 8
Scopelanda (Shopland), *2*, 5

**2–5** *households*

Rochefort (Rochford), 5
Thorp (Thorpehall), 4
Prittewella (Prittlewell), 4
Estwda (Eastwood), 3
Wachelinga (Great Wakering), 2
Torpeia (Northorp), 2
Stanbruge (Little Stambridge), 2
Puteseia (Putsey), 2
Legra (Leigh), 2

**Single** *household*

Midebroc, 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Suttuna (Sutton), 22 b., 6 s.
Pachesham (Paglesham), 18 b., 3 s.
Stanbruge (Great Stambridge), 12 b., 1 s.
Berlinga (Barling), 10 b., 1 s.
Wacheringa (Little Wakering), 10 b.
Plumberga (Plumberow), 8 b.
Berrewera (Barrow Hall), 3 b., 3 s.
Bacheneia (Beckney), 2 b.
Nesenduna (Ashingdon), 1 b.

**Hundred of Barstable**

*Over* **12** *households*

Burghesteda (Great Burstead), 22
Orseda (Orsett), 22
Hasinghebroc (Hassingbroke), 20
Bulgeuen (Bulphan), 16
Mucinga (Mucking), 12
'Benflet' (the Benfleets), 36

**6–11** *households*

Wicfort (Wickford), *2* l. h., 8
Berdestapla (Barstable Hall), 6
Phenge (Vange), 6
Lea (W. Lee), 6
Thunreslea (Thundersley), 5

**2–5** *households*

Torninduna (W. Horndon), *2*, 3
Langenduna (Langdon), 5
Atahou (Hutton), *3*, 2
Bura (Bowers Gifford), 4
Phobinge (Fobbing), 3
Legenduna (Laindon), 3
Currincham (Corringham), 2
Dantuna (Dunton), 2
Celdewella (Chadwell), *1*, 1 pst.
Burghesteda (Little Burstead), 2
Phantuna (Fanton Hall), 2
Gravesanda (Gravesend), 2

**Single** *households*

Inga (Ingrave), 1
Piceseia (Pitsea), 1
Berlesduna (Basildon), 1

Hominduna (Horndon-on-the-Hill), 1
'Ramesdana' (the Ramsdens), 1 l. h., 3
'Tiliberia' (the Tilburies), 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Watelea (Wheatley), 12 b.
Scenefelda (Shenfield), 6 b.
Wella, 2 b.
Ateleia, 1 b., 1 s.
No tenants:
Doddenhenc (Doddinghurst)
Bertuna
Lohou
Nezedeua (Newenden)

### Hundred of Chafford

*Over* 12 *households*

Raineham (Rainham), 25
Upmontra (Upminster), 14
Wareleia (Great Warley), 12
'Turruca' (the Thurrocks), 22
'Wochenduna' (the Ockendons), *15*, 22

6–11 *households*

Welda (S. Weald), 11
Ciltedic (Childerditch), 9
Kelituna (Kenningtons), 7
Avileia (Aveley), 6

2–5 *households*

Stiforda (Stifford), 5
Wareleia (Little Warley), 5
Wemtuna (Wenington), 2

Single *households*

Craohu, 1
Geddesduna, 1

*No socman or villain households; other tenants*

Limpwella, 2 b.

### Hundred of Becontree

*Over* 12 *households*

Berchingae (Barking), 143
Haveringae (Havering), 40
Wilcumestou (Walthamstow), 36
Leituna (Leyton), 22 and 2 psts.
Wdefort (Woodford), 13
'Hame' (E. and W. Ham), 86

6–11 *households*

Hecham (Higham Bensted), 10

2–5 *households*

Ilefort (Ilford), 4
Wenesteda (Wanstead), *3 socmen and freemen attached to manors.*

### Hundred of Tendring

Laleforda, *39* or *40*

### Hundred of Lexden

Bura, 3: 'adhuc semper pertinent'
Metcinges *3*: 'pertinent manerio'
Feringae, *1* l. h.: 'iacet ad'

### Hundred of Hinckford

Westrefelda, *8*: 'iacent'
Phensteda, *4*: 'iacent'
Ghestingetorp, *1*: 'iacet'
Bummesteda, *1* l. h.: 'additus'
Belcamp, *7*: 'adiacent'
Hedingham, *2*: 'adiacent'
Ridewella, *14*: 'adiacent semper'
Stanburne and Topesfelde *15*: 'adiacent'
Clare, *1* l. h.: 'additus'; 7 socmen 'adiacent'
Belcham, *5*: 'iacent'
Babiterna, *2*: 'adiacent'

### Hundred of Clavering

Benefelda, *1*: 'adiacet'

### Hundred of Uttlesford

Maledana, *14*: 'adiacent'
Neuport, *2*: 'pertinentes'
Widituna, *4*: 'iacent'
Cishella, *1*: 'iacet'

### Hundred of Dunmow

Tachesteda, *3*, with 2: 'adiacent'
Estra, *6*, *7*: 'adiacent'
Dommawa, *1*, with 2: 'adiacet'
Scelga, *1*: 'adiacet'
Rodinge, *3*

### Hundred of Witham

Witham, *32* l. h.: 'adiacent'
Cogeshala, *11*, 1 pst., 1 porcarius, 1 mercennarius: 'pertinent'
Cogeshala, *1* l. h.: with land 'addita'

### Hundred of Winstree

Meresaia, 1 pst.: 'adiacet'
Wigheberga, *2*: 'additi'
Legra, *2*: 'additi'

### Hundred of Chelmsford

Writela, *2*: 'semper iacent'

### Hundred of Harlow

Hadfield, *1*, 1: 'adiacent'
Herlava, 2: with 4 b. 'addite'

**Hundred of Waltham**

Walham, *6*, with 1: 'adiacent'

**Hundred of Ongra**

Staplefort, *2* l. h.: 'in soca manerii'

**Hundred of Dengie**

Copeforda, *10*: 'pertinent'

**Hundred of Barstable**

Burghesteda, *28* l. h.: 'additi'
Phobinge, *22* l. h.: 'additi'
Inga, *7* l. h.: 'additi'
Piceseia, *8* l. h.: 'additi'
Wicford, *4* l. h.: 'additi'

**Hundred of Chafford**

Upmontra, *1*: 'iacet'
Avileia, *1*: 'additus'
Turruc, *5*: 'iacent'

**Hundred of Becontree**

Hame, *1*, 'adiacet'

# APPENDIX VII: D. BK.

OXFORDSHIRE VALUES:

| | *Hides.* | *Plough-lands.* | *Valuit T. R. E.* | *Valet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tewe (Dd. i. 156 b) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 12*s.* |
| Niwetone (ibid.) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | — |
| Stantone (156 c) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 10*s.* |
| Mollitone (157 b) | 1 | 1 | 10*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Sivewelle (ibid.) | 1 | 1 | 10*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Stuntesfeld (158 a) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 30*s.* |
| Edburgberie (ibid.) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 30*s.* |
| Estone (ibid.) | 1 | 1 | 15*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Sumertone (159 c) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Gersedune (159 d) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Sumertone (ibid.) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Hentone (160 a) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Ypestan (160 c) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Besintone (ibid.) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 12*s.* 6*d.* |
| Nortone (160 d) | 1 | 1 | 10*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Pereio (156 a) | 1½ | 1 | 30*s.* | 30*s.* |
| Bodicote (159 b) | 1½ | 1½ | 30*s.* | 30*s.* |
| Hardintone (156 b) &c. | ½ | 1 | 10*s.* | 20*s.* |

| | *Hides.* | *Plough-teams.* | *Valuit T. R. E.* | *Valet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Teova (156 c) | 2 | 2 | 40*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Asce (157 d) | 2 | 2 | 40*s.* | £4 |
| Cote (159 b) | 2 | 2 | 30*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Sciptone (160 d) | 2 | 2 | 40*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Adlach (161 a) | 2 | 2 | 40*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Sexintone (155 d) | 2 | 3 | 40*s.* | 60*s.* |
| Haliwelle (158 c) | 2 | 1 | 20*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Bereford (156 b) | 2½ | 1½ | 30*s.* | 50*s.* |
| Rocote (160 d) | 2 | 2 | 40*s.* | £4 |
| Adingeham (161 b) &c. | 2½ | 3 | 50*s.* | 50*s.* |

BERKSHIRE VALUES:

| | *Hides.* | *Plough-lands.* | *Valuit T. R. E.* | *Valet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Comenore (Dd. i. 58 c) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 10*s.* |
| Spersolt (60 c) | 1½ | 1 | 40*s.* | 30*s.* |
| Aneborne (61 d) | 1 | 2 | 40*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Siford (62 c) | 1½ | 1 | 30*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Solafel (63 c) | 1 | 2 | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Burlei (63 d) | 1 | 1½ | 30*s.* | 20*s.* |
| &c. | | | | |

| | *Hides.* | *Plough-teams.* | *Valuit T. R. E.* | *Valet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hannei (60 b) | 2 | 1 | 40*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Cerletone (60 c) | 2½ | 1 | 50*s.* | 50*s.* |
| Peteorde (61 a) | 2½ | 2 | 50*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Wille (61 d) | 1 | 2 | 30*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Hurlei (62 d) | 1 (T. R. E. 2) | 2 | 40*s.* | — |
| &c. | | | | |

HERTFORDSHIRE VALUES:

| | *Hides.* | *Plough-lands.* | *Valuit* | | *Valet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *T. R. E.* | *Post.* | |
| Welei (Dd. i. 133 a) | 1 | 2 | 30*s.* | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Trochinge (133 c) | 1½ | 1½ | 40*s.* | 30*s.* | 52*s.* |
| Mesdone (133 d) | 1 | 5 | £6 | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Peleham (134 a) | 1 | 2 | 40*s.* | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Almeshou (134 b) | 1 | 1 | 30*s.* | 10*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Eldeham (136 a) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 12*s.* | 12*s.* |
| Bure (136 d) | 1½ | 1 | 20*s.* 9*d.* | 10*s.* | 20*s.* 9*d.* |
| Rete (137 a) | 1 | 3 | 60*s.* | 10*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Retth (ibid.) | 1 | 3 | 60*s.* | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Cornei (137 b) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 10*s.* | 13*s.* 4*d.* |
| Bradefelle (137 c) | ½ | ½ | 10*s.* | 5*s.* | 5*s.* |
| Scelua (137 d) | ½ | 1 | 20*s.* | 10*s.* | 10*s.* |
| Summersele (138 a) | ½ | 1 | 20*s.* | 10*s.* | 6*s.* 8*d.* |
| Sutrehella (139 a) | 1 h. ½ v. | 2 | 30*s.* | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Chaissou (139 c) | 1 | 1 | 20*s.* | 5*s.* | 5*s.* |
| Stiuicesuuorde (139 d) | 1 | 1½ | 40*s.* | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Stanestede (140 d) | ½ | ½ | 10*s.* | 5*s.* | 10*s.* |
| Lufenelle (136 b) | 2 | 2 | 40*s.* | 20*s.* | 20*s.* |
| Pentlai (136 c) | 2 | 2 | 40*s.* | 20*s.* | 30*s.* |
| Bublecote (136 d) | 1½ | 1½ | 40*s.* | 30*s.* | 30*s.* |
| Grauelai (140 d) | 2 | 3 | 40*s.* | 20*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Haingesteuuorde (141 d) | 2 | 2 | 60*s.* | 20*s.* | 40*s.* |
| Wermelai (142 b) | 2½ | 2 | 60*s.* | 50*s.* | 40*s.* |
| &c. | | | | | |

# APPENDIX VIII: D. BK.

## WESTERFIELD, SUFFOLK

Dd. ii. 294 b: Westrefeldam tenuit Bar. liber homo commendatus Radulfo Stalra, i carucatam terrae pro i manerio, modo tenet Normannus de comite, semper ii uillani, modo ii bordarii. Tunc in dominio i caruca, modo ii, semper i caruca hominum, ii acrae prati, modo i runcinus et iiii animalia et xx porci et c oues. Tunc ualuit x sol. modo xx. Comes socam.

295 a: In eadem tenet idem vi liberos homines de xxiiii acris commendatos Radulfo Stalra t.r.e. semper i caruca, et ual. iiii sol. soca comitis.

Ibid.: In eadem tenuit Stanuinus liber homo xiiii acras, modo Osbernus, et ualet ii sol. et iiii den., habet viii quarentenas in longo et iiii in lato, et xx den. de geldo. Soca comitis.

Ibid.: In Westrefelda vi liberi homines t.r.e. xx acras, semper i caruca, et sunt in pretio de Gipeswiz. Comes tenet in dominio. Rex et comes socam.

Ibid.: In Turuestuna i liber homo ii acras, et in Westrefelda ii liberi homines iii acras, et ualet xd. Aluricus presbiter tenet de comite.

Ibid.: In eadem tenuit Uluricus liber homo vi acras, et ualuit xii d. Rex et comes socam.

305 b: In Westrefelda tenuit Vluuiet liber homo commendatus Guerto, lx acras terrae, et iacent in Rissemera, modo tenet Hunfridus de R(oberto) Malet. Tunc i bordarius, et ualet x sol.

Ibid.: In eadem ii liberi homines vi acras et dimidiam. Commendati Wluieto, et ualet ii sol. Idem Hunfridus, Soca regis et comitis.

306 a: In Westrefelda i liber homo commendatus x acras, et ualet ii sol. Rex et comes socam.

352 b: In Westrefelda dimidia ecclesia vii acras et dimidiam.

Ibid.: In Westrefelda ii liberi homines ix acras, et ualet xviiid., soca regis et comitis.

383 b: In Westrefelda tenuit Aseret i socemannus abbatis (Sanctae Aldredae) xxv acras, semper i caruca et i acra prati, et ualet v sol. Herueus tenet de abbate iussu regis.

Ibid.: In eadem Turchillus liber homo commendatus viii acras,

et ualet xvid., hoc tenuit Herueus de rege, et modo de abbate iussu regis sicut ipse dicit. Soca regis.

410a: In Westrefelda tenet Hugo in dominio, quem tenuit Ordricus liber homo, viii acras, et ualet xvi den.

411a: In Westrefelda tenuit Langfere liber homo commendatus Haldein, xiiii acras, et ualet ii sol. Idem Willelmus Rex et comes socam.

422b: In Westrefelda iii liberi homines xxviii acris. Tunc et post i caruca, modo nichil, et i acra prati, et ualet x sol. Rex et comes socam.

Ibid.: In Westrefelda v liberi homines xxiii acris et i uirga. Tunc et post i caruca, modo nulla, et ualet iiii sol. Giroldus tenet.

Ibid.: In eadem i liber homo xvi acris. Tunc et post dimidia caruca, modo nulla, et ualet xxxiid. Rex et comes socam. Ernaldus tenet de eo.

426b: In Westrefelda tenuit Almarus liber homo xxx acras, et iiii bordarios, semper i caruca, et ii acrae prati, et ualet viii sol. Turstinus de Galtero de feudo Tedrici, rex et comes socam.

Ibid.: In Westrefelda iii liberi homines xxviii acris, et tunc dimidia caruca, et ualet xxxvid. Bernardus et Almarus tenent. Rex et comes socam.

Ibid.: In eadem liber homo vi acris, et ualet xiid. de eodem feudo. Normannus tenet. Soca Regis et comitis.

446b: In Westrefelda vi liberi homines Aluuinus, Flint, Aluuinus, Edricus, Vluricus, Alestan, inter eos xv acrae, et i caruca, et ualet xxxd. Unus ex his, nomine Flint, dedit uadum ex hoc quod dixit quod dabant firmam in Gipeswiz, et uicecomes derationauit quod mentitus erat, et idem uicecomes de eo est fide iussor. Rex et comes socam.

Ibid.: In Westrefelda tenet semper Aluricus presbiter xii acras, et ii acras prati, et ualet iii sol. Rex et comes socam.

# APPENDIX IX: D. BK.

# LINCOLNSHIRE HOLDINGS

## TABLE I

## CORRESPONDENCE OF GELD TO ESTIMATES OF PLOUGH-LAND

### A. GELD EXCEEDING ESTIMATES OF PLOUGH-LAND

The assessment figures of the geld are given on the left of the dash (—), the estimates of plough-land on the right.

Blachene, M (Walter de Aincurt), 24 c. — 13
Belingei, M (Abp. of York), 12 c. — 4
Basingeham, M (K. William), 24 c. — 16
Haneworde, 3 M (Walter de Aincurt), 12 c. — 6
Scheldinchope, B. Dodintone (Baldwin), 12 c. — 6
Weranghe, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 10 c. — 5
Nortune, s. Stapleforde (Cntss. Judith), 12 c. — 7
Sunderby, s. Akeley (Cntss. Judith), 11 c. — 6
Stapleforde, M (Judith, Osbern), 10 c. — 5
Hacam, free M (Bp. Linc., Hugh), 14 c. — 9 c. 4 b.
Holobech-Copelade, s. Gadenai (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 13 c. 6 b. — 9 c. 2 b.
Hadinctune, s. and inl. Dodintune (Baldwin), 8 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 2 b.
Medricesham, s. Branztone (Walter de Aincurt, Wintrehard), 8 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 2 b.
Medricesham, B. Wadintune (Cnt. Hugh), 8 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 2 b.
Ludintone & Gerulftorp, and Marae and Watertone, s. in Crule (4½ c.), M (1 c.), s. in Beltone (½ c.) (Geoffrey de Wirce) 6 c. — 2
Gadenai, M (K. William), 8 c. — 4
Witenai, M (Henry de Ferrers, Saswalo), 12 c. — 8
Torp, 3 M (Roger de Poitou), 6 c. 6 b. — 3
Schirebec, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 11 c. 6 b. — 8
Turulfbi, inl. and s. Akeley (Cntss. Judith), 7 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 6 b.
Herigerbi, M (Wido de Credun, Algar), 5 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Nortchime, M (Colsuan), 5 c. 2 b. — 2
Wizebi, s. and inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 6 c. — 3
Medricesham, M (Sortebrand), 5 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Chime, M (K. William), 4 c. 2 b. — 2
Tite, M (K. William), 5 c. 1 b. — 3
Fleot (K. William), 6 c. — 4
Leche, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 12 c. — 10
Branztune, M (Walter de Aincurt), 12 c. — 10
Gt. Pamptune, s. in Grantham (K. William, Ivo), 12 c. — 10
Luctone, M (K. William), 4 c. — 2
Haltone, M (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 8 c. — 6
Gt. Pamptone, M (Judith, Nigel), 8 c. — 6
Northniche, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 4 c. — 2
Hacham, M (Judith, Bp. Linc.), 5 c. — 3
Gunnebi, M (Rad. Fitz-Herbert), 4 c. — 2
Dodingtone, M (St. Peter of Westminster), 6 c. — 4
Badeburg, M (Gilbert de Gand), 12 c. — 10
Walecote, inl. Belingei (Abp. York, Walchelin), 8 c. — 6
Butreuuic, s. and inl. Ostone (G. de Wirce), 3 c. — 1
Akeley, M (Judith), 8 c. — 6

Chirchebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 7 c. — 5
Timberlunt, s. Branztune (Walter de Aincurt), 5 c. 6½ b. — 4
Chirchebi and Scapewic, M (Heppo Balistarius), 5 c. 6 b. — 4
Alfgare, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 10 c. 5 b. — 9
Scredintune, s. Folchingham (Gilbert de Gand), 10 c. 4 b. — 9
Lund and other Lund, 2 M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tedultbi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 10 c. 4 b. — 9
Turolfbi, M (Odo Balistarius), 4 c. 4 b. — 3
Hadinctone, B. Aburne (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 3 c. 4 b. — 2
Cherchebi and Scapuic, s. Braugtone (Walter de Aincurt), 7 c. 4 b. — 6
Welle, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), 5 c. 3 b. — 4
Tite, B. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. 2 b. — 2
Opetune, Cheftesbi and Normanebi, s. Stow (Bp. Linc.), 11 c. 1¼ b. — 10
Oustorp and Leresbi, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 2
Stapleforde, M (Bp. Bayeux, Tor), 2 c. — 1
Branztune, M (Walter de Aincurt), 10 c. — 9
Timberlunt, B. Cherchebi and Scapeuic (Heppo Bal., Simund), 3 c. — 2
Scaltorp, s. Scotere (St. Peter de Burg), 3 c. — 2
Pamtone, B. Stroustune (Drogo de Beurere), 4 c. — 3
Hicham, s. and inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 4 c. — 3
Hedebi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh), 3 c. — 2
Werangle, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. — 1
Burtone, s. Scantone (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 2
Adelingetone, 2 M (Berengar de Todeni), 6 c. — 5
Adelinctune (Robert Malet, Godric), 6 c. — 5
Amecotes, s. Crule (G. de Wirce, Abbot of St. Gemano), 2 c. — 1
Cherchebi, M (K. William), 5 c. — 4
Timberlunt, s. Chirchebi and Scapuic (Norman de Adreci), 2 c. 3⅝ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Oustorp, M (Colsuan), 3 c. 5 b. — 3
Ledulftorp, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Linc.), 2 c. — 1 c. 3 b.
Dribi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Ivo), 5 c. 4 b. — 5
Screnbi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Spallinge, B. Croyland (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Stainfelde, M (William de Perci), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Stith, s. Holobech and Coplade (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Medricesham, M (Robert de Statford, Ehelo), 1 c. — 4 b.
Hacham, s. Merestone (Colsuan, Walter), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Fortintone, Aschebi, Bretoft, Langene, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 18 c. 4 b. — 18
Widerne, Abi, Hage, Calesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 7 c. — 6 c. 4 b.
Geresbi, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), 1 c. 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Evedune, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln, Osmund), 4 c. 3 b. — 4
Buletham, M (Robert de Statford), 1 c. 1 b. — 6 b.
Aclei, M (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Camelingeham, 2 M (Durand Malet), 1 c. — 6 b.
Wenflet, Hage, Calesbi, Tedlagestorp, Malbertorp, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 20 c. 2 b. — 20
Timbrelund, B. Wadintone (Cnt. Hugh), 6 b. — 4 b.
Summercotes (Roger de Poitou), 6 b. — 4 b.
Torp, s. Dodingtone (St. Peter of Westminster), 6 c. 2 b. — 6
Nortstoches, M (Drogo de Beurere, Colegrim), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Suindrebi (Colegrim), 1 c. — 6 b.
Burg, s. Jeresbi (Colegrim), 6 b. — 4 b.
Jeresbi, M (Colegrim, Rold), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Holoben and Copelade, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 1 c. — 6 b.
Holobech and Copolade, B. Flec (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 6 b.
Draitone, M (Cnt. Alan), 8 c. 2 b. — 8
Evedune, B. Reschintone (Geoffrey Anselin and Radulfus), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Evedune, B. Cherchebi (K. William), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Chime, M (Gilbert de Gand, Egbriht), 1 c. 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Walecote, B. Colebi (Ernegis de Burun, John), 6 b. — 4 b.

Aclei, M (Odo Balistarius), 7 b. — 5 b.
Alfgare, B. Dunedič (St. Guthlac, Colegrim), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Canvic, M (Norman Crassus), 1 c. — 6 b.
Cherchebi and Scapuic, M (Norman de Adreci), 6 b. — 4 b.
Scirebec, s. Tateshale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 1 b.
Torp, s. Basingeham (K. William), 6 b. — 5 b.
Snardesforde, s. Resne (Radulf Pagenel), 3 b. — 2 b.
Oustorp, B. Grenebi (Martin), 6 b. — 5 b.
Hechintune, s. in Catorp (Robert de Veci), 6½ b. — 5½ b.
Hechintune, 2 M (Colsuan, Conded), 1 c. 6 b. — 1 c. 5 b.
Goldesbi, s. Folchingham, (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. 1 b. — 3
Claipol, M (Bp. Bayeux), 3 c. 1 b — 3
Aycle, s. Navenebi (Durand Malet), 3 b. — 2 b.
Amecotes, s. Gerulftorp (Geoffrey de Wirce), 6 b. — 5 b.
Oustorp, Welle, Hechintune, Corninctone, s. Chirchebi (K. William), 1 c. 4½ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Mortune, M (Oger Brito), 2 c. ½ b. — 2
Huuelle, s. Cherchebi (Colsuan), 2½ b. — 2 b.
Huuelle, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. ½ b. — 1
Hodebi, s. Walecote (St. Peter de Burg), 2 b. — 1½ b.
Gunfordebi, s. Tudetorp (Wido de Credun), 3½ b. — 3 b.
Escumetorp, B. Messingeham (St. Peter de Burg, William), 1⅓ b. — 1 b.

## B. Geld in exact correspondence with Plough-lands

Holm, M (Gilbert de Gand), 24 c. — 24
Wadintune, M (Cnt. Hugh), 24 c. — 24
Hermodestune, s. Wadintune (Cnt. Hugh), 20 c. 4 b. — 20 c. 4 b.
Burtune, M (Cnt. Alan), 18 c. — 18
Wellingoure, M (K. William), 18 c. — 18
Cherchebi and Resuebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 12 c. — 12
Colebi, inl. and s. Washingburg (K. William), 12 c. — 12
Cranewelle, M (Gilbert de Gand, Geoffrey), 12 c. — 12
Dicbi, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Anselin), 12 c. — 12
Edeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 12 c. — 12
Folchingeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 12 c. — 12
Foztune, B. Beningtune (Cnt. Alan), 12 c. — 12
Reschintone, 2 M (Geoffrey Anselin and Rad.), 12 c. — 12
Reschintone, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 12 c. — 12
Westburg, M (Geoffrey Anselin), 12 c. — 12
Rouestune, s. Reschintune (Geoffrey Anselin), 12 c. — 12
Ludes, M (Bp. Lincoln), 12 c. — 12
Levretune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 12 c. — 12
Wintringeham, M (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 12 c. — 12
Butruic, M (Wido de Credun), 12 c. — 12
Aburne, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 12 c. — 12
Flichesburg, 4 M (Norman de Adreci), 11 c. 7 b. — 11 c. 7 b.
Sidestham, M (Wido de Reinbudcurt, Ingelrannus), 11 c. 6 b. — 11 c. 6 b.
Stepinge, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 11 c. 4 b. — 11 c. 4 b.
Eslaforde, M (Bp. Lincoln), 11 c. — 11
Westune and Multune, s. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), 10 c. 1 b. — 10 c. 1 b.
Ellingetone, M (Gilbert de Gand, Egbert), 10 c. — 10
Riche, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 10 c. — 10
Picebech, s. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), 10 c. — 10
Little Pamptone, M (Judith, Nigel), 10 c. — 10
Broxholme, inl. and s. Englebi (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 10 c. — 10
Dodintone, s. Westburg (Geoffrey Anselin), 9 c. 6 b. — 9 c. 6 b.
Blochesham, M (Roger de Poitou), 9 c. 5 b. — 9 c. 5 b.

Branzewelle, s. and inl. Reschintone (Geoffrey Anselin), 9 c. 2 b. — 9 c. 2 b.
Hundintone, s. Bergebi (Ivo Taillebois), 9 c. — 9
Haltun and Stepi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 9 c. — 9
Roscebi, M (Robert de Statford, Brien), 9 c. — 9
West Bitham, M (Drogo de Beurere), 9 c. — 9
Spallinge, M (Ivo Taillebois), 9 c. — 9
Toft, M (Wido de Credun), 9 c. — 9
Witham, Mannetorp and Toftlund, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 8⅓ c. — 8⅓
Corbi, M (Bp. Linc., Walter), 8 c. — 8
Duneham, s. Netelham (K. William), 8 c. — 8
Hechintune, inl. and s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), 8 c. — 8
Stratone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 8 c. — 8
Burg, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 8 c. — 8
Helpericham, M (Robert de Veci), 7 c. 3 b. — 7 c. 3 b.
Colebi, M (K. William), 7 c. — 7
Gerneham, M (Radulf Pagenel), 7 c. — 7
Offintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 7 c. — 7
Bitham, M (Drogo de Beurere), 7 c. — 7
Bredestorp, s. West Bitham (Drogo de Beurere, Ingelram and Ernulf), 7 c. — 7
Cropesbi and Cunesbi, s. Haltune (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 6 c. 6 b. — 6 c. 6 b.
Walecote, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Ivo), 6 c. 5 b. — 6 c. 5 b.
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Talintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 6 c. 4 b. — 6 c. 4 b.
Rosbi, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Anselin and Rad.), 6 c. 2½ b. — 6 c. 2½ b.
Aslachebi, M (Robert de Todeni), 6 c. ½ b. — 6 c. ½ b.
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Aschebi, M (Radulf Pagenel), 6 c. — 6
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Carletune, M (Sortebrand), 6 c. — 6
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Scheveldebi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 6 c. — 6
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Spilesbi, Iresbi, and Torp, M (Bp. Durham), 6 c. — 6
Crule, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Abbot of St. G. of Salebi), 6 c. — 6
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Beltone, 5 c. — 5
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Dunesbi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Rad.), 5 c. — 5
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Buchehale (St. Guthlac), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.

Gullingham (Bp. Linc.), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Glandham, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Faldingurde, M (Osbern, pst.), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Casvic, M (Gunfrid de Cioches), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Mortune, s. Haconesbi and Stentuith (Heppo Balist.), 1 c. 1½ b. — 1 c. 1½ b.
Cropesbi and Cunesbi, B. inl. Cunesbi (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. 1½ b. — 1 c. 1½ b.
Stow, s. Brantune (Bp. Lincoln, Wm. Perci), 1 c. 1⅓ b. — 1 c. 1⅓ b.
Burg, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Haconesbi and Staintone, s. Edeneham (Oger Brito), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Normanebi and Ounesbi, s. of Bp. of Linc., (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Herdetorp, s. inl. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Cuningesbi, B. Scrivelesbi (Robt. Dispensator), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Reburne, M (Ivo Taillebois, Peter), 1 c. ½ b. — 1 c. ½ b.
Carlebi, 2 M (Robt. de Statford, Geoffrey), 1 c. ½ b. — 1 c. ½ b.
Carlebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 1 c. ½ b. — 1 c. ½ b.
Bulesford, M (Goscelin F. Lambert), 1 c. — 1
Aletorp, s. Beltone (Geoff. de Wirce), 1 c. — 1
Burg, s. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 1
Brezbi and Sapretone, s. Bergebi (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 1
Brezbi s. Picheurde (Bp. Durham), 1 c. — 1.
Bodebi and Sumerdebi M (Wido de Credun, Godwin), 1 c. — 1
Bellingeburg, M (Alured of Linc., Gozelin), 1 c. — 1
Bilingeburg, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 1 c. — 1
Bichere (Godric, M. Colegrim's land), 1 c. — 1
Burtone, inl. Branzbi (Robt. de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. — 1
Burton, s. Welletone (Bp. Lincoln), 1 c. — 1
Bercaham and Estow, s. Burg (St. Peter de Burg, Godfrey and Robt.), 1 c. — 1
Bercaham and Estow, B. Witham, Manntorp and Toftlund (St. Peter de Burg, Asford), 1 c. — 1
Bercheham, M (Godfrey de Cambrai, 2 men), 1 c. — 1
Beltot, s. Beltone (Geoff. de Wirce), 1 c. — 1
Barchestone, s. Beltone (Colegrim), 1 c. — 1
Barchestone, s. Merestune (Rad. Dap. and Osbern pst.), 1 c. — 1
Waletune and Bodebi, s. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 1 c. — 1
alia Tisteltune, s. Tisteltune (Alured of Lincoln, Glen), 1 c. — 1
Tedulfbi, s. Normanebi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 c. — 1
Witham, M (Rad. Pagenel, Hacun), 1 c. — 1
Wizebi and Clachesbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walter), 1 c. — 1
Westbi, M (Colegrim), 1 c. — 1
Welletone, s. Catebi (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 1 c. — 1
Stow, s. Wilingeham (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. — 1
Stratone, B. inl. Randebi (Rann. de St. Waleric), 1 c. — 1
Stubetune, M (Norman de Adreci, Gamelin), 1 c. — 1
Schillingtune, M (Carle), 1 c. — 1
Sepingeham, s. Avetorp (Robt. de Todeni, Gunfrid), 1 c. — 1
Screnbi, M (Bp. Durham, Fenchel), 1 c. — 1
Trichingeham, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. — 1
Ringesdun and Repinghale (Oger Brito), 1 c. — 1
Ringesdene (Oger Brito), 1 c. — 1
Risun, M (Colsuan), 1 c. — 1
Scachertop, M (Wido de Credun) 1 c. — 1
Sanctone, s. Aplebi, Risebi, and Saleclif (Roger de Busli), 1 c. — 1
Pochintone, M (Wido de Credun, Warner), 1 c. — 1
Quadheveringe, inl. Ceila (Bp. Linc., Malger), 1 c. — 1
Quedhaveringe, M (Cnt. Alan, Guert), 1 c. — 1
Haconesbi, M (Robt. de Statford, Gulfer), 1 c. — 1
Mortun, B. inl. Haconesbi (Oger Brito), 1 c. — 1
Lopintorp, M (Algar), 1 c. — 1
Loletorp, B. inl. and s. Gainesburg (Geoff. de Wirce), 1 c. — 1
Offintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. — 1
Horsintone, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 1
Ladulftorp, M ('Anglicus'), 1 c. — 1

Hogetune, B. in Westorp (Walter de Aincurt), 1 c. — 1
Hermodestorp, M (Heppo Balist., Simund), 1 c. — 1
Herdetorp, B. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 1
Hardetorp, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 1 c. — 1
Gunnebi, s. B. Wime (Rad. F. Hubert), 1 c. — 1
Greibi, s. Dusebi (Abp. York, Hugh), 1 c. — 1
Eslaforde, s. Corninctune (St. Benedict of Ramsey), 1 c. — 1
Dunesbi, inl. B. Ringesdune (Bp. Lincoln, Adam), 1 c. — 1
Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 1
Draitone, B. Duuedic (St. Guthlac, 1 c. — 1
Dic, B. Brune (Oger Brito), 1 c. — 1
Cretune, M (Leuric), 1 c. — 1
Corby, M (Bricteva), 1 c. — 1
Nortcarletone, s. Carletune (Sortebrand), 1 c. — 1
Carlentone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Rad. Dap. and Gilbert de G.), 1 c. — 1
Canewic and Bragebruge ('in Branzwic iacet'), (Roger Poitou), 1 c. — 1
Canewic (Colegrim), 1 c. — 1
Calnodesbi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. — 1
Aschebi, s. Screnbi (Bp. Durham), 1 c. — 1
Cretone, M (Alured of Linc., Radulf), $7\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $7\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Brune, M (Oger Brito), 7 b. — 7 b.
Sumertebi, M (Ivo Taillebois), 7 b. — 7 b.
Normanebi and Santone, 2 M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 7 b. — 7 b.
Burg, M (Archil), $6\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $6\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Uvesbi, B. Neutone (Odo Balist., Wm.), $6\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $6\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Brune, M (Robt. de Statford, Geoffrey), 6 b. — 6 b.
Brune, M (Alured of Linc., Dodin), 6 b. — 6 b.
Bertune, M (Rad. Pagenel, Oger), 6 b. — 6 b.
Besebi and Maltebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Eurold), 6 b. — 6 b.
Barchestone, B. Beltone (Colegrim), 6 b. — 6 b.
Tisteltone, s. Colebi (Judith, Hugh), 6 b. — 6 b.
Ulvesbi, M (Suen), 6 b. — 6 b.
Widme (Sortebrand), 6 b. — 6 b.
Westbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 6 b. — 6 b.
Wadingeham and Staintone, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 6 b. — 6 b.
Sumerdebi, s. Chisebi (Wido de Credun), 6 b. — 6 b.
Sumerdebi, M (Torchil), 6 b. — 6 b.
Scotone, M (St. Peter de Burg), 6 b. — 6 b.
Stantone, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 6 b. — 6 b.
Tuuetorp, B. Beltone (Colegrim), 6 b. — 6 b.
Lundetorp, B. Beltone (Colegrim), 6 b. — 6 b.
Reresbi, B. Staintune (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 6 b. — 6 b.
Steveninge, M (Robt. de Veci), 6 b. — 6 b.
Hamingebi, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 6 b. — 6 b.
Hamingebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 6 b. — 6 b.
Helpericham, s. Wivelstorp (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 6 b. — 6 b.
Maltebi, M (Cnt. Alan), 6 b. — 6 b.
Orbelinge, s. Hazebi (Waldin Brito), 6 b. — 6 b.
Heretorp, inl. Estrecale, Heresbi and Greibi (Bp. Durham), 6 b. — 6 b.
Donninctune, M (Cnt. Alan). 6 b. — 6 b.
Draitone, M (Cnt. Alan), 6 b. — 6 b.
Dodintone, s. Merestone (Colsuan, Walter), 6 b. — 6 b.
Dodintone, M (Colsuan), 6 b. — 6 b.
Dodintune, M (Bp. Bayeux, Baldric), 6 b. — 6 b.
Cotes, s. Sudcotes, (Bp. Bayeux), 6 b. (or 3) — 6 b.
Casvic, M (Alured of Lincoln, Boso), 6 b. — 6 b.
Cheftesbi (Ledwin), 6 b. — 6 b.
Chaschintorp, M (Robert de Statford, Hugh), 6 b. — 6 b.
Carletune, s. Scantone (Gilbert de Gand), 6 b. — 6 b.
Estrecale, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 6 b. — 6 b.
Estrecale, M (Bp. Durham), 6 b. — 6 b.
Wade, s. Achesbi (Wido de Credun), $5\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $5\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Catenase and Usun, B. Nortchelesei (Cnt. Alan), $5\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $5\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Trichingeham, B. Neutone (Uluiet), $5\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $5\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Trichingeham, B. Neutone (Bp. Durham, $5\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $5\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Catenase and Usun, M (Cnt. Alan), $5\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $5\frac{1}{3}$ b.

Loctone, s. Avetorp (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), $5\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $5\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Loctone, s. Repinghale (Wido de Credun, Warner), $5\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $5\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Billingeburg, M (Abp. York, Walter de Aincurt), 5 b. — 5 b.
Witham, M (Drogo de Beurere, Colegrim), 5 b. — 5 b.
Ounebi, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert and Wadard), 5 b. — 5 b.
Cherchebi, M (Alured of Lincoln, Offrun), 5 b. — 5 b.
Cherchebi, M (Cnt. Alan, Godric), 5 b. — 5 b.
Hacunesbi, s. Dunesbi (Bp. Lincoln), $4\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $4\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Estow, s. Witham (St. Peter de Burg, Asfort), $4\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $4\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Canewic (Colegrim), 4 b. — 4 b.
Chisebi, M, 4 b. — 4 b.
Cotes, B. inl. Ingeham (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 4 b. — 4 b.
Cotes, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 4 b. — 4 b.
Cotes, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 4 b. — 4 b.
Est Depinge, s. Talintone (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 4 b.
Draitone, M (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 4 b.
Draitone, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan, Godric), 4 b. — 4 b.
Endrebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 4 b. — 4 b.
Falingeurde, M (Colsuan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Uuelle, s. Jeresbi (Colegrim), 4 b. — 4 b.
Lolestorp, free M (St. Peter de Burg), 4 b. — 4 b.
Loctone, 2 M (Oger Brito), 4 b. — 4 b.
Nongetune (Bp. Osmund, St. Ulfran Granth.), 4 b — 4 b.
Lopeham, s. and B. Lea (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Mortune, s. Corninctone (Oger Brito), 4 b. — 4 b.
Normanebi and Ouneshi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Colsuan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Hechintune, s. Burtun (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 4 b.
Pochinton, s. Cherchebi (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Poclintone, s. Ulvesbi (Colsuan, Conded), 4 b. — 4 b.
Roscebi, s. Wintrinton (Norman de Adreci), 4 b. — 4 b.
Salebi, B. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 4 b. — 4 b.
Risun, M (Agemund), 4 b. — 4 b.
Risun, M (St. Peter de Burg, Colsuan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Reresbi, s. Wichingebi (Wm. de Perci, Norman), 4 b. — 4 b.
Refan, M (Ranulf de St. Waleric), 4 b. — 4 b.
Tuiforde, s. Nortuuine (Abp. York), 4 b. — 4 b.
Turoluebi, B. Brune (Robert de Statford), 4 b. — 4 b.
Torulfbi, B. inl. in Brune (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 4 b.
Trichingham, M (St. Benedict of Ramsey), 4 b. — 4 b.
Sumerdebi, B. Gainesburg (Geoffrey de Wirce), 4 b. — 4 b.
Sumerdebi, s. Lea (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Suinhamstede, M (Ragenald), 4 b. — 4 b.
Stou, inl. and s. Duneham (Ilbert de Laici, miles), 4 b. — 4 b.
Stou, s. Haltun and Stepi, (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Tedlagestorp, s. Hotot (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 4 b.
Tric, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Wintrintone, s. Scallebi and Stratun (Durand Malet), 4 b. — 4 b.
Witham, Mannetor and Toftlund, B. (St. Peter de Burg, Ansfrid), 4 b. — 4 b.
Tedulfbi, B. inl. Flichesburg (Norman de Adreci), 4 b. — 4 b.
Beltone s. Tudetorp (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 4 b.
Bercham, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 4 b. — 4 b.
Bercham, s. Casuic (Gilbert de Gand), 4 b. — 4 b.
Bintham, s. Cretun (Godfrey de Cambrai), 4 b. — 4 b.
Bitham, s. Cretune (Robert de Statford, Basuin), 4 b. — 4 b.
Braseborg and Barnetorp, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 4 b. — 4 b.
Breseburg and Barnetorp, s. Greteford (Robert de Statford), 4 b. — 4 b.
Ounebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Peter), 4 b. — 4 b.
Dic and Caletorp, s. Hacunesbi (Oger Brito), $3\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $3\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Germundtorp, s. Covenham (Wm. de Perci), $3\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $3\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Neutone, M (Uluiet), $3\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $3\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Radburne and Staintone and Wadingham, s. Snetrebi (Heppo Balist.), $3\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $3\frac{1}{2}$ b.

Other Rosbi, s. Rosbi (Robert de Statford), $3\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $3\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Brune, M (Suen), 3 b. — 3 b.
Burgrede, s. Randebi (Rannulf de St. Waleric), $3\frac{1}{3}$ b. — $3\frac{1}{3}$ b.
Brune, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 3 b. — 3 b.
Tedlagestorp, s. Calnodesbi (Chetelbern), 3 b. — 3 b.
Walecote, B. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, Wm. F. Nigel), 3 b. — 3 b.
Tedlagestorp, s. Mundebi (Cnt. Alan), 3 b. — 3 b.
Wadingeham, M (Elfain), 3 b. — 3 b.
Hagenebi, B. Westrecale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 3 b. — 3 b.
Dic, s. Haconesbi and Stentuith (Heppo Balist.), 3 b. — 3 b.
Aschebi, s. Rageneltorp (St. Peter de Burg), 3 b. — 3 b.
Amecotes, B. inl. in Westude (Geoffrey de Wirce), 3 b. — 3 b.
Wenflet, B. in Cale (Eudo F. Spirewic), $2\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $2\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Breietoft, s. Calnodesbi (Chetelbern), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wintrintone, B. Witenai (Henry de Ferrers, Saswalo), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wintrintone, B. Roxebi (Rad. Pagenel), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wenflet, s. Andrebi (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wenflet, to Chelebi M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wadingeham, s. Wadingeham, M (Elfain), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wadingeham, M (Aldene), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wade, s. Iribi? (Ivo Taillebois), 2 b. — 2 b.
Tric, s. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 2 b.
Tric, s. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 2 b.
Totintune, s. Spilesbi (Bp. Durham), 2 b. — 2 b.
Screnbi, s. Westrecale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 2 b.
Tudetorp, s. Hogtone (Wido de Credun), 2 b. — 2 b.
Pochintone, M (Gunfred de Cioches), 2 b. — 2 b.
Helpericham, B. Hechintune (Colsuan, Conded), 2 b. — 2 b.
Hedebi, B. inl. Walecote (Norman de Adreci), 2 b. — 2 b.
Hazebi, M (Odo Balist.), 2 b. — 2 b.
Opestorp, s. Wivelstorp (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 b. — 2 b.
Herdetorp, B. Cale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 2 b.
Griteford, s. Bercheham (Godfrey de Cambrai, Evremar), 2 b. — 2 b.
Frischenei, B. Calnodesbi (Chetelbern), 2 b. — 2 b.
Evedune, s. Jeresbi (Colegrim), 2 b. — 2 b.
Estow, s. Werche (St. Peter de Burg, Godfrey), 2 b. — 2 b.
Cotes, s. Ingeham (Colsuan), 2 b. — 2 b.
Cherchebi, inl. Ringesdune (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 2 b. — 2 b.
Arduluetorp, B. Calnodesbi (Chetelbern), 2 b. — 2 b.
Bichere, inl. Dusebi (Abp. York, Hugh), $1\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $1\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Estou, s. Bercheham (Godfrey de Cambrai), $1\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $1\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Estou, f. Offintone (Alured of Lincoln), $1\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $1\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Burg, s. Gunnebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 b. — 1 b.
Wenflet, B. inl. in Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 b. — 1 b.
Wintrintone, B. Colebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 b. — 1 b.
Herdetorp, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 1 b. — 1 b.
Cuningesbi, B. inl. Cale (Chetelbern), 1 b. — 1 b.
Salflatebi, s. Cadinton (Rayner de Brimou), $\frac{1}{2}$ b. — $\frac{1}{2}$ b.

## C. Plough-lands in excess of Geld

Toresbi and Alwoldesbi, s. Caburne (Hugh F. Baldric), $1\frac{5}{8}$ b. — 2 b.
Sudtone, B. Stratone (Eudo F. Spirewic), $3\frac{1}{4}$ b. — 4 b.
Hagetorn, M (Martin), $3\frac{1}{4}$ b. — 4 b.
Hagetorne, B. Haneurde (Colsuan, Turold. pst.), $3\frac{1}{4}$ b. — 4 b.
Cheneide, St. M. Stow (Bp. Lincoln) 1 c. $4\frac{2}{3}$ b. — 1 c. 5 b.
Stalinberg, inl. Linberge (Abp. York), $\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 1 b.
Wicham, s. Torp (Alured of Lincoln), $\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 1 b.
Bechelinge, s. Blesebi (Goz. F. Lambert), $\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 1 b.
Crochinton, s. Caditon (Bp. Durham), $\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 1 b.
Bichere, B. inl. Wime (Jud.), $1\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 2 b.

Sudtone, s. Stratone (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1½ b. — 2 b.
Sudtone, s. Hotoft (Chetelbern), 1 b. — 1½ b.
Salflatebi, s. Catebi (Alured of Lincoln), 1 b. — 1½ b.
Itrebi, B. Wiluelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. — 1½ b.
Hotot, M (Alured of Lincoln, Berrard), 1 b. — 1½ b.
Hotot, M (Alured of Lincoln, Dodo), 1 b. — 1½ b.
Endrebi and Radebi, M (Bp. Durham), 4½ b. — 5 b.
Wenflet, B. inl. Screnbi (Bp. Durham, Bundo and Radulf), 7½ b. — 8 b.
Ulresbi, M (Colsuan, Brunel), 2 c. 1½ b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Salflatebi, s. Caditon (Bp. Durham), 1 b. — 2 b.
Osgotebi, s. Tauelesbi (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 b. — 2 b.
Osgotebi, s. Tauelesbi (Rad. Pagenel), 1 b. — 2 b.
Osgotebi, M (Siward pst.), 1 b. — 2 b.
*Meringhe*, s. Scriuelesbi (Robert Despenser), 1 b. — 2 b.
Ludeforde, s. Wicham (Rayner de Brimou), 1 b. — 2 b.
Leuesbi, s. Wiuelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. — 2 b.
Cocrinton, M (Colsuan, Maths.), 1 b. — 2 b.
Brachenberg, s. Alvingham (Alured of Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 b. — 2 b.
Chillebi, s. Suarrebi (Wido de Credun, Aschil pst.), 1 b. — 2 b.
Andrebi, s. Aschebi (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 b. — 2 b.
Haburne, s. Neuhuse (Alured of Lincoln), 1 b. — 2 b.
Grimesbi, B. Wivelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. — 2 b.
Mortun, s. Haconesbi (Oger Brito), 1½ b. — 2½ b.
Sudtone, under Badeburg M (Gilbert de Gand), 2 b. — 3 b.
Roxebi, B. Aplebi, Rosebi and Saleclif (Gilbt. de Gand, Robert), 2 b. — 3 b.
Salflatebi and Schitebroc, s. in Catebi William Blund), 2 b. — 3 b.
Mundebi, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand), 2 b. — 3 b.
Ingham, M (Ernuin), 2 b. — 3 b.
Calnodesbi, s. Hardetorp, (Cnt. Alan), 2 b. — 3 b.
Hage and Calesbi, M (Bp. Durham, William), 2 b. — 3 b.
Grimesbi, s. Covenham (Bp. Durham, St. Karilef), 2 b. — 3 b.
Filingeham, M (Roger de Poitou? Anschitil), 2 b. — 3 b.
Picheuorde, s. in Picheuorde, M (Colsuan), 2½ b. — 3½ b.
Suardesforde, M (Roger de Poitou, Mainard and Turold), 3 b. — 4 b.
Cleia, s. Hegelinge (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 3 b. — 4 b.
Hagetorne, M (Colsuan) 3 b. — 4 b.
Burgrede, s. Stratone (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 3 b. — 4 b.
Chirchebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 4 b. — 5 b.
Calnodesbi, M (Chetelbern), 4 b. — 5 b.
Burg, M (Archil), 5 b. — 6 b.
Brotulbi, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuuen), 5 b. — 6 b.
Bertone, M (Rad. Pagenel), 7 b. — 8 b.
Andrebi and Marchebi, s. Aschebi (Bp. Bayeux), 7 b. — 8 b.
Lundetorp, to ch. at Grantham (Bp. Osmund), 1 c. 7 b. — 2
Berchetorp, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. 7 b. — 2
Colebi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 1 c. 7 b. — 2
Chelvinghou, 3 M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 c. 7 b. — 3
Alvingham, s. Cocrinton (Rayner de Brimou), 2½ b. — 4 b.
Sudtone, s. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 5⅝ (or 5½) b. — 7 b.
Cleia, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 2⅔ b. — 4 b.
Alesbi, B. s. in Cotes (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), ½ b. — 2 b.
Cocrinton, s. Cadinton (Rayner de Brimou), ½ b. — 2 b.
Lobingeham, s. Aburne (William de Perci, Norman), 1½ b. — 3
Brochelesbi, s. Stalinburg (Norman de Adreci), 1½ b. — 3 b.
Brochelesbi, s. Neuhuse (Alured of Lincoln), 1½ b. — 3 b.
Bechelinge, s. Wichingebi (William de Perci, Robert), 1½ b. — 3 b.
Scotorne, s. Refan (Rannulf de St. Waleric), 2½ b. — 4 b.
Aslachebi, s. Avetorp (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 6½ b. — 8 b.
Sudtone, M (Chetelbern), 5½ b. — 7 b.
Messingeham, M (Ernegis de Burun, Turstin), 1 c. 2½ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Horsintone, s. Hamingebi (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 c. 6½ b. — 3

Goldesbi, M (Walter de Aincurt), 4⅓ b. — 6 b.
Ulvesbi, B. inl. Neutone (Colsuan), 6⅓ b. — 1 c.
Alesbi, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 6⅓ b. — 1 c.
Cucualt,s.Rodowelle (Durand Malet), 1¾ b. — 3½ b.
Welle, s. Rigesbi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 b. — 3 b.
Wighingesbi, M (William de Perci, Robert), 5 b. — 7 b.
Scotorne, B. Duneham (Ilbert de Laici, miles), 7 b. — 9 b.
Scitebroc, inl. Couenham (Bp. Durham, St. Karilef), 7 b. — 9 b.
Wichingebi, s. Sneleslunt (Goz. F. Lambert), 3 b. — 5 b.
Aschebi, M (William Taillebosch), 3 b. — 5 b.
Clachesbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 3 b. — 5 b.
Wilgebi, B. Wilgebi M (Gilbert de Gand), 3 b. — 5 b.
Crochestone, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 2 b. — 4 b.
Ravendale, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 2 b. — 4 b.
Ravenedal, M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 2 b. — 4 b.
Sudtrie, free B. inl. Vlingeham (Bp. Lincoln, Osbern pst.), 2 b. — 4 b.
Sutreie, inl. Haintone (Bp. Bayeux), 2 b. — 4 b.
Strubi, s. Haintone (Roger de Poitou, Acun), 2 b. — 4 b.
Strubi, s. Haintone (Bp. Bayeux), 2 b. — 4 b.
Suarrebi, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 2 b. — 4 b.
Esnelent, inl. and s. Lessintone (Abp. York, Herbert), 2 b. — 4 b.
Torentone and Brune, M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 2 b. — 4 b.
Ternesco, s. ? Hegelinge (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 2 b. — 4 b.
Ulesbi, s. Welle (Gilbert de Gand, Ravemer), 2 b. — 4 b.
Wilgebi, M (Odo Balist., Colegrim), 2 b. — 4 b.
Ludeforde, s. Wicham (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 b. — 4 b.
Ludeford, s. Badeburg (William de Perci), 2 b. — 4 b.
Langetone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 b. — 4 b.
Bernetebi, B. in Torentone (William de Perci), 2 b. — 4 b.
Bechelinge, M (Norman de Adreci, Herbert), 2 b. — 4 b.
Bechelinge, M (Roger de Poitou), 2 b. — 4 b.
Bechelinge, s. Lessintone (Abp. York, Herbert), 2 b. — 4 b.
Cheilestorne, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 2 b. — 4 b.
Chelebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 2 b. — 4 b.
Haburne and Neuhuse, s. Brochelesbi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 b. — 4 b.
Haburne and Neuhuse, under Brochelesbi M (Ernegis de Burun), 2 b. — 4 b.
Caschingetorp, s. Bergebi (Robert Malet, Ivo), 6 b. — 1 c.
Refan, B. Berlinge (Colsuan), 6 b. — 1 c.
Stantone and Widingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 6 b. — 1 c.
Sonetorp, s. Sneleslunt (Goz. F. Lambert), 6 b. — 1 c.
Torp and East Torp, M (Ulnuiet), 6 b. — 1 c.
Widerne, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 6 b. — 1 c.
Mundebi, B. Endrebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 6 b. — 1 c.
Martone, s. Bortone (Cnt. Alan), 6 b. — 1 c.
Ingeham, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 6 b. — 1 c.
Bertone and Billesfelt, M (Colsuan, William), 6 b. — 1 c.
Berlinge, M (Colsuan), 6 b. — 1 c.
Berlinge, M (Colsuan), 6 b. — 1 c.
Barcuuorde, s. Pantone (Abp. York, Gilbert), 6 b. — 1 c.
Westrecale, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 6 b. — 1 c.
Avetorp and Aslachebi, B. Loctone (Oger Brito), 6 b. — 1 c.
Andrebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Lambert), 6 b. — 1 c.
Ormesbi, s. Tesforde (Abp. York, Gilbert), 4 b. — 6 b.
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Alforde, M (William Taillebosc), 4 b. — 6 b.
Goldesbi, M (Aschil), 4 b. — 6 b.
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Ingeham, M (Roger de Poitou, Mainard), 4 b. — 6 b.
Avetorp, B. Chisebi (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 6 b.
Suavitone, B. Carltorp (Robert de Veci), 4 b. — 6 b.
Avetorp, M (Alured of Lincoln, Suen), 4 b. — 6 b.
Gunnewordebi, M (Colegrim), 4 b. — 6 b.

Kaschingetorp, M (Bp. Bayeux, Swen), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Cale, M (Chetelbern), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Herigerbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Godric), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Suavetone, M (Colsuan), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Strigeswalde, M (Waldin Brito), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Chaschingetorp, M (Wido de Credun, Algar), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Navenebi, M (Durand Malet), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Delbebi, M (Colsuan, Rainald), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Tonestele, inl. and s. Torp (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Snetrebi, M (Heppo Balist.), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Lastone M (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chirchebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Germundtorp, M (Judith, Nigel), 1 c. 6 b. — 2
Blitone, s. Lacestone (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 6 b. — 2
Bortone, 2 M (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. 6 b. — 5
Lavintone, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Azelin), 4 c. 6 b. — 5
Englebi, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Colsuan and Wadard), 3 c. 6 b. — 4
Messingeham, M (St. Peter de Burg, William), 5 c. — 5 c. 2 b.
Halintun, Chelesturne, Radresbi, and Maltebi s. Tadewelle (Cnt. Hugh), 9 c. 2 b. — 9 c. 4 b.
Maltesbi, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 2 c. 6 b. — 3
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Chirchetune, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 6⅔ b. — 2 c. 1 b.
Suarrebi, M (Odo Balist.), 3½ b. — 6 b.
Cucualt, M (Ivo Taillebois, Goz.), 1½ b. — 4 b.
Caditon, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 1 c. 1½ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Sisse, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 6½ b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Sperlinctone, M (Colsuan), 2 c. 5½ b. — 3 c.
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Stubetune, M (Norman de Adreci), 5½ b. — 1 c.
Bechebi, B. Torp (Hugh F. Baldric, Gilbert), 5½ b. — 1 c.
Osgotebi, M (Roger de Poitou, Geoffrey), 2½ b. — 5 b.
Strobi, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand), 2½ b. — 5 b.
Strobi, s. Lecheburne (Cnt. Alan), 2½ b. — 5 b.
Osgotebi, M (Seward), 2½ b. — 5 b.
Itrebi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 2½ b. — 5 b.
Catebi, M (William Blund), 2½ b. — 5 b.
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Hardwic, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 2⅓ b. — 5 b.
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Chinetorp, M (Rayner de Brimou), 3 b. — 6 b.
Brochelesbi, M (Ernegis de Burun, Rannulf), 3 b. — 6 b.
Bacuurde, s. Haintone (Bp. Bayeux), 3 b. — 6 b.
Aplebi, Risebi, Saleclif, free M. (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 3 b. — 6 b.
Cucualt, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 3 b. — 6 b.

Cucualt, B. Caburne (Hugh F. Baldric), 3 b. — 6 b.
Sisse, M (Rayner de Brimou), 5 b. — 1 c.
Alduluebi, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), 5 b. — 1 c.
Scotstorne, M (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Berlinge, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Torgrebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 b. — 5 b.
Welletone, under Machetone, M (Ansgot), 2 b. — 5 b.
Chirchetune, M (Cnt. Alan, Toli), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 5 b.
Chirchebi, M (Bp. Durham), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 5 b.
Slodebi, B. inl. Brunetorp (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 4 b. — 7 b.
Torentun (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 3 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
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Wibertone, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 3 b. — 1 c. $6\frac{1}{2}$ b.
Sisse, s. Haintone (Roger de Poitou, Albert), 2 c. $4\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 3
Picheuuorde, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. $\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Basebi, M (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. $4\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 4
Slodebi, B. inl. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 4 b. — 1
Rodewelle, M (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 1
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Belesbi, M (Odo Balist.), $\frac{1}{2}$ c. — 1
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Torp, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Wilgesbi, B. Scrivelesbi (Robt. Dispensator), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
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Martone, s. Chirchebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Lastone, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Hagetorne, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Aschebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Gunfordebi, M (Walter de Aincurt, Elwi), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Gunfordebi, M (Bp. Durham, Lambert), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
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Tunbi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Sassebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Herpeswelle, 4 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Avetorp, M (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Evedune, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Aschebi, 2 M (Colsuan), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Widerne, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Covenham, 3 M (William de Perci), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Heghelinge, Cleia and Ternescou, s. Stalingeburg (Abp. York, Herbert), 6 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Haberdingham, s. in Gretham (Gilbert de Gand), 6 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Glenteurde, M (Martin), 6 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Cucualt, M (Seward), 6 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Tonestale, M (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Westorp, M (Walter de Aincurt, Raynald), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Faldingeurde, s Filingeham, Sperlintune and Lageham (Colsuan), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Stinblebi, inl. and s. Langetone and Torp (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Helmeswelle, M (Martin), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Toreswe, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 b. — 6 b.
Torentun (Roger de Poitou), 2 b. — 6 b.
Widcale, 2 M (William Blund), 2 b. — 6 b.
Mundebi, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 2 b. — 6 b.
Hiboldestow, M (Outi), 2 b. — 6 b.
Spanesbi, B. Brune (Oger Brito), 2 b. — 6 b.
Brandune, s. Carltorp (Robert de Veci), 7 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Scoltorne, Holme and Sutbroc, s. Fiscartune (St. Peter de Burg), 5 c. 4 b. — 6
Brotulbi, M (Colsuan), 3 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Rigesbi, M (Abp. York, Herbert), 6 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Rase, M (Roger de Poitou, Mainard), 3 b. — 7 b.
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Cameslingeham, M (Colsuan), 4 c. 4 b. — 5
Lobingeham, M (Norman de Adreci, Bereuuold), 4½ b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Cotes, s. Chelebi (Norman de Adreci, Richard), 4½ b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Chelebi, M (Abp. York, William), 4½ b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Chelebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 4½ b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Bolintone, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 3½ b. — 1 c.

Bolintone, M (Cnt. Hugh, Colsuan), 3½ b. — 1 c.
Terintone, s. Stigeswalt (?) (Alured of Lincoln, Goz.), 3½ b. — 1 c.
Terintone, s. Haintone (Alured of Lincoln, Goz.), 3½ b. — 1 c.
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Chetelbi, M (Ernegis de Burun, Turstin), 3⅓ b. — 1 c.
Haneurde, s. Snerteforde (Roger de Poitou, Turold, pst.), 3 b. — 1 c.
Bertone, Mannebi and Castorp, M (Durand Malet), 3 b. — 1 c.
'In soca de Linberge' (Abp. York), 3 b. — 1 c.
Neutone, 4 M (Cnt. Alan, Wimund), 3 b. — 1 c.
Neutone, s. Ingeham (Rayner de Brimou), 3 b. — 1 c.
Neutone, M (Justen), 3 b. — 1 c.
Slodebi, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 3 b. — 1 c.
Brochelesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 3 b. — 1 c.
Scalebi and Stratone, M (Colsuan, Alured), 1 c. 3 b. — 2
Hazebi, M (Waldin Brito, Godwin), 1 c. 3 b. — 2
Hazebi, M (Wido de Credun, Godwin), 1 c. 3 b. — 2
Newtone, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 1 c. 3 b. — 2
Torp, M (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. 3 b. — 4
Picheurde, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Goislan), 1 c. 5 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Scallebi, M (Odo Balist., Alured), 2 c. 3 b. — 3
Cotes, M (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Haburne, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Alebi, s. of Rigesbi (Bp. Bayeux), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Clachesbi, s. in Wiham (Durand Malet), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Ludestorde, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Newhuse, M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Wicham, s. Catebi (Alured of Lincoln), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Terintone, s. Bechelinge (Roger de Poitou), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Ternescrou, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Torgrebi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Osgotebi, s. Aldnluebi (Bp. Bayeux), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Torp (or Catebi), M (Alured of Lincoln), 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Fugeleston, M (Cnt. Hugh, Roscelin), 6 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Glenteurde, M (Restold), 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Glenteuurde, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Anschitil), 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Apeleia, s. Stainfelde (William de Perci), 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Apeleia, s. Berlinge (William de Perci), 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Strobi and Malteby, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Lodebi, B. inl. Hundebi (6 b.), s. Clachesbi (1 b.), (Ivo Taillebois), 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cletham, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Roger), 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chelebi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 5⅓ b. — 1 c. 2½ b.
Trinchigeham, B. Newtone (Colsuan), 1 c. 6¾ b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Stratone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 3 c. 2⅔ b. — 4
Catebi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 4½ b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Bliburg, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 5½ b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Stalinburg, inl. and s. Chelebi (Bp. Bayeux), 5½ b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Waragebi, M (Ernegis de Burun), 6½ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Alforde, s. Welle (Gilbert de Gand, Rauemer), 6½ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Alvingeham, M (Alured of Lincoln, Goz.), 6¾ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chelebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 5⅓ b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Harduic, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 5⅓ b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Wilgebi, M (Wido de Reinbudcurt, Ingelram), 3 c. 2 b. — 4
Bodebi and Sumertune, M (Alured of Lincoln, Goz.), 4 c. — 4 c. 6 b.
Humbi, s. Summerdebi (Walter de Aincurt), 4 c. — 4 c. 6 b.
Totintun, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. 2 b. — 6
Roxebi, M (Rad. Pagenel, Herbert), 5 c. 2 b. — 6
Torp and Aestorp, s. Wilingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. 2 b. — 6
Walmesgar, s. Chetelesbi (Cnt. Hugh, Hugh), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Crocsbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Odo), 3 b. — 1 c. 1 b.

Estone, M (Abp. York, Osbern), 3 c. — 3 c. 6 b.
Barcourde, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Billesfelt, s. Corbi (Bp. Lincoln, Walter), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Bodebi and Waletone, s. Hunbia (Ivo Taillebois, W . . . d), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Merestone, M (Colsuan, Walter), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Waletone and Bodebi, s. in Clasbi (Goz. F. Lambert, Rayner), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Wluricesbi, M (Abp. York), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Beningtone, B. & s. Carletone (William de Warenne, Aldelin), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Lacestone, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Tedforde, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walter), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Tavelesbi, M. (Rad. Pagenel), 1 c. 6 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Houten, s. Lagesbi (William de Perci, Eurard), 1 c. 2 b. — 2
Newtone, 2 M (Colsuan, Radulf), 1 c. 2 b. — 2
Torp, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 2 b. — 2
Rigesbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Losoard), 1 c. 2 b. — 2
Hacberdingham, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Clachesbi, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Chelvingholme, B. Cotes (Drogo de Beurere), 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Maltetorp, B. Combreuorde (Rayner de Brimou), 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Touedebi, s. Rigesbi (Bp. Bayeux), 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Ulesbi, s. Combreuorde (Rayner de Brimou), 2 b. — 1 c.
Ormesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 2 b. — 1 c.
Crocestone, M (Roger de Poitou, Anschitil), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Grisebi and Burg, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Aburne, M (William de Perci, Norman), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Haneurde, M (Colsuan, Turold, pst.), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Barcuurde, s. Vlingeham (Abp. York, William), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Brigelai, s. Achesbi (Wido de Credun), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Clachesbi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Clachesbi and Normanebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Colsuan), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cletham, M (Aldene), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cletham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Lobingeham, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Udetone, M (Norman de Adreci), 6 b. 1 c. 4 b.
Wilgebi, M (Robert de Statford, Godwin), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Stigeswalt, M (Alured of Lincoln, Siward), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Rase, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wimund), 5¾ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cucualt, M (Abp. York, William), 7¾ b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Ulingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 6½ b. — 1 c. 5 b.
Blasebi, M (Odo Balist., Herbert), 5⅔ b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Sudcotes, s. Wivelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 7 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Hegelinge, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 7 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Bernedebi, 3 M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 7 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Westledebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 7 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Catebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 7 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Cocrintone, 3 M (Alured of Lincoln, Goz.), 7 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Durand Malet, Alured), 1 c. 1 b. — 2
Randebi, inl. and s. Stratone (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 1 b. — 2
Scrivelesbi, M (Robert Despenser), 7 c. 5 b. — 8 c. 4 b.
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Baldric), 1 c. 5 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Rosbi and Other Rosbi, s. Wilgebi-Chirchebi (Bp. Durham, Alnod), 3 c. 1 b. — 4
Summerlede, s. Alduluebi (Bp. Bayeux), 5 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Ulvesbi, M (Hugh), 4 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Goldesbi, M (Colegrim), 1 c. ⅔ b. — 2
Haintone, 2 M (Roger de Poitou, Albert), 1 c. ½ b. — 2
Chinetorp, M (Ivo Taillebois), 7⅔ b — 1 c. 7⅓ b.
Fodrebi, M (William de Perci, Fulco), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chernitone, M (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chernitone, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Welletune, s. Catebi (Roger de Poitou), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.

Rase, B. inl. Lindude (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Stainton, M (Wm. de Perci, Alulf), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Scamelesbi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 7
Alvingeham, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln, Rannulf), 6 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Alchebarge, M (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. — 6
Walecote, M (St. Peter de Burg (½), Gilbert de Gand (½)), 5 c. — 6
Gettune, M (King William), 3 c. — 4
Asebi, M (Colsuan, William), 3 c. — 4
Cadebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 4
Chetelesbi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Hugh), 3 c. — 4
Besebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 4
Hornecastre, M (King William), 3 c. — 4
Luzebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, William), 3 c. — 4
Mundebi, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 3 c. — 4
Ulingeham, 2 M (Abp. York, William), 3 c. — 4
Wiuelesforde, s. Sechebroc (Robert Malet), 3 c. — 4
Tesforde, 2 M (Abp. York, Gilbert), 3 c. — 4
Ristone and Carletone, M (William de Perci, Osbern), 3 c. — 4
Rosbi, s. Carltorp (Robert de Veci), 3 c. — 4
Ormesbi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Hugh), 3 c. — 4
Staintune, M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 3 c. — 4
Glantham, M (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 4
Foztun, M (Cnt. Alan, Hervey), 1 c. — 2
Golse, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Roger), 1 c. — 2
Haberdingham, s. in Luzebi (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. — 2
Caburne, M (William de Perci, Norman), 1 c. — 2
Nortchelesei, M (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 2
Bechebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. — 2
Belesbi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 1 c. — 2
Brachelesbi, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 1 c. — 2
Brunetorp, M (Bp. Durham, Nigell), 1 c. — 2
Bundebi, M (Rad. de Mortimer, William), 1 c. — 2
Hoctune (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 2
Hontune, inl. and s. Lessintone (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. — 2
Houtone, s. Blesebi (Goz. F. Lambert, Herman), 1 c. — 2
Iribi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 2
Lagesbi, M (William de Perci, Eurard), 1 c. — 2
Normanestou, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 2
Wicham, M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. — 2
Walesbi and Otesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 2
Welletune, M (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 1 c. — 2
Wilgebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Radulf), 1 c. — 2
Tatenai, M (Ivo Taillebois, Hermer), 1 c. — 2
Sneleslunt, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Rayner), 1 c. — 2
Stalinburg, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 1 c. — 2
Sualun, s. and inl. Cucualt (Abp. York, William), 1 c. — 2
Sualun, s. Grosbi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 2
Sualun, M (Roger de Poitou, Wimund), 1 c. — 2
Reburne, M (Bp. Lincoln and Canons of St. Mary), 1 c. — 2
Risebi, s. Alduluebi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 2
Haroldestorp, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. — 2
Haidure, s. Osbernedebi (Wido de Credun), 4 c. — 5
Aschebi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 4 c. — 5
Westrecale, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 5
Lavintone, M (Abp. York, Rannulf), 4 c. — 5
Walecote, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 5
Lea, 4 M (Cnt. Alan, Robert), 4 c. — 5
Hacham, M (Colsuan, William), 2 c. — 3
Agetorp, s. Buruelle (Ansgot), 2 c. — 3
Chisebi, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. — 3
Merestone, M (Alured of Lincoln, Walefrid), 2 c. — 3
Wichingebi, M (William de Perci, Osbern), 2 c. — 3

Widun, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 2 c. — 3
Widun, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 2 c. — 3
Spanebi, s. Ulvesbi (Colsuan), 2 c. — 3
Spilesbi, Iresbi, and Torp (s. Gredbi and Estrecale (Bp. Durham), 2 c. — 3
Pantone, M (Abp. York, Gilbert), 2 c. — 3
Pantone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. — 3
Bardenai, M (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. — 3
Picheuorde, M (Colsuan, William), 2 c. — 3
Osgotebi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. — 3
Osbernedebi, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 2 c. — 3
Esetorp, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 2 c. — 3
Fulnodebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 2 c. — 3
Langetone, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 2 c. — 3
Beningurde, M (Abp. York, Osbern), 2 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Ormesbi, 2 M (Norman de Adreci, Herbert), 2 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Bodebi, M (King William), 8 c. — 9
Ripeslai, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 8 c. — 9
Sutrebi, Dalbi, and Dristorp, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 15 c. — 16
Abi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. 6 b. — 2 c. 6 b.
Tavelesbi, 2 M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ferebi, M (Gilbert Tison, Anschitil), 2 c. 7⅛ b. — 4
Oresbi, M (William de Perci), 7⅛ c. — 2
Wilchetone, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 2 c. 3½ b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Spredelintone, M (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. 1½ b. — 3 c. 2 b.
Widcale (Roger de Brimou), 1 c. 7⅛ b. — 3
Elesham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 7 b. — 2
Bliburg, M (Bp. Durham and monks), 7 b. — 2
Wilchetone, 2 M (Odo Balist.), 3 c. 3 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Westledebi, s. Wichingebi (Wm. de Perci), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Wiuelingeham, s. Rase (Rad. Pagenel), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Clachesbi and Normanesbi, s. Tavalesbi (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Buchehale and Horsitone, s. Hamingebi (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Aschebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Haintone, M (Roger de Poitou, Acun), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Calnodesbi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 4 c. 2 b. — 5 c. 3 b.
Welle, 3 M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 1 c. 7 b. — 3
Blesebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Herman), 1 c. 6½ b. — 3
Crocestone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Fugelestou, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Golse, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Golse, M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ulingeham, s. Barcuorde (Rainer de Brimou), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Stalingeburg, 2 M (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Strobi, s. Abi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ravenedale, s. Achesbi (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Torp, 2 M (Hugh F. Baldric, Gilbert), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Fugelestow, 2 M (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 2 c. 2 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Ormesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 2 c. 2 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Fullobi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, William), 3 c. 6 b. — 5
Stimblebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 3 c. 6 b. — 5
Dembelbi, s. Osbernedebi (Wido de Credun), 6 b. — 2 c.
Bliburg, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 6 b. — 2 c.
Neutone, s. Frisebi (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 6 b. — 2 c.
Ulvesbi, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 6 b. — 2 c.
Fugelestou, M (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. 6 b. — 3
Other Rase, s. Rase (Rad. Pagenel), 1 c. 6 b. — 3
Covenham, M (Bp. Durham, St. Karilef), 2 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 6 b.
Neteltone, M (Ernegis de Burun), 5 b. — 1 c. 7 b.
Bertone, M (Rad. Pagenel), 10 c. 6 b. — 12

Torentone, s. Oresbi (William de Perci, Roger de Poitou), 2 c. 6 b. — 4
Frantune, M (Wido de Credun), 4 c. 2 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Waragebi (Waldin Ingeniator), 5½ b. — 2 c.
Cotes, M (Durand Malet, Richard), 1 c. 2½ b. — 2 c. 5 b.
Chenebi, s. Alduluebi (Bp. Bayeux), 5 b. — 2 c.
Bolintone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 5 b. — 2 c.
Mingeham, s. Chelvingham (Norman de Adreci), 5 b. — 2 c.
Neteltone, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), 5 b. — 2 c.
Neteltone, M (Leveva), 5 b. — 2 c.
Grosbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 5 b. — 2 c.
Achesbi, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Elesham, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernuin), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ormesbi, s. Widun (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. 5 b. — 3
Filingeham, M (Roger de Poitou, Anschitil), 2 c. 1 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Terintone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. 4⅛ b. — 4
Dresbi, M (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Haintone, s. Torp (Abp. York, William), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Brigeslai, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Hiboldestou, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Machetone, M (Ansgot), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Sualun, M (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Ribi, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernuin), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Staintone, M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 6 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Ulvesbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Odo), 6 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Staintone, M (Rayner de Brimou), 6 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Schillintune, free s. in Sch. (Abp. York, Walchelin), 4 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Esbernebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Hale, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf), 8 c. 4 b. ††10.
Offran, B, Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. 4 b. — 5
Stalinburg, 2 M (Norman de Adreci), 2 c. 4 b. — 4
Tiworde, s. Widme (Cntss. Judith), 5 c. 4 b. — 7
Agetorne, 2 M (Abp. York, William), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Limberge, M (Norman de Adreci, Hubert), 4 b. — 2 c.
Lindude, M (Durand Malet), 4 b. — 2 c
Toresbi and Alwoldesbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 4 c. 3½ b. — 6
Caburne, M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 1 c. 3 b. — 3
Chelebi, 3 M (Bp. Durham, Almod), 6 c. 3 b. — 8
Stivetone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. 5 b. — 3 c. 2 b.
Hag and Brandune, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Derinc), 3 c. 3 b. — 5
Hawardebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. 3 b. — 4
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Osbern de Arcis, Alured), 2 c. 3 b. — 4
Wivelingeham, s. Tavelesbi (Goz. F. Lambert, Ivo), 1 c. 7 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Righesbi, Halebi, Tatebi, s. Rigesbi (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. 7 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Stobetun, s. Westburg (Geoffrey Alselin and Rad., his nephew), 5 c. 2½ b. — 7
Rodowelle, M (Durand Malet), 1 c. 5⅛ b.* — 3 c. 3⅔ b.
Scalebi and Stratone, M (Rad. Pagenel), 3 c. 2 b. — 5
Torgrembi, M (Norman de Adreci, Gamelin), 1 c. 6 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Neteltone, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ernegis and Wadard), 1 c. 6 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Cocrinton, M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. 6 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Grimesbi, M (William de Perci, Fulco), 1 c. 2 b. — 3
Aduluebi, 3 M (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 2 b. — 3
Neutone, s. Alduluebi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 2 b. — 3
Hiboldestou, M (St. Peter de Burg, Gilbert), 1 c. 2 b. — 3
Chernitone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 2 b. — 2
Forebi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 7 b. — 2 c. 5 b.
Cherchetune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 10 c. 1⅛ b. — 12
Torgrebi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 7 b. — 3 c. 6 b.
Wilgebi, M (Waldin Brito), 1 c. 7 b. — 3 c. 6 b.
Haintone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 7 b. — 3 c. 6 b.

Newtone, s. Basebi (Cnt. Alan), 3c. ½ b. — 5
Golse, s. Barewe (Drogo de Beurere), 2 c. — 4
Gunresbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 4
Grosbi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 2 c. — 4
Hechelinge, M (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 2 c. — 4
Aplebi, Risebi and Saleclif, M (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 2 c. — 4
Aresbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 2 c. — 4
Aresbi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 2 c. — 4
Holtone, s. Tatenai (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 4
Mameltune, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 2 c. — 4
Wispinctune, s. and B. Stratone and Chirchebi (Bp. Durham), 2 c. — 4
Wispinctune, s. Stratone and Chirchebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 c. — 4
Udetone, M (Bp. Lincoln, Roger), 2 c. — 4
Torgrebi, s. Belesbi (Odo Balist., Herbert), 2 c. — 4
Rageneltorp, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 2 c. — 4
Wilgebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 2 c. — 4
Barewe, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Tetbald), 2 c. — 4
Chelebi (or Cotes), M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 1 c. — 3
Crosbi, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. — 3
Crocsbi, M (William Blund), 1 c. — 3
Witewelle, M (Judith, Herbert), 1 c. — 3
Rocheland, M (Cnt. Hugh, Brisard), 1 c. — 3
Welle, M (Gilbert de Gand, Rauemer), 1 c. — 3
Staintone, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 1 c. — 3
Duninctune, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 8
Nortchime, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 6 c. — 8
Stigandebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 6 c. — 8
Beltesford, M (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 8.
Merestune, 2 M (Radulf Dapifer, and Osbern pst.), 6 c. — 8
Fulnedebi, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun, 3 c. — 5
Grenesbi, 3 M (Cnt. Alan, Wimund), 3 c. — 5
Grentewelle, M (Roger de Busli, Turold), 3 c. — 5
Rande s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 3 c. — 5
Asedebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 7
Carletune, M (William de Warenne, Aldelin), 5 c. — 7
Gunfordebi, B. and s. Grantham King William), 7 c. — 9
Suavetone, M (Colsuan), 7 c. — 9
Sotebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Radulf), 4 c. — 6
Wivelesbi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 4 c. — 6
Hotot, Toruluesbi, Sutune, Druistorp, Billesbi, Marchesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 18 c. — 20
Lecheburne, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 10 c. — 12
Brigeslai, Wade and Ravenedal, s. Aschebi (Bp. Bayeux), 2 c. 5½ b. — 4 c. 6 b.
Suinhope, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. 7¼ b. — 4
Wibertune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 9 c. 3 b. — 12 c. 4 b.
Hagetorne and Haneuuorde, 2 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 c. 7 b. — 5
Sudcotes, M (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 7 b. — 4
Alesbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 2 c. 6⅔ b. — 5
Tofte, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. 6⅓ b. — 4
Endretorp, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 2 c. 4 b. — 5
Uluricebi, 2 free M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 2 c. 4 b. — 5
Sumertebi, s. Brune (William de Perci), 2 c. 4 b. — 5
Seurebi, M (Durand Malet), 2 c. 4 b. — 5
Caldecote, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 b. 4 c. — 4
Lindude, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. 4 b. — 4
Langetone, B. Butiate (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. 4 b. — 4
Grimesbi and Sualun, M (Rad. de Mortemer, Richard), 2 c. 2 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Grisebi, M (Abp. York, William), 2 c. 2 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Binnibroc and Erforde, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 1 c. 2 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Rase, M (Rad. Pagenel), 6 c. 6 b. — 9
Franetone, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 7 c. 6 b. — 10

Odenebi, M (William de Perci, William), 2 c. 3 b. — 4 c. 6 b.
Beningurde, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 3 c. 4 b. — 6
Wichale, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 3 c. 3⅔ b. — 6
Caburne, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 c. 3½ b. — 5
Ferebi, s. Bertone (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. 7½ b.* — 5 c. 4 b.
Haltun and Stepi, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 3 b. — 3 c.
Grimesbi, Cleia, Itrebi and Ternescou, s. Levesbi, Bredelou and Scarhou (Bp. Bayeux), 3 c. 1 b.* — 5 c. 7 b.
Clachesbi and Normanesbi, 4 M (Ivo Taillebois, Hugh), 2 c. 6 b.* — 5 c. 4 b.
Chelestorne, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. 6 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Helperincham and Burtone, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. 2 b. — 8
Cocrintone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 3 c. 1 b. — 6
Rasa, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 2 c. 1 b. — 5
Linberge, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 1 c. 1 b. — 4
Fendebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 6
Colesi, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 3 c. — 6
Castre (and Humendone B.), M (King William), 3 c. — 6
Biscopetorp, 3 M (Bp. Durham, 2 men), 3 c. — 6
Bundebi, 6 M (Hugh F. Baldric), 3 c. — 6
Acheseia, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Wazelin), 3 c. — 6
Chevremont, M (William de Perci), 3 c. — 6
Adelinctune, M (Robert de Todeni), 3 c. — 6
Ravendal and Other Ravendal, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 6
Torintune, M (Robert Dispensator), 3 c. — 6
Sudstoches and Nortstoches, s. Grantham (King William), 9 c. — 12
Wivelesforde, M (Godfrey de Cambrai), 9 c. — 12
Limberge, 2 M (Rayner de Brimou), 2 c. — 5
Stratone, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 c. — 5
Linberge, 2 M (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 c. 4 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Hatune, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 5 c. — 8
Normanebi, M (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. — 8
Hadeclive, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 7
Horchetou, s. and inl. Bertone (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 7
Staintone, s. Randebi (Ranulf de St. Waleric), 4 c. — 7
Linbergham, M (Drogo de Beurere), 1 c. — 4
Tadewelle, M (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. — 4
Bertone, Bechebi, Wirichebi, Sumertebi, Haburne, s. Bernodebi (Cnt. Hugh, William), 3 c. 7⅔ b. — 7
Ormesbi, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 4 c. 7 b. — 8
Neteltone, M (Durand Malet, 2 men), 1 c. 6 b. — 5
Suinhope, M (Odo Balist.), 3 c. ¾ b. — 6 c. 4 b.
Randebi, M (Rannulf de St. Waleric), 1 c. 5 b. — 5
Fodrebi and Turgrebi, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni; Berengar), 5 c. 5 b. — 9
Scantone, M (Gilbert de Gand), 6 c. 4 b. — 10
Saxebi, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 4 c. — 7 c. 4 b.
Ounesbi, s. Wilgebi (Wido de Reinbuedcurt), 3 c. 4 b. — 7
Iribi, M (Durand Malet), 3 c. 4 b. — 7
Chelvingholm, 6 M (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 2 c. 4 b. — 6
Hacberdingham (or Mundebi), 6 M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 8 c. — 11 c. 5 b.
Bliburg, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Robert), 2 c. 2 b. — 6
Rase, Osgotebi, Walesbi, Otebi, s. Tavelesbi (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 3 c. 1½ b. — 7
Imungeham, 2 M (William de Perci), 4 c. 1½ b. — 8
Filingeham, 5 M (Colsuan), 7 c. 1 b. — 11
Rodewelle, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 4 c. 1 b. — 8
Exewelle, M (Cnt. Hugh, Goz.), 2 c. — 6
Chenebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 2 c. — 6
Langtune, Hacberdingham, Salmundebi, Tedforde, Brincle, Winzebi, Clachesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 29 c. — 33

Herlavestune, B. and s. Grantham (King William), 12 c. — 16
Netelham, M (King William), 12 c. — 16
Welletone, M (Bp. Lincoln, 6 canons of Lincoln), 12 c. — 16
Carltune, M (Drogo de Beurere), 12 c. — 16
Wellebrune, M (Robert Malet), 12 c. — 16
Chevelestune, B. Hache (Cnt. Alan), 12 c. — 16
Medeltone, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun), 3 c. — 7
Hecham, 3 M (Cnt. Hugh, Monks of St. Severus), 2 c. — 6
Grantham, M (Cnt. Hugh), 2 c. — 6
Catenai and Usun, to Castre (King William), 4 c. — 8
Archintone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 4 c. — 8
Tatenai, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 8
Belesbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 8
Scotere, 2 M (St. Peter de Burg), 8 c. — 12
Ludeburg, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 8 c. — 12
Epeurde, M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 8 c. — 12
Gainesburg, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Rainald), 8 c. — 12
Hache, M (Cnt. Alan), 7 c. 6 b. — 12
Asuuardebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. 5 b. — 9
Waragebi, M (Geoffrey Alselin Radulf), 2 c. $3\frac{5}{8}$ (or $\frac{1}{4}$) b. — 7
Rase, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walo), 3 b. — 5 c.
Ludeforde, $\frac{1}{3}$ M (William de Perci), 4 c. 6 b. — 9 c. 4 b.
Sechebroc, M (Robert Malet), 4 c. — 9
Soke* of Grantham (King William, T.R.E. Edith), 55 c. — 60
Burgelai, M (Gilbert de Gand, Geoffrey), 2 c. — 7
Wilgebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 10
Chelvingholm, M (Norman de Adreci), 4 c. 7 b. — 10
Bernulfbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 6 c. — 12
Humbrestone, s. Tatenai (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 12
Waltham, M (Cnt. Alan), 6 c. — 12
Bernodebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, William), 6 c. — 12
Lessintone, M (Abp. York, Herbert), 4 c. — 10
Ulvesbi, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun), 4 c. — 10
Suabi, Elgelo, Toresbi, Clactorp, Totele, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 12 c. — 18
Buruelle, M (Ansgot), 2 c. — 8
Eleham, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 2 c. 2 b. — 9
Bergebi, M (Robert Malet), 8 c. — 15
Burtun, M (Wido de Credun), 10 c. — 17
Levesbi, Bredelou and Scarhou, 3 M (Bp. Bayeux), 9 c. — 16
Reburne, 3 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 7 c. 1 b. — 14 c. 2 b.
Toreswe, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 5 c. 7 b. — 13
'Two Mentinghes,' s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 7 c. $5\frac{1}{2}$ b. — 15 c. $2\frac{3}{8}$ b.
Soke of Chirchetone (K. William, T.R.E. Earl Edwin), 59 c. — 69
Alchinton, M (William de Perci, Fulco), 8 c. — 16
Chirchetone, M (K. William), 8 c. — 16
Wichingedene, M (Judith, Hugh), 4 c. — 12
Overtune and Stratone, M (Judith), 3 c. 4 b. — 12
Glentewrde, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. 3 b. — 10
Barewe, M (Drogo de Beurere), 9 c. 2 b. — 18 c. 4 b.
Aplebi, Risebi, and Saleclif, M (Roger de Busli), 9 c. 5 b. — 19 c. 2 b.
Torentune and Bodebi, and Udetone, M (Rad. de Mortemer), 10 c. — 20
Exentune, M (Judith), 2 c. — 12
Lobingeham, Irebi, and Ribi, s. Bernodebi (Cnt. Hugh), 10 c. 1 b. — 20 c. 2 b.
Aschebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 6 b. — 12
Wibertune, (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. 2 b. — 13
Westune and Multune, s. Holobech and Copelade (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 7 b. — 15
Soke* of Gettune (K. William, T.R.E. Edith), 25 c. $5\frac{1}{2}$ b. * — 38
Bertone, M (Gilbert de Gand), 13 c. — 27

Tadewelle, M (Cnt. Hugh), 5 c. — 20
Binnibroc, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 8 c. 4½ b. — 24
Soke* of Horncastle (K. William, T.R.E. Edith), 42 c. — 58
Soke* of Castre (K. William, T.R.E. Earl Morcar), 28 c. 1 b. — 58

Irregular.

Holobech and Copelade, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. 2 b. — land for 12 den.

## D. Defective instances: Plough-land omitted

Cucualt, s. Rodowelle (Alured of Lincoln), 1 b. —
Esnetrebi, s. Normanebi (Ivo Taillebois), 1 b. —
Suinhope, B. inl. Crocsbi (Norman de Adreci), 1 b. —
Rasa (Durand Malet), ½ c. —
Rodowelle, s. Neteltone (Bp. Bayeux), 1 b. —
Caburne, s. Cucualt (Alured of Lincoln, Glen), 1 b. —
Cletham, s. Mameltone (St. Peter de Burg), 1 b. —
Cuningesbi, inl. Tedintone (Cnt. Hugh), 1 b. —
Cuningesbi, s. Hacberdingham (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. —
Marchebi, s. Aschebi, or Andrebi? (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 b. —
Sutreie, B. inl. Wilingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 2 b. —
Wemflet, B. Croft (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf), 2 b. —
Strubi, s. Chinetorp (Rayner de Brimou), 2 b. —
Echintune, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), 2 b. —
Griteford, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 2 b. —
Gamelstorp or Hiboldestou, M (Ivo Taillebois), 2 b. —
Apelein, s. Bolintone (William de Perci), 2 b. —
Cletham, B. inl. Balesforde (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 b. —
Straitone and Scallebi, B. inl. . . . . ? (Ivo Taillebois), 3 b. —
Reburne, M (Ivo Taillebois), 3 b. —
Odenebi, B. Nortchelesei (Cnt. Alan), 3 b. —
Suamestede, B. Sudwelle (Walter de Aincurt, Odo), ½ c. —
Hoctune (St. Peter de Burg), ½ c. —
Rischintone (Drogo de Beurere), 6 b. —
Ingoldesbi, s. Bergebi (Robert Malet), 6 b. —
Estou, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 6½ b. —
Combreuorde, M (Rayner de Brimou), 6 b. —
Merestune, B. Hazebi (Wido de Credun, Osbert), 6 b. —
Holtun, M (Cnt. Alan, Wimund), 2 b. 2 v. 5 a. —
Catenai, inl. Elesham (Roger de Poitou), 5⅔ b. —
Barcuurde and Sutrei, inl. and s. Haintone (Roger de Poitou, Albert), 5 b. —
Binnibroc, M (Osbern, pst.), 1 c. 1¾ b. —
Nochetune, M (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. —
Scotstorne, Holme, and Sudbroc (Colsuan), 1 c. —
Spallinge, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 3 b. —
Stainfelde, s. Berlinge (William de Perci), 1 c. 4 b. —
Cranewelle, B. inl. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. 4 b. —
Carlebi, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand, Ivo Berenold), 1 c. 7 b. —
Stroustune, M (Drogo de Beurere), 2 c. —
Tite, B. Luctone (K. William), 2 c. 1 b. —
Bolinburg, M (Colsuan, Brunel), 2 c. 7 b. —
Frisebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 3 c. 5 b. —
Walecote, s. Branztune (Walter de Aincurt), 4 c. —
Leduluetorp, 2 M (Colsuan, Conded and Anschitil), 5 c. 4 b. —
Northhicam, s, and B. inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 8 c. —
Holebech, s. Gadenai (K. William), 8 c. 6 b. —
Dunestune, s. Nochestune (Norman de Adreci), 12 c. —
Beningtun, M (Cnt. Alan), 21 c. 6 b. —
Nochetune, M (Norman de Adreci), 23 c. —

# TABLE II

## CORRESPONDENCE OF PLOUGH-TEAMS TO PLOUGH-LAND

### A. NUMBER OF PLOUGH-TEAMS IN EXCESS OF NUMBER OF PLOUGH-LANDS

Suabi, Elgelo, Toresbi, Clactorp, Totele, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 31 c. — 18

Asuuardebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 22 c. — 9

Luzebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, William), 14 c. — 4

Westune and Multune, s. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), 20 c. — 10 c. 1 b.

Wellingoure, M (King William), 18 c. — 10

Spallinge, M (Ivo Taillebois), 17 c. — 9

Haneworde, 3 M (Walter de Aincurt), 14 c. — 6

Sunderby, s. Akeley (Judith), 13 c. — 6

Ludes, M (Bp. Lincoln), 18 c. — 12

Humbrestone, s. Tatenai (Ivo Taillebois, Hermer), 18 c. — 12

Chirchetone, M (King William), 22 c. — 16

Tite, M (King William), 9 c. — 3

Herdertorp, M (Robert Dispensator), 9 c. — 3

Branztune, M (Walter de Aincurt), 15 c. — 9

Eslaforde, M (Bp. Lincoln), 17 c. — 11

Scheueldebi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 12 c. — 6

Grantham, M (Cnt. Hugh), 12 c. — 6

Beltesford, M (Ivo Taillebois), 14 c. — 8

Langetune, Hacberdingham, Salmundebi, Tedforde, Brincle, Winzebi, Clachesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 39 c. — 33

East Depinge, 3 M (Godfrey de Cambrai, 2 men), 9 c. — 3 c. 6 b.

Scredintune, s. Folchingham (Gilbert de Gand), 14 c. — 9

Butruic, M (Wido de Credun), 17 c. — 12

Adredebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Baldric), 6 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.

Hale, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf), 15 c. — 10

Haconesbi and Stentuith, M (Heppo Balist.), 8 c. — 3 c. 2½ b.

Covenham, 3 M (William de Perci), 8 c. 4 b. — 4

Brune, M (Oger Brito), 7 c. — 2 c. 4 b.

Stapleforde, M (Judith, Osbern), 9 c. — 5

Dunesbi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Radulf), 9 c. — 5

Rase, M (Radulf Pagenel), 13 c. — 9

Suavetone, M (Colsuan), 13 c. — 9

Westbitham, M (Drogo de Beurere), 13 c. — 9

Aschebi, M (Radulf Pagenel), 10 c. — 6

Fiscartune, M (St. Peter de Burg), 7 c. — 3

Hamingebi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 7 c. — 3

Hache, M (Cnt. Alan), 16 c. — 12

Lecheburne, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 16 c. — 12

Tatenai, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois), 12 c. — 8

Leche, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 14 c. — 10

Stainfelde, M (William de Perci), 5 c. — 1

Pochinton, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 6 c. — 2 c. 2 b.

Medricesham, s. Branztone (Walter de Aincurt, Wintrehard), 8 c. — 4 c. 2 b.

Cherchebi and Scapenic, M (Heppo Balist.), 7 c. 4 b. — 4

Timberlunt, s. Branztune (Walter de Aincurt), 7 c. 4 b. — 4

Scrivelesbi, M (Robert Dispensator), 12 c. — 8 c. 4 b.

Caditon, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 5 c. — 1 c. 4 b.

Gerneham, M (Radulf Pagenel), 10 c. 4 b. — 7

Toresbi and Aluuoldebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 9 c. 3 b. — 6

Hamingebi, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 4 c. — 6 b.

Witham and Mannetorp, Toftlund, s.Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 8½ c.* — 11½
Hecham, 3 M (Cnt. Hugh, Monks of St. Severus), 9 c. — 6
Beningurde, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 9 c. — 6
Nortune, inl. and s. Stow, St. M. (Bp. Lincoln, man), 9 c. — 6
Lavintone, M (Abp. York, Rannulf), 8 c. — 5
Horchetou, s. and inl. Bertune (Gilbert de Gand), 10 c. — 7
Catenai and Usun to Castre (King William), 11 c. — 8
Uluesbi, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun), 13 c. — 10
Branztune, M (Walter de Aincurt), 13 c. — 10
Hiboldestou, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 3
Chelvinghou, 3 M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 6 c. — 3
Colchesbi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 3
Repinghale, M (Wido de Credun, Widald), 6 c. — 3
Stangehou, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 3
Tite, B. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. — 2
Sudwelle, M (Walter de Aincurt), 5 c. — 2
Bolinbroc, M (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. — 2
Bertone, M (Radulf Pagenel), 15 c. — 12
Levretune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 15 c. — 12
Suarrebi, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 3 c. 4 b. — 4 b.
Torp, M (Gilbert de Gand), 7 c. — 4
Catenase and Usun, M (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. 4 b. — 5⅓ b.
Luctone, M (King William), 4 c. 6 b. — 2
Croft, M (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf), 5 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Calnodesbi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 8 c. — 5 c. 3 b.
Medricesham, M (Sortebrand), 5 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Caletorp, s. Brune (Oger Brito), 5 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Besebi, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 5 c. 4⅓ — 3
Toft, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 5 c. 4 b. — 3
Clachesbi and Normanesbi, 4 M (Ivo Taillebois, Hugh), 8 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Ferebi, s. Bertone (Gilbert de Gand), 8 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Esbernebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 8 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Evedune, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln, Osmund), 6 c. 4 b. — 4
Gettune, M (King William), 6 c. 4 c. — 4
Butiate, M (Robert Dispensator), 4 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Brotulbi, M (Colsuan), 6 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Gozeberdecherca, M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 4 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Wlingeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Hamingebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 3 c. — 6 b.
Summerdebi, M (Walter de Aincurt, Raynold), 4 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Donninctune, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 8 c. — 5 c. 6 b.
East Depinge, 5 M (Godfrey de Cambrai, 2 men), 5 c. — 2 c. 6 b.
Roxebi, M (Radulf Pagenel, Herbert), 8 c. 2 b. — 6
Oustorp and Leresbi, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 2
Scaltorp, s. Scotere (St. Peter de Burg), 4 c. — 2
Offintune, M (Robert de Todeni), 4 c. — 2
Sudtorp, M (Wido de Credun), 4 c. — 2
Torp, M (Bp. Durham, Eudo F. Spirewic) 4 c. — 2
Mortune, M (Oger Brito), 4 c. — 2
Wilgebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Radulf), 4 c. — 2
Brantune, M (Bp. Lincoln), 6 c. — 4
Lindude, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 6 c. — 4
Tofte, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 6 c. — 4
Aresbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 6 c. — 4
Ristone and Carletone, M (William de Perci, Osbern), 6 c. — 4
Belingei, M (Abp. York, Walchelin), 6 c. — 4
Wadingurde, s. in Stratone and Chirchebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 8 c. — 6
Crule, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Abbot of St. Gemano of Salebi), 8 c. — 6
Scoltorne, Holme, and Sutbroc, s. Fiscartune (St. Peter de Burg), 8 c. — 6
Cheuremont, M (William de Perci), 8 c. — 6
Alchebarge, M (Ivo Taillebois), 8 c. — 6

Hechintune, B. inl. and s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), 10 c. — 8
Helpericham and Burton, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 10 c. — 8
Offintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 9 c. — 7
Medeltone, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun), 9 c. — 7
Bertune, 4 M (Walter de Aincurt, 2 men hold ½), 5 c. — 3
Goldesbi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 3
Lacestone, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 5 c. — 3
Billesfelt, s. Corbi (Bp. Lincoln, Walter), 5 c. — 3
Herpeswelle, 4 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 5 c. — 3
Aldulnebi, 3 M (Bp. Bayeux), 5 c. — 3
Risun, M (Colsuan), 3 c. — 1
Beltot, s. Beltone (Geoffrey de Wirce), 3 c. — 1
Bulesforde, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 3 c. — 1
Dribi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Ivo), 7 c. — 5
Cameslingeham, M (Colsuan), 7 c. — 5
Grentewelle, M (Roger de Busli, Turold), 7 c. — 5
Grisebi, M (Abp. York, William), 6 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Lund and Other Lund, 2 M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 3 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Graingeham, M (Ernegis de Burun), 3 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Edeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 14 c. — 12
Badeburg, M (Gilbert de Gand), 12 c. — 10
Loctone, 2 M (Oger Brito), 2 c. 4 b. — 4 b.
Carlebi, 2 M (Robert de Statford, Geoffrey), 3 c. — 1 c. ½ b.
Carlebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 3 c. — 1 c. ½ b.
Amuinc, B. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin, Rad. nepos), 7 c. 7 b. — 6
Clachesbi, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 3 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Widme (thegn), 2 c. 4 b. — 6 b.
Burgrede and Turlai, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 1 c. 3⅓ b.
Rosbi, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin, Rad. nephew), 8 c. — 6 c. 2½ b.
Bliburg, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 3 c. — 1 c. 3 b.
Other Rosbi, s. Rosbi (Robert de Statford, Edelo), 2 c. — 3½ b.
Welletune, M (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 3 c. 4 b. — 2
Gunfordebi, M (Walter de Aincurt, Elwi), 3 c. 4 b. — 2
Apeleia, s. Berlinge (William de Perci), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Apeleia, s. Stainfelde (William de Perci), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Clachesbi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cletham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Stainton, M (William de Perci, Alulf), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Wintrintone, 2 M (Norman de Adreci), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Ingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Denbelbi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Hazebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Spallinge, B. Croyland (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tonestale, M (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Scotone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Gozelin), 4 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Picheuuorde, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Caburne, M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 4 c. 4 b. — 3
Hiboldestou, M (St. Peter de Burg, Gilbert), 4 c. 4 b. — 3
Esetorp, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 4 c. 4 b. — 3
Crocestone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 2 c. 4 b. — 1
Ferebi, M (Gilbert Tison, Anschitil), 5 c. 4 b. — 4
Chetelesbi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Hugh), 5 c. 4 b. — 4
Wadingeham and Staintone, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 c. 2 b. — 6 b.
Hag and Brandune, s. Folchingeham, (Gilbert de Gand, Derinc), 6 c. 4 b. — 5
Torp, s. Dodingtone (St. Peter of Westminster), 7 c. 4 b. — 6
Hacam, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Hugh), 11 c. — 9 c. 4 b.
Waltham, M (Cnt. Alan), 13 c. 4 b. — 12
Ripeslai, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 10 c. 4 b. — 9
Turoluebi, M (St. Peter de Burg), 5 c. — 3 c. 5 b.*
Englebi, 3 c. 4 b. — 4

Opetorp, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 1 c. 5 b.
Witham Hd., M (Drogo de Beurere, Colegrim), 2 c. — 5 b.
Catenase and Usun, B. Nortchelesei (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 5⅓ b.
Roscebi (Robert de Statford, Brien), 4 c. 3 b. — 3 c. 1 b.
Neutone, M (Odo Balist.), 2 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Brachenberg, s. Aluingham (Alured of Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 b.
Draitone, M (Cnt. Alan, Toli), 2 c. — 6 b.
Brune, M (Alured of Lincoln, Dodin), 2 c. — 6 b.
Sidestham, M (Wido de Reinbudcurt, Ingelram), 13 c. — 11 c. 6 b.
Glentham, s. St. M. Stow (Bp. Lincoln), 5 c. — 3 c. 6 b.
Ceila, M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 3 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Uluesbi, M (Colsuan, Brunel), 3 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Odenebi, M (William de Perci, William), 6 c. — 4 c. 6 b.
Bechelinge, s. Lessintone (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. 6 b. — 4 b.
Sudtone, M (Chetelbern), 2 c. — 7 b.
Normanebi and Santone, 2 M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 2 c. — 7 b.
Brune, M (Oger Brito), 2 c. — 7 b.
Greneham and Auuartorp, and Bolebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 4 c. — 2 c. 7 b.
Ounebi, s. Stow (Bp. Lincoln), 5 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 3 b.
Gunfordebi, s. Tudetorp (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 4 b. — 3 b.
Schinende, M (Robert de Statford, Colegrim), 4 c. 1 b. — 3
Agetorne, 2 M (Abp. York, William), 4 c. 5 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Tistertune, M (Judith, Hugh), 2 c. — 1
Calnodesbi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. — 1
Loletorp, B. inl. and s. Gainesburg (Geoffrey de Wirce), 2 c. — 1
Haconesbi, M (Robert de Statford, Gulfer), 2 c. — 1
Sanctone, s. Aplebi, Risebi, and Saleclif (Roger de Busli), 2 c. — 1
Bercaham and Estou, s. Burg (St. Peter de Burg, Godfrey and Robert), 2 c. — 1
Andrebi and Marchebi, s. Aschebi (Bp. Bayeux), 2 c. — 1
Bertone, M (Radulf Pagenel), 2 c. — 1
Aslachebi, s. Avetorp (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 2 c. — 1
Widerne, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 2 c. — 1
Stantone and Widingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 1
Burtone, s. Scantone (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 2
Berchetorp, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 2
Aiglestorp, M (Alured of Lincoln), 3 c. — 2
Wime, 2 M (Abp. York, Walchelin), 3 c. — 2
Wimme, s. Ouretone (Judith), 3 c. — 2
Suafeld, s. Corbi (Bp. Lincoln, Walter), 3 c. — 2
Ellingetone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Walter), 3 c. — 2
Risebi, s. Aldulnebi (Bp. Bayeux), 3 c. — 2
Walesbi and Otesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 3 c. — 2
Lagesbi, M (William de Perci, Eurard), 3 c. — 2
Houtune, inl. and s. Lessintone (Abp. York, Herbert), 3 c. — 2
Bechebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 3 c. — 2
Golse, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Roger), 3 c. — 2
Goldesbi, M (Colegrim), 3 c. — 2
Farforde, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 3 c. — 2
Bliburg, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 3 c. — 2
Bliburg, M (Bp. Durham, Monks of Durham), 3 c. — 2
Oresbi, M (William de Perci), 3 c. — 2
Hicham, s. and inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 4 c. — 3
Sperlinctone, M (Colsuan), 4 c. — 3
Stoche, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 4 c. — 3
Neuberie, M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 4 c. — 3
Wichingebi, M (William de Perci, Osbern), 4 c. — 3
Merestone, M (Alured of Lincoln, Walefrid), 4 c. — 3
Waletone and Bodebi, s. Hunbia (Ivo Taillebois, W . . . . d), 4 c. — 3
Sassebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 4 c. — 3
Welle, 3 M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 4 c. — 3
Pantone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 4 c. — 3
Screnbi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 4

Couenebi, inl. St. Mary, Stow (Bp. Lincoln), 5 c. — 4.
Horbelinge, M (Cnt. Alan, Stefan), 5 c. — 4
Hornecastre, M (K. William), 5 c. — 4
Rosbi and Other Rosbi, s. Wilgebi and Chirchebi (Bp. Durham, Almod), 5 c. — 4
Stratone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 5 c. — 4
Widerne, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 5 c. — 4
Aresbi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 5 c. — 4
Dodinctone, M (St. Peter of Westminster), 5 c. — 4
Adelinctune, s. Sechebroc (Robert Malet, Godric), 6 c. — 5
Osgotebi, M (St. Peter de Burg, Anschitil), 6 c. — 5
Suinhamstede, s. Witham (Radulf Pagenel), 6 c. — 5
Westrecale, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 5
Haidure, s. Osbernedebi (Wido de Credun), 6 c. — 5
Stratone, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 6 c. — 5
Uluricebi, 2 free M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 6 c. — 5
Chirchebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 6 c. — 5
Dentune or Huuelle, M (Robert de Todeni in dem.), 7 c. — 6
Brune and Other Brune, s. Epeurde (Geoffrey de Wirce), 7 c. — 6
Sibolci, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 7 c. — 6
Walecote, M (St. Peter de Burg, Giselbert), 7 c. — 6
Exewelle, M (Cnt. Hugh, Gozelin), 7 c. — 6
Chenebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 7 c. — 6
Torintune, M (Robert Dispensator), 7 c. — 6
Bundebi, 6 M (Hugh F. Baldric), 7 c. — 6
Wichale, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 7 c. — 6
Navenebi, M (Durand Malet), 2 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Est Depinge, s. Talintone (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. 4 b. — 4 b.
Carletune, M (William de Warenne, Aldelin), 8 c. — 7
Haltun and Stepi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 10 c. — 9
Sechebroc, M (Robert Malet), 10 c. — 9
Cherchebi and Resuebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 13 c. — 12
Foztune, B. Beningtune (Cnt. Alan), 13 c. — 12
Wichingedene, M (Judith, Hugh), 13 c. — 12
Buruelle, M (Ansgot), 9 c. — 8
Normanebi, M (Ivo Taillebois), 9 c. — 8
Duninctune, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 9 c. — 8
Schirebec, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 9 c. — 8
Scantone, M (Gilbert de Gand, in dem.), 11 c. — 10
Blachene, M (Walter de Aincurt), 14 c. — 13
Messingeham, M (Ernegis de Burun, Turstin), 2 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cletham, M Aldene), 2 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Waragebi, M (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tavelesbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Godard), 2 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Gunnewordebi, M (Colegrim), 1 c. 6 b. — 6 b.
Estrecale, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Filingeham, M (Roger de Poitou, Anschitil), 4 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Spredelintone, M (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. 2 b. — 3 c. 2 b.
Reburne, M (Ivo Taillebois, Peter), 2 c. — 1 c. ½ b.
Oresbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 1 c. 4 b. — 4½ b.
Rocstune, s. Torintune (Robert Dispensator), 2 c. 3 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Brandune, s. Carltorp (Robert de Veci), 2 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Burg, M (Eudo F. Spirewic, 2 men), 2 c. — 1 c. 1 b.
Schitebroc, inl. Covenham (Bp. Durham. St. Karilef), 2 c. — 1 c. 1 b.
Brochelesbi, M (Ernegis de Burun, Rannulf), 1 c. 5 b. — 6 b.
Scirebec, s. Tateshale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 1 b.
Camelingeham, 2 M (Durand Malet), 1 c. 5 b. — 6 b.
Beltone, 2 M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 5 c. 6 b. — 5 c.
Rochesham, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 3 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 6 b.
Abi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 3 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 6 b.
Stigeswald, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 2 c. 2 b.

Ringesdune, M (Bp. Lincoln, Adam), 3 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Barchestone, s. Hundintone (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Westbi, free soke in Heidure (Colsuan), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Glandham, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Casuic, M (Gunfrid de Cioches), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Ludesforde, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Newhuse, M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Cotes, M (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Delbebi, M (Colsuan, Rainald), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Brune, M (Suen), 1 c. 1 b. — 3 b.
Ravendale, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 1 c. 2 b. — 4 b.
Buchehale and Horsitone, s. Hamingebi (Cnt. Hugh, Balaric), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Refan, M (Rannulf de St. Waleric), 1 c. 2 b. — 4 c.
Linberge, 2 M (Hugh F. Baldric), 6 c. 2 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Stapleforde, M (Bp. Bayeux, Tor), 1 c. 6 b. — 1 c.
Stantone, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. 4 b. — 6 b.
Holeben and Copelade, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 1 c. 4 c. — 6 b.
Risun and Carlentun, M (Colsuan, Matthew), 1 c. 4 b. — 6 b.
Uluesbi, M (Suen), 1 c. 4 b. — 6 b.
Bertune, M (Rad. Pagenel, Oger), 1 c. 4 b. — 6 c.
Brune, M (Robert de Statford, Geoffrey), 1 c. 4 b. — 6 b.
Sudtone, s. Stratone (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 2 b.
Breietoft, s. Calnodesbi (Chetelbern), 1 c. — 2 b.
Horbelinge, M (Colsuan, Matthew), 4 c. — 3 c. 2 b.
Torp, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 c. — 1 c. 2¾ b.
Ledulnetorp, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), 2 c. — 1 c. 3 b.
Fugelestou, M (Cnt. Hugh, Rozelin), 2 c. — 1 c. 3 b.
Torp, 3 M (Roger de Poitou), 3 c. 5 b. — 3
Screnbi, M (Bp. Durham, Fenchel), 1 c. 5 b. — 1
Chetelbi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Rayner), 1 c. 5 b. — 1
Cadinton, M (Rayner de Brimon, Baldwin), 1 c. 5 b. — 1
Widcale, 2 M (William Blund), 1 c. 3 b. — 6 b.
Brochelesbi, s. Stalinburg (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. — 3 b.
Aschebi, s. Rageneltorp (St. Peter de Burg), 1 c. — 3 b.
Wadingeham, M (Elfain), 1 c. — 3 b.
Neutone, M (Uluiet), 1 c. — 3½ b.
Germundtorp, s. Couenham (William de Perci), 1 c. — 3½ b.
Crochestone, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 1 c. — 4 b.
Ulesbi, s. Welle (Gilbert de Gand, Rauemer), 1 c. — 4 b.
Cotes, B. inl. Ingeham (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 4 b.
Cotes, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 1 c. — 4 b.
Endrebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 4 b.
Risun, M (Agemund), 1 c. — 4 b.
Poclintone, s. Uluesbi (Colsuan, Conded), 1 c. — 4 b.
Ounebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Peter), 1 c. — 4 b.
Cucualt, M (Ivo Taillebois, Gozelin), 1 c. — 4 b.
Lolestorp, free M (St. Peter de Burg), 1 c. — 4 b.
Witham, Mannetorp and Toftlund M (St. Peter de Burg, Asuert), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Welingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Canuic (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 1 c. — 4 b.
Calchewelle, M (Norman de Adreci, Roger), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Calchewelle, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Berlinge, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chirchebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Rase, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wimund), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Crocestone, M (Roger de Poitou, Anschitil), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Haneurde, M (Colsuan, Turold), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Clachesbi and Normanebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Colsuan), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Graingeham, M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chernitone, M (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.

Timberlunt, s. Cherchebi and Scapuic (Norman de Adreci), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Bacstune, B. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand, Ivo), 2 c. 4 b. — 2 c.
Thuorstorp, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Coringeham, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Branzbi, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Scalebi and Stratone, M (Colsuan, Alured), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Aschebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Lindude, M (Durand Malet), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Crosbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Waragebi (Waldin Ingeniator), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Randebi, inl. and s. Stratone (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Timberlunt, B. Cherchebi and Scapeuic (Heppo Balist., Simund), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Chime, M (King William), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Ormesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 4 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Fugelestou, 2 M (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 4 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Wilchetone, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 4 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Englebi, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Colsuan and Wadard), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Bodebi and Sumerdebi, M (Wido de Credun, Godwin), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Bilingeburg, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Carlentone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Gilbert de Gand, Rad. Dapifer), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Nortcarletone, s. Carletune (Sortebrand), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Catebi, 2 M (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Refan, B. Berlinge (Colsuan), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Berlinge, M (Colsuan), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Berlinge, M (Colsuan), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Bolintone, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Bolintone, M (Cnt. Hugh, Colsuan), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Tisteltune, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Hoctun, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Beltone, M (Colegrim), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Stichesforde, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Achesbi, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Golse, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Golse, M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ulingeham, s. Barcourde (Rayner de Brimou), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Torp, 2 M (Hugh F. Baldric, Gilbert), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
St. Mary, Stou, M (Bp. Lincoln), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Wilgebi, M (Wido de Reinbudcurt, Ingelram), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Mundebi, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Ulingeham, 2 M (Thomas, Abp. York, William), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Glantham, M (Ivo Taillebois, Rainfrid), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Hechelinge, M (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Casuic, M (Alured of Lincoln, Boso), 1 c. 2 b. — 6
Suarrebi, M (Odo Balist.), 1 c. 2 b. — 6
Waletone and Bodebi, s. in Clasbi (Goz. F. Lambert, Rayner), 3 c. 4 b. — 3
Wadingeham, M (Aldene), 6 b. — 2 b.
Levesbi, Bredelou and Scarhou, 3 M (Bp. Bayeux), 16 c. 4 b. — 16
Adewelle, M (St. Peter de Burg), 5 c. 4 b. — 5
Welle, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), 4 c. 4 b. — 4
Stou, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 6 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Schillintune, free soke in S. M. (Abp. York, Walchelin), 6 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Estou, s. Bercheham (Godfrey de Cambrai), 5 b. — 1½ b.
Hacunesbi, s. Dunesbi (Bp. Lincoln), 1 c. — 4½ b.
Burg, M (Archil), 1 c. 2 b. — 6½ b.
Chaschingetorp, M (Wido de Credun, Algar), 1 c. 5 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Torgrebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 5 b.
Chirchebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 5 b.
Heretorp, inl. Estrecale, Heresbi and Greibi (Bp. Durham), 1 c. 1 b. — 6 b.
Ingeham, M (Rayner de Brimou, Colsuan), 1 c. 1 b. — 6 b.
Cuningesbi, B. Scrivelesbi (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 1 b.

Cotes, s. Chelebi (Norman de Adreci, Richard), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Ingeham, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 1 c. 3 b. — 1
Chetelbi, M (Ernegis de Burun, Turstin), 1 c. 3 b. — 1
Tavelesbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Losoard), 1 c. 3 b. — 1
Sisse, M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. 3 b. — 1
Torp, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 2 c. 5 b.
Hagenebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 2 c. 5 b.
Cotes, M (Durand Malet, Richard), 3 c. — 2 c. 5 b.
Cheneide (Bp. Lincoln, St. Mary, Stow), 2 c. — 1 c. 5 b.
Chirchetune, M (Cnt. Alan, Toli), 2 c. — 1 c. 5 b.
Ulingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 2 c. — 1 c. 5 b.
Ingeham, M (Colsuan, Roger and Anschitil), 1 c. 7 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Loctone, s. Auetorp (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 1 c. — 5½ b.
Cretune, 2 M (Robert de Statford, Basuin), 2 c. — 1 c. 5½ b.
Hotot, M (Alured of Lincoln, Dodo), 4 b. — 1½ b.
Sudtone, s. Hotoft (Chetelbern), 4 b. — 1½ b.
Nongtune, s. Grantham (King William), 4 c. — 3 c. 5½ b.
Wade, s. Achesbi (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 5½ b.
Wadingeham, s. W. M. (Elfain), 4 b. — 2 b.
Wade, s. Iribi (Ivo Taillebois), 4 b. — 2 b
Opestorp, s. Wivelestorp (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 4 b. — 2 b.
Griteford, s. Bercheham (Godfrey du Cambrai, Euremar), 4 b. — 2 b.
Estow, s. Werche (St. Peter de Burg, Godfrey), 4 b. — 2 b.
Snardesforde, s. Resne (Radulf Pagenel), 4 b. — 2 b.
Osgotebi, s. Tanelesbi (Radulf Pagenel), 4 b. — 2 b.
Salflatebi, s. Caditon (Bp. Durham), 4 b. — 2 b.
Ludeforde, s. Wicham (Rayner de Brimou), 4 b. — 2 b.
Cocrinton, M (Colsuan, Matthew), 4 b. — 2 b.
Twiforde, s. Nortupine (Abp. York), 2 b. — 4 b.
Jeresbi, M (Colegrim, Rold), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Bertune and Torp, M (Ivo Taillebois, Azor), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Corninctune, M (St. Benedict of Ramsey), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Toresbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Helmeswelle, M (Martin), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Stimblebi, inl. and s. Langetone (Bp. Bayeux), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Aluingeham, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln, Rannulf), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Hegelinge, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Bernedebi, 3 M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Catebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Cucualt, M (Abp. York, William), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Hacberdingham, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 2 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Suindrebi (Colegrim), 1 c. — 6 b.
Canuic, M (Norman Crassus), 1 c. — 6 b.
Helpericham, s. Wivelestorp (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 6 b.
Maltebi, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 1 c. — 6 b.
Dodintune, M (Bp. Bayeux, Baldric), 1 c. — 6 b.
Westbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 1 c. — 6 b.
Burg, M (Archil), 1 c. — 6½ b.
Mundebi, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 1 c. — 6 b.
Torentun (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. — 6 b.
Spanesbi, B. Brune (Oger Brito), 1 c. 6 b.
Stivetone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 6 b.
Clachesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 6 b.
Aplebi, Risebi, and Saleclif, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 1 c. — 6 b.
Cucualt, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 1 c. — 6 b.
Cucualt, B. Caburne (Hugh F. Baldric), 1 c. — 6 b.
Ingeham, M (Roger de Poitou, Mainard), 1 c. — 6 b.
Avetorp, B. Chisebi (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 6 b.
Avetorp, M (Alured of Lincoln, Suen), 1 c. — 6 b.
Bellingeburg, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Witham, M (Radulf Pagenel, Hacun), 1 c. 2 b. — 1

Scachertorp, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Huuelle, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Wenflet, B. inl. Screnbi (Bp. Durham, Bundo, and Radulf), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Caschingetorp, s. Bergebi (Robert Malet, Ivo), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Uluricebi, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Radulf), 1 c. 2 b. — 1
Bichere, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Gullingham (Bp. Lincoln), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Wichingesbi, M (William de Perci, Robert), 1 c. 1 b. — 7 b.
Normanebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Gozelin), 5 c. 2 b. — 5
Humbi, s. Summerdebi (Walter de Aincurt), 5 c. — 4 c. 6 b.
Scotstorne, M (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Aburne, M (William de Perci, Norman), 1 c. 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Haintone, M (Roger de Poitou, Acun), 2 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Couenham, M (Bp. Durham, St. Karilef), 4 c. — 3 c. 6 b.
Wilgebi, M (Waldin Brito), 4 c. — 3 c. 6 b.
Turulfbi, inl. and s. B. Akeley (Judith), 4 c. — 3 c. 6 b.
Hagetorne, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 2 c. 2 b. — 2
Torp, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 2 c. 2 b. — 2
Lobingeham, M (Norman de Adreci, Bereuuold), 1 c. 3 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Snardesforde, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 3 c. — 2 c. 6 b.
Brotulbi and Torp, s. Scanton (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. 2 b. — 3
Chisebi, M (thegn), 6 b. — 4 b.
Summerdebi, B. Gainesburg (Geoffrey de Wirce), 6 b. — 4 b.
Torentone and Brune, M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 6 b. — 4 b.
Buchehale, s. Hamingebi (Hugh F. Baldric), 1 c. — 6½ b.
Hogtone, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 3 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 2½ b.
Wenflet, B. in. Cale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 4 b. — 2½ b.
Wibertone, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. — 1 c. 6½ b.
Herdetorp, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 2 b. — 1 b.
Wenflet, B. inl. in Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 1 b.
Escumetorp, B. Messingeham (St. Peter de Burg, William), 2 b. — 1 b.
Calnodesbi, s. Hardetorp (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 3 b.
Hage and Calesbi, M (Bp. Durham, William), 4 b. — 3 b.
Brune, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 4 b. — 3 b.
Telagestorp, s. Mundebi (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 3 b.
Cleia, s. Hegelinge (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 5 b. — 4 b.
Chelebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 5 b. — 4 b.
Haburne and Neuhuse, s. Brochelesbi (Ernegis de Burun), 5 b. — 4 b.
Chillebi, s. Suarrebi (Wido de Credun, Aschil, pst.), 3 b. — 2 b.
Wade, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Cherchebi, inl. Kingesdune (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 3 b. — 2 b.
Cletham, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Roger), 1 c. 5 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Langetone and Torp, M (Bp. Bayeux, man), 1 c. 5 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Greibi, s. Dusebi (Abp. York, Hugh), 1 c. 1 b. — 1
Stratone, B. inl. Randebi (Rannulf de St. Walaric), 1 c. 1 b. — 1
Chelebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Radebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 3 c. 7 b.
Bundebi, M (Radulf de Mortemer, William), 2 c. 1 b. — 2
Grimesbi, Cleia, Itrebi, and Ternescou, s. Levesbi, Bredelou and Scarhou (Bp. Bayeux), 6 c. — 5 c. 7 b.
Tesforde, 2 M (Abp. York, Gilbert), 4 c. 1 b. — 4
Haburne, s. Chelningeholm (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. — 7 b.
Chinetorp, M (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 1 c. 7½ b.
Cucualt, s. Rodowelle (Durand Malet), 4 b. — 3½ b.
Hodebi, s. Walecote (St. Peter de Burg, Ivo), 2 b. — 1½ b.
Hotot, M (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 2 b. — 1½ b.
Cheftesbi, M (Colsuan, Adelelm), 3 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 3½ b.
Radburne, Staintone and Wadingham, s. Snetrebi (Heppo Balist.), 4 b. — 3½ b.
Hechintune, s. in Catorp (Robert de Veci), 6 b. — 5½ b.
Repinghale, M (Alured of Lincoln, Dodin), 2 c. — 1 c. 7⅔ b.

## B. Equality of Plough-teams with Plough-lands.

Fortintone, Aschebi, Bretoft, Langene, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 18 c. — 18
Burtune, M (Cnt. Alan), 18 c. ? — 18
Welletone, M (Bp. Lincoln, 6 canons), 16 c. — 16
Herlauestune, B. and s. Grantham (K. William), 16 c. — 16
Bergebi, M (Robert Malet), 15 c. — 15
Overtune and Stratone, M (Judith), 12 c. — 12
Dicbi, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin), 12 c. — 12
Folchingeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 12 c. — 12
Franetone, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 10 c. — 10
Ellingetone, M (Gilbert de Gand, Egbert), 10 c. — 10
Bodebi, M (K. William), 9 c. — 9
Imungeham, 2 M (William de Perci), 8 c. — 8
Stobetun, s. Westburg (Geoffrey Alselin and Radulf), 7 c. — 7
Bitham, M (Drogo de Beurere), 7 c. — 7
Widerne, Abi, Hage, Calesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 6 c. 4 b. — 6 c. 4 b.
Scheldinchope, B. Dodintone (Baldewin), 6 c. — 6
Akeley, M (Judith), 6 c. — 6
Walecote, inl. Belingei (Abp. York, Walchelin), 6 c. — 6
Haltone, M (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 6 c. — 6
Achescia, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Wazelin), 6 c. — 6
Adelinctune, M (Robert de Todeni, Warin), 6 c. — 6
Langetof, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 6 c. — 6
Hungretune, inl. s. Dentune (or H.) (Robert de Todeni), 6 c. — 6
Lessingham, M (Bp. Lincoln, Adam), 6 c. — 6
Melingesbi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 6
Griteforde, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 5 c. 4 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Breseburc and Barnetone, s. Griteforde (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 5 c. 4 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Adelingetone, 2 M (Berengar de Todeni), 5 c. — 5
Randebi, M (Rannulf de St. Walaric), 5 c. — 5
Hagetorne and Haneuuorde, 2 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 5 c. — 5
Seurebi, M (Durand Malet), 5 c. — 5
Summertebi, s. Brune (William de Perci), 5 c. — 5
Caburne, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 5 c. — 5
Rasa, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 5 c. — 5
Offran, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 5
Grenesbi, 2 M (Cnt. Alan, Wimund), 5 c. — 5
Lavintune, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Azelin), 5 c. — 5
Endrebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. — 5
Partene, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 5
Wilchetone, 2 M (Odo Balist.), 4 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Stalinburg, 2 M (Norman de Adreci), 4 c. — 4
Gunresbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 4
Grosbi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 4 c. — 4
Aplebi, Risebi, Saleclif, M (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 4
Wilgebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 4 c. — 4
Staintune, M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 4 c. — 4
Ormesbi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Hugh), 4 c. — 4
Asebi, M (Colsuan, William), 4 c. — 4
Horbelinge, M (Abp. York, Walter de Aincurt), 4 c. — 4
Ostone, M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 4 c. — 4
Hundelbi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 4
Harebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 4
Stanwald, s. Bergebi (Robert Malet), 4 c. — 4
Wime, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 4 c. — 4
Wellebi, M (Wido de Credun, Rannulf), 4 c. — 4
Ulestanetorp, M (Robert de Todeni), 4 c. — 4
Englebi, M (Robert de Todeni) Berengar), 4 c. — 4

Beningurde, M (Abp. York, Osbern), 3 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Oustorp, M (Colsuan), 3 c. — 3
Brigeslai, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 3
Newtone, s. Alduluebi (Bp. Bayeux), 3 c. — 3
Chelebi, or Cotes, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 3 c. — 3
Crosbi, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 3 c. — 3
Witewelle, M (Judith, Herbert), 3 c. — 3
Welle, M (Gilbert de Gand, Rauemer), 3 c. — 3
Osgotebi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 3
Picheuorde, M (Colsuan, William), 3 c. — ? 3
Bardenai, M (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 3
Pantone, M (Abp. York, Gilbert), 3 c. — 3
Widun, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 3 c. — 3
Widun, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 3 c. — 3
Sisse, s. Haintune (Roger de Poitou, Albert), 3 c. — 3
Tunbi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 3 c. — 3
Horsintone, s. Hamingebi (Hugh F. Baldric), 3 c. — 3
Burtone, M (Sortebrand), 3 c. — 3
Asgerebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 3
Duninctune, M (St. Peter de Burg), 3 c. — 3
Estrebi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 3
Frisetorp, s. Ingeham 7 b, Felingeham 17 b. (Colsuan), 3 c. — 3
Hondintone, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Fulbert), 3 c. — 3
Schillintune, s. Grantham (K. William), 3 c. — 3
Stichenai, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 3
Totintun, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 3
Crocestone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 2 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ravenedale, s. Achesbi (Wido de Credun), 2 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ludintone, Gerulftorp, Maras, Watertone ? s. Crule (Geoffrey de Wirce), 2 c. — 2
Gunnebi, M (Radulf F. Hubert), 2 c. — 2
Hedebi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 2 c. — 2
Bolintone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 c. — 2
Chernitone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 2 c. — 2
Brunetorp, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 2 c. — 2
Belesbi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 2 c. — 2
Oxetune and Uuluricesbi, s. Fullobi (Bp. Durham, William), 2 c. — 2
Grimesbi, s. Archintone (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 2 c. — 2
Gunfordebi, M (Bp. Durham, Lambert), 2 c. — 2
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Durand Malet, Alured), 2 c. — 2
Houten, s. Lagesbi (William de Perci, Eurard), 2 c. — 2
Torp, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 2
Oxecumbe, s. Farforde (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 2 c. — 2
Germundtorp, M (Judith, Nigel), 2 c. — 2
Wime, M (Abp. York, Walchelin), 2 c. — 2
Suinhamstede, s. Widme (Judith), 2 c. — 2
Salebi, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 2 c. — 2
Duuedic, M (St. Guthlac, Colegrim), 2 c. — 2
Duneham, M (Radulf Pagenel, Knight), 2 c. — 2
Duneham, M (Ilbert de Laici, Knight), 2 c. — 2
Wenflet, s. Andrebi (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 b. — 2 b.
Hazebi, M (Odo Balist.), 2 b. — 2 b.
Welletune, s. Catebi (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Grisebi and Burg, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Glenteuurde, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Glenteurde, M (Restold), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Aluingeham, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Itrebi, inl. and s. Cleia (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Walesbi, M (Rayner de Brimou, Baldwin), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Sumerdebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Burch, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.

Stoches, s. Grantham (Drogo de Beurere, Colegrim), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cherchebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Holtone, M (Rayner de Brimou, Roger), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Rigesbi, M (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Torp (*or* Catebi), M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Osgotebi, s. Aldulueбi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Haburne, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Catebi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Butreuuic, s. and B. inl. Ostone (Geoffrey de Wirce), 1 c. — 1
Amecotes, s. Crule (Geoffrey de Wirce, Abbot of S. Gemano), 1 c. — 1
Evedune, B. Cherchebi (K. William), 1 c. — 1
Grosebi, M, 1 c. — 1
Golse, M (Hugh), 1 c. — 1
Helmeswelle, M (Bp. Bayeux, Losoard), 1 c. — 1
Langetone, s. Waragebi (Waldin Ingeniator), 1 c. — 1
Maltetorp, B. Welle (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 1 c. — 1
Sneleslunt, s. Wichingebi (William de Perci, Waldin), 1 c. — 1
Slodebi, B. inl. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand), Rademer), 1 c. — 1
Newtone, 4 M (Cnt. Alan, Wimund), 1 c. — 1
Alningeham, s. Cocrintone (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 1
Other Rase, s. Lindude (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. — 1
Alesbi, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 1 c. — 1
Westrecale, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 1
Bertone and Billesfelt, M (Colsuan, William), 1 c. — 1
Torp and East Torp, M (Ulniet), 1 c. — 1
Aletorp, s. Beltone (Geoffrey de Wirce), 1 c. — 1
Burg, s. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 1
Brezbi and Sapretone, s. Bergebi (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 1
Bichere, s. Draitone (Godric), 1 c. — 1
Burtone, inl. Branzbi (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. — 1
Burton, s. Wellestone (Bp. Lincoln), 1 c. — 1
Bercahan and Estow, s. Witham, Mannetorp and Toftlund (St. Peter de Burg, Asfort), 1 c. — 1
Tedulfbi, s. Normanebi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 c. — 1
Wizebi and Clachesbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walter), 1 c. — 1
Stow, s. Wilingeham (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. — 1
Schillintune, M (Carle), 1 c. — 1
Sepingeham, s. Avetorp (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 1 c. — 1
Pochintone, M (Wido de Credun, Warner), 1 c. — 1
Quadheveringe, inl. Ceila (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. — 1
Mortun, B. inl. Haconesbi (Oger Brito), 1 c. — 1
Lopintorp, M (Algar), 1 c. — 1
Offintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. — 1
Horsitone, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 1
Hermodestorp, M (Heppo Balist., Simund), 1 c. — 1
Eslaforde, s. Corninctone (St. Benedict of Ramsey), 1 c. — 1
Cretune, M (Leuric), 1 c. — 1
Corbi, M (Bricteva), 1 c. — 1
Caneuic (Colegrim), 1 c. — 1
Totintun, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 6
Osgotebi and Tavelesbi, s. Clachesbi and Normanesbi (Ivo Taillebois, Hugh), 6 b. — 6 b.
Besebi and Maltebi M (Goz. F. Lambert, Eurold), 6 b. — 6 b.
Dodintone, s. Merestone (Colsuan, Walter), 6 b. — 6 b.
Clachesbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 5 b. — 5 b.
Ounebi, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert and Wadard), 5 b. — 5 b.
Cherchebi and Scapuic, M (Norman de Adreci), 4 b. — 4 b.
Timbrelund, B. Wadintune (Cnt. Hugh), 4 b. — 4 b.
Scotstorne, Holme, and Sudbroc? M (Colsuan), 4 c. — 4
Cleia, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 4 b. — 4 b.
Bechelinge, M (Norman de Adreci, Herbert), 4 b. — 4 b.
Ludeforde, s. Wicham (Hugh F. Baldric), 4 b. — 4 b.
Ternesco, s. Hegelinge (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 4 b. — 4 b.
Strubi, s. Haintone (Bp. Bayeux), 4 b — 4 b.
Sutreie, inl. Haintone (Bp. Bayeux), 4 b. — 4 b.

Sudtrie, free B. inl. Ulingeham (Bp. Lincoln, Osbern), 4 b. — 4 b.
Draitone, M (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 4 b.
Falingeurde, M (Colsuan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Mortune, s. Corninctone (Oger Brito), 4 b. — 4 b.
Normanebi and Ounesbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Colsuan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Pochinton, s. Cherchebi (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Reresbi, s. Wichingebi (Wm. de Percl, Norman), 4 b. — 4 b.
Turoluebi, B. Brune (Robert de Statford), 4 b. — 4 b.
Torulfbi, B. inl. in Brune (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 4 b.
Trichingham, M (St. Benedict of Ramsey), 4 b. — 4 b.
Suinhamstede, M (Ragenald), 4 b. — 4 b.
Stow, s. of Haltun and Stepi (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Wintrintone, s. Scallebi and Stratone (Durand Malet), 4 b. — 4 b.
Witham, Mannetor and Toftlund, B.? (St. Peter de Burg, Ansfrid), 4 b. — 4 b.
Beltone, s. Tudetorp (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 4 b.
Filingeham, M (Roger de Poitou, Anschitil), 3 b. — 3 b.
Hagenebis, B. Westrecale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 3 b. — 3 b.
Aycle, s. Navenebi (Durand Malet), 2 b. — 2 b.
Wintritone, B. Roxebi (Radulf Pagenel), 2 b. — 2 b.
Tric, s. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 2 b.
Crochinton, s. Caditon (Bp. Durham), 1 b. — 1 b.
Bechelinge, s. Blesebi (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 b. — 1 b.
Stalinberg, inl. Limberge (Abp. York, Rayner de Brimou, soke), 1 b. — 1 b.

## C. Number of Plough-teams less than of Plough-lands

Burgrede, s. Randebi (Rannulf de St. Waleric), 3 b. — 3½ b.
Estow, s. Witham (St. Peter de Burg, Asfort), 4 b. — 4½ b.
Chelebi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2½ b.
Itrebi, B. Wivelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. — 1½ b.
Trichingeham, B. Neutone (Odo Balist.), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 2⅝ b.
Tedlagestorp, s. Calnodesbi (Chetelbern), 2 b. — 3 b.
Ingham, M (Ernuin), 2 b. — 3 b.
Roxebi, B. Aplebi, Risebi, Saleclif (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 2 b. — 3 b.
Bechelinge, s. Wichingebi, (Wm. de Perci, Robert), 2 b. — 3 b.
Brochelesbi, s. Neuhuse (Alured of Lincoln), 2 b. — 3 b.
Lobingeham, s. Aburne (Wm. de Perci, Norman), 2 b. — 3 b.
Sudtone, s. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 6 b. — 7 b.
Other Rosbi, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin), 1 c. 3 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Suanintone, M (Wido de Credun, Warner), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Chelebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Terintone, s. Bechelinge (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Ternescrou, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Herigerbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Godric), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Hacberdingham, s. Hardetorp (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 1 c. — 1 c. 1 b.
Haconesbi and Steintone, s. Edeneham (Oger Brito), 1 c. — 1 c. 1 b.
Screudinctun, M (Robert de Statford, Gulfered), 1 c. 3 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Rauendal, M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 3 b. — 4 b.
Bechelinge, M (Roger de Poitou), 3 b. — 4 b.
Cheilsetorne, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 3 b. — 4 b.
Hagetorn, M (Martin), 3 b. — 4 b.
Tedulfbi, B. inl. Flichesburg (Norman de Adreci), 3 b. — 4 b.
Sumerdebi, s. Lea (Cnt. Alan), 3 b. — 4 b.
Roscebi, s. Wintrinton (Norman de Adreci), 3 b. — 4 b.
Hechintune, s. Burtun (Wido de Credun), 3 b. — 4 b.
Tric, s. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 b. — 2 b.
Screnbi, s. Westrecale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 b. — 2 b.
Herdetorp, B. Cale (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 b. — 2 b.

Hedebi, B. inl. Walecote (Norman de Adreci), 1 b. — 2 b.
Osgotebi, M (Siward pst.), 1 b. — 2 b.
Alesbi, B. and s. in Cotes (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 1 b. — 2 b.
Grimesbi, B. Wivelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. — 2 b.
Meringhe, s. Scrivelesbi (Robert Dispensator), 1 b. — 2 b.
Levesbi, s. Wivelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. — 2 b.
Andrebi, s. in Aschebi (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 b. — 2 b.
Cocrinton, s. Cadinton (Rayner de Brimou), 1 b. — 2 b.
Calnodesbi, M (Chetelbern), 4 b. — 5 b.
Welletone (Ansgot), 4 b. — 5 b.
Wilgebi, B. Wilgebi M (Gilbert de Gand), 4 b. ?— 5 b.
Strobi s. Lecheburne (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 5 b.
Strobi, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand), 4 b. — 5 b.
Osgotebi, M (Roger de Poitou, Geoffrey), 4 b. — 5 b.
Endrebi and Radebi, M (Bp. Durham), 4 b. — 5 b.
Billingeburg, M (Abp. York, Walter de Aincurt), 4 b. — 5 b.
Torp, s. Basingeham (King William), 4 b. — 5 b.
Aclei, M (Odo Balist.), 4 b. — 5 b.
Carletone, s. Scantone (Gilbert de Gand), 5 b. — 6 b.
Sumerdebi, s. Chisebi (Wido de Credun), 5 b. — 6 b.
Chaschintorp, M (Robert de Statford, Hugh), 5 b. — 6 b.
Goldesbi, M (Aschil), 5 b. — 6 b.
Trichingeham, B Neutone (Uluiet), 4 b. — 5½ b.
Trichingeham, B. inl. Neutone (Bp. Durham), 4 b. — 5½ b.
Picheuorde, s. in Picheuorde M (Colsuan), 2 b. — 3½ b.
Canuic, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln, William), 2 c. — 2 c. 1½ b.
Cropesbi and Cunesbi, B. inl. Cunesbi (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. — 1 c. 1½ b.
Mortune, s. Haconesbi and Stentwith (Heppo Balist.), 1 c. — 1 c. 1½ b.
Walecote, B. Colebi (Ernegis de Burun, John), 1 b. — 4 b.
Summercotes (Roger de Poitou), 2 b. — 4 b.
Twiforde, s. Nortuuine (Abp. York), 2 b. — 4 b.
Langetone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 b. — 4 b.
Strubi, s. Haintone (Roger de Poitou, Acun), 2 b. — 4 b.
Hagetorne, M (Colsuan), 2 b. — 4 b.
Nongetune, (Bp. Osmund, St. Ulfram of Grantham), 2 b. — 4 b.
Bintham, s. Cretun (Godfrey de Cambrai), 2 b. — 4 b.
Bercham, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 2 b. — 4 b.
Tedlagestorp, s. Hotot (Alured of Lincoln), 2 b. — 4 b.
Lopeham, s. and B. Lea (Cnt. Alan), 2 b. — 4 b.
Ormesbi, s. Tesforde (Abp. York, Gilbert), 4 b. — 6 b.
Bacuurde, s. Haintone (Bp. Bayeux), 4 b. — 6 b.
Estrecale, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 4 b. — 6 b.
Dodintone, M (Colsuan), 4 b. — 6 b.
Doninctune, M (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 6 b.
Lundetorp, B. Beltone (Colegrim). 4 b. — 6 b.
Tuuetorp, B. Beltone (Colegrim), 4 b. — 6 b.
Barchestone, B. Beltone (Colegrim), 4 b. — 6 b.
Barcuorde, M (Rayner de Brimou, Girard), 6 b. — 1 c.
Herpeswelle, M (Abp. York, William), 6 b. — 1 c.
Bercheham, M (Godfrey de Cambrai, 2 men), 6 b. — 1 c.
Mundebi, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand), 1 b. — 3 b.
Wiuilingeham, s. Rase (Radulf Pagenel), 2 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Westledebi, s. Wichingebi (William de Perci, Radulf), 2 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Staintone, M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 2 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Holtham, M (Robert Dispensator), 2 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Gadenai, M (King William), 3 c. 6 b. — 4 c.
Bintham ?, B. Bergestorp (St. Peter de Burg, Saswalo, &c.), 3 c. 6 b. ?— 4 c.
Medricesham, B. Wadintone (Cnt. Hugh), 4 c. — 4 c. 2 b.
Herdetorp, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 4 c. 2 b.
Herigerbi, M (Wido de Credun, Algar), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.

Walcote, M (Norman de Adreci, Robert), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Faldingurde, M (Osbern pst.), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Strigeswalde, M (Waldin Brito), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Suavetone, M (Colsuan), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Heghelinge, Clein, Ternescou, s. Stalingeberg (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Alebi, s. Rigesbi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Maltetorp, B. Combreuorde (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Blescbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Herman), 2 c. 6 b. — 3 c.
Stivetone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 3 c. — 3 c. 2 b.
Messingeham, M (St. Peter de Burg, William), 5 c. — 5 c. 2 b.
Neteltone, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ernegis and Wadard), 3 c. 2 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Bodebi and Sumertune, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 4 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 6 b.
Canuic and Bragebruge, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernuin), 1 c. 6 b. ?— 2
Haroldestorp, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. 6 b. — 2
Crocsbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Odo), 7 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Dentune, M. s. Grantham (Robert de Statford, Geoffrey), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Cale, M (Chetelbern), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 6 b.
Dic and Caletorp, s. Brune (Oger Brito), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Sumerlede, s. Addulnebi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 2 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chinetorp, M (Rayner de Brimou), 3 b. — 6 b.
Slodebi, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 3 b. — 6 b.
Scurebi, B. Nortchelesei (Cnt. Alan), 3 b.—6 b.
Suavintone, B. Carltorp (Robert de Veci), 3 b. — 6 b.
Holobech and Copelade, B. Flec (Cnt. Alan), 3 b. — 6 b.
Wilgebi, M (Odo Balist., Colegrim), 1 b. — 4 b.
Scotorne, s. Refan (Rannult de St. Waleric), 1 b. — 4 b.
Burgrede, s. Stratone (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 b. — 4 b.
Salebi, B. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 1 b. — 4 b.
Cotes, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 b. — 4 b.
Itrebi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 2 b. — 5 b.
Aschebi, M (William Taillebois), 2 b. — 5 b.
Cherchebi, M (Cnt. Alan, Godric), 2 b. — 5 b.
Cherchebi, M (Alured of Lincoln, Offrun), 2 b. — 5 b.
Helpericham, M (Robert de Veci), 7 c. — 7 c. 3 b.
Ingeham, 2 M (Goz. F. Lambert, Anschitil), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Haberdingham, B. Luzebi (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Wilgebi, M (Robert de Statford, Godwin), 1 c. 1 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Slodebi, B. inl. Brunetorp (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 4 b. — 7 b.
Rase, M (Roger de Poitou, Mainard), 4 b. — 7 b.
Harduic, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 c. — 1 c. 3 b.
Stalinburg, inl. and s. Chelebi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 1 c. 3 b.
Uluesbi, M (Hugh), 1 c. — 1 c. 3 b.
Westbi, M (Colegrim), 5 b. — 1 c.
Herdetorp, B. inl. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), 6 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Westorp, M (Walter de Aincurt, Raynald), 2 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Welingeham, 2 M (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 2 c. 3⅓ b. ?
Chinetorp, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 2 b. — 5⅓ b.
Cretone, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 4 b. — 7⅓ b.
Rodewelle, M (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 1 c.
Sudtune, Duinstorp, and Herdetorp, inl. Rigesbi (Abp. York, Herbert), 4 b. — 1 c.
Asuuardebi, s. Marran (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 1 c.
Aresbi, M (Siward pst.), 7 b. — 1 c.
Slodebi, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 4 b. — 1 c.
Alduluebi, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), 4 b. — 1 c.
Andrebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 4 b. — 1 c.
Aslachebi and Avetorp, B. Loctone (Oger Brito), 4 b. — 1 c.
Dic, B. Brune (Oger Brito), 4 b. — 1 c.
Dunesbi, B. inl. Ringesdune (Bp. Lincoln, Adam), 4 b. — 1 c.
Hardetorp, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 4 b. — 1 c.

Stubetune, M (Norman de Adreci, Gamelin), 4 b. — 1 c.
Welletone, s. Cotebi (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 4 b. — 1 c.
Barchestone, s. Beltone (Colegrim), 4 b. — 1 c.
Brezbi Hd., s. Picheurde (Bp. Durham), 4 b. — 1 c.
Sumerdebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Rayner), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Schillintune, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Torp, s. Scotorne (St. Peter de Burg), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Lecheburne, M (Roger de Poitou, Girard), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Brigelai, s. Achesbi (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Udetone, M (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Stigeswalt, M (Alured of Lincoln, Siward), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Barcuurde, s. Ulingeham (Abp. York, William), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Aschebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 12.
Blasebi, M (Odo Batist., Herbert), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Lodeby, B. inl. Hundebi, s. Clachesbi (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Alforde, s. Welle (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chernitone, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Snetrebi, M (Heppo Balist.), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Oustorp, Welle, Hechintone, Cornintone, s. Cherchebi (K. William), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Reresbi, s. Sneleslunt (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Risun, B. Scantone (Gilbert de Gand, Colsuan), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Scapeuic, s. Cherchebi and Scapeuic (Heppo Balist.), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Rouestune, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin, 2 knights), 11 c. 4 b. — 12
Turolduebi, M (St. Peter de Burg, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chime, M (Gilbert de Gand, Egbriht), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tedforde, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walter), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Fulnodebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Osbernedebi, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Chisebi, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Langetone, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Other Rase, s. Rase (Radulf Pagenel), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Fugelestou, M (Robert Dispensator), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Widcale (Rayner de Brimou), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Machetone, M (Ansgot), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Steveninge, M (Cnt. Alan, Geoffrey Tornai), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Claipol, M (Bp. Bayeux), 2 c. 4 b. — 3
Mortune, M (Ivo Taillebois), 2 b. — 6 b.
Alforde, M (William Taillebois), 2 b. — 6 b.
Estrecale, M (Bp. Durham), 2 b. — 6 b.
Cotes, s. Sudcotes (Bp. Bayeux), 2 b. — 6 b.
Tisteltone, s. Colebi (Judith, Hugh), 2 b. — 6 b.
Rosbi, 3 M (Robert de Statford, Edelo), 4 c. — 4 c. 4 b.
Cudetorp, s. Westbitham (Drogo de Beurere, Walter and Ulric), 5 c. 4 b. — 6
Talintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 6 c. — 6 c. 4 b.
Broxholme, s. and inl. Englebi (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 9 c. 4 b. — 10
Aschebi, 2 M (Colsuan), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Udetone, M (Bp. Lincoln, Roger), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Wivelestorp, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Loctone, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Wiuilingeham, s. Tavelesbi (Goz. F. Lambert, Ivo), 3 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Aslachebi and Spingeham, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Tunec, inl. and s. Torp (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Neutone, 2 M (Colsuan, Radulf), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Rigesbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Losoard), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Neutone, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Sneleslunt, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Rayner), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Sualun, M (Roger de Poitou, Wimund), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Foztun, M (Cnt. Alan, Hervey), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Neutone, s. Frisebi (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 2

Scallebi and Stratone, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Baldric), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Strobi, s. Abi (Bp. Bayeux), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Stalingeburg, 2 M (Abp. York, Herbert), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Buchehale, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Tudetorp, M (Wido de Credun, Rannulf), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Cucualt, M (Siward), 6 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Chinetorp, B. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 b. — 5 b.
Burtun, M (Wido de Credun), 16 c. 4 b. — 17 c.
Ounesbi, s. Wilgebi (Wido de Reinbudcurt), 6 c. 4 b. — 7
Lobingeham, s. Cotes (Drogo de Beurere), 1 b. — 6 b.
Sualun, B. inl. Hechelinge (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 1 b. — 6 b.
Hiboldestow, M (Outi), 1 b. — 6 b.
Toreswe, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 b. — 6 b.
Sumerdebi, M (Torchil), 1 b. — 6 b.
Buletham, M (Robert de Statford), 1 b. — 6 b.
Chelebi, M (Abp. York, William), 4 b. — 1 c. 1 b.
Neutone, s. Ingeham (Rayner de Brimou), 3 b. — 1 c.
Alia Tisteltune, s. Tisteltune (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 3 b. — 1 c.
Iribi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. 3 b. — 2
Haintone, 2 M (Roger de Poitou, Albert), 1 c. 3 b. — 2
Lastone, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), 1 c. 3 b. — 2
Picheurde, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Goislan), 1 c. 5 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Faldingeurde, M (William Blund), 1 c. 6 b. — 2 c. 3 b.
Glenteurde, M (Martin), 5 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Chilebi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 1 b. — 6½ b.
Terintone, s. Haintone (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 2½ b. — 1 c.
Terintone, s. Stigeswalt (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 2½ b. — 1 c.
Haneurde, s. Snerteforde (Roger de Poitou, Turold), 2 b. — 1 c.
Brochelesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 2 b. — 1 c.
Belesbi, M (Godric), 2 b. — 1 c.
Scotstorne, Holme, Sudbroc, (Colsuan), 2 b. — 1 c.
Mundebi, B. Endrebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 1 c.
Herdetorp, B. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 b. — 1 c.
Stith, s. Holobech and Copelade (Wido de Credun), 2 b. — 1 c.
Wicham, s. Catebi (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Wellebrune, M (Robert Malet), 15 c. 2 b. — 16
Fullobi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, William), 4 c. 2 b. — 5
Alesbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 4 c. 2 b. — 5 c.
Brigeslai, Wade, Ravenedal, s. Achesbi (Bp. Bayeux), 4 c. — 4 c. 6 b.
Refaim, inl. Fiscartune (St. Peter de Burg), 4 c. — 4 c. 6 b.
Hacham, M (Colsuan, William), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Staintone, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Evedune, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 2 c. 2 b. — 3
Hadinctune, s. and inl. 'Dodintune (Baldwin), 3 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 2 b.
Chirchetune, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. 3 b. — 2 c. 1 b.
Kaschingetorp, M (Bp. Bayeux, Suen), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Sudcotes, 's. Wiueleshi (Drogo de Beurere), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Cocrintone, 3 M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Westledebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Hochtune, M (Colegrim, Fredgis), 1 c. — 1 c. 6 b.
Cheuebi, s. Alduluebi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c.
Wilgesbi, B. Scrivelesbi (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c.
Hazebi, M (Wido de Credun, Godwin), 1 c. 2 b. — 2
Northniche, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 1 c. 2 b. — 2
Fleot (King William), 3 c. 2 b. — 4
Aschebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Uluesbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Odo), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Englebi, M (William de Perci), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Lastone, M (Roger de Poitou), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Billefelt and Westbi, M (Robert de Statford, Basuin), 6 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cropesbi and Cunesbi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William | F. Nigel), 6 c. — 6 c. 6 b.
Tavelesbi, 2 M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. 5 b. — 2 c. 4 b.

Hontune, s. Blesebi (Goz. F. Lambert, Herman), 1 c. 1 b. — 2
Strobi and Maltebi, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 5 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Touedebi, s. Rigesbi (Bp. Bayeux), 3 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Merestone, M (Colsuan, Walter), 2 c. 1 b. — 3
Clachesbi and Normanesbi, s. Tavelesbi (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. 3 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Bechebi, B. Torp (Hugh F. Baldric, Gilbert), 1 b. — 1 c.
Bichere, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 5 c. — 5 c. 7 b.
Sualun, s. Grosbi (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 2
Stalinburg, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 1 c. — 2
Normaneston, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 2 c.
Hoctune, (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 2
Caburne, M (William de Perci, Norman), 1 c. — 2
Uluesbi, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. — 2
Dembelbi, s. Osbernedebi (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 2
Elesham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 2
Neteltone, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), 1 c. — 2
Neteltone, M (Leueua), 1 c. — 2
Martone, s. Chirchebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 2
Martone, s. Chirchebi (Bp. Durham), 1 c. — 2
Sonetorp, inl. and s. Lessintone (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. — 2
Lundetorp, to Ch. at Grantham (Bp. Osmund), 1 c. — 2
Pincebec, s. Holobech and Copelade (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 2
Torp, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 2
Torp, inl. and s. Chirchebi (Bp. Durham), 1 c. — 2
Nortchime, M (Colsuan), 1 c. — 2
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Radulf Pagenel), 4 c. — 5
Neutone, s. Basebi (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 5
Lea, 4 M (Cnt. Alan, Robert), 4 c. — 5
Endretorp, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), 4 c. — 5
Bortone, M (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 5
Bodebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 4 c. — 5
Aschebi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 4 c. — 5
Scamelesbi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 7
Asedebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 6 c. — 7
Burgelai, M (Gilbert de Gand, Geoffrey), 6 c. — 7
Waragebi, M (Geoffrey Alselin, Radulf), 6 c. — 7
Iribi, M (Durand Malet), 6 c. — 7
Cadebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 4
Wivelesforde, s. Sechebroc (Robert Malet), 3 c. — 4
Rosbi, s. Carltorp (Robert de Veci), 3 c. — 4
Hawardebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 4
Wispinctune, s. and B. Stratone and Chirchebi (Bp. Durham), 3 c. — 4
Wispinctune, s. Stratone and Chirchebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), 3 c. — 4
Holtone, s. Tatenai (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 4
Golse, s. Barewe (Drogo de Beurere), 3 c. — 4
Linberge M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 3 c. — 4
Langetone, B. Butiate (Robert Dispensator), 3 c. — 4
Beltone, M (Walter de Aincurt), 3 c. — 4
Bastune, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 3 c. — 4
Carletune, M (Norman Crassus), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Spilesbi, Iresbi, Torp, s. Gredbi and Estrecale (Bp. Durham), 2 c. — 3
Agetorp, s. Burnelle (Ansgot), 2 c. — 3
Spanebi, s. Ulnesbi (Colsuan), 2 c. — 3
Ribi, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernuin), 2 c. — 3
Sualun, M. (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 2 c. — 3
Grimesbi, M (William de Perci, Fulco), 2 c. — 3
Rocheland, M (Cnt. Hugh, Brisand), 2 c. — 3
Crocsbi, M (William Blund), 2 c. — 3
Beningtone, B and s. Carletone (William de Warrenne, Aldelin), 2 c. — 3
Wluricesbi, M (Abp. York), 2 c. — 3
Barcourde, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. — 3
Scallebi, M (Odo Balist., Alured), 2 c. — 3

Maltesbi, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademen), 2 c. — 3
Repinghale, M (Oger Brito), 2 c. — 3
Holm, s. Rageneltorp (St. Peter de Burg), 2 c. — 3
Dusebi, M (Offram), 2 c. — 3
Dusebi, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. — 3
Colstewrde, s. Schellintune (Abp. York, Walchelin), 2 c. — 3
Turolfbi, M (Odo Balist.), 2 c. — 3
Wizebi, s. inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 2 c. — 3
Exentune, M (Judith), 11 c. — 12
Scotere, 2 M (St. Peter de Burg, Turold, abbot), 11 c. — 12
Wintringeham, M (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 11 c. — 12
Cocrintone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 5 c. — 6
Scotone, M (St. Peter de Burg, Richard), 5 c. — 6
Cherchebi and Scapuic, s. Branztune (Walter de Aincurt), 5 c. — 6
Nortchime, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 7 c. — 8
Belesbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 7 c. — 8
Corbi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Walter), 7 c. — 8
Witenai, M (Henry de Ferrers, Saswalo), 7 c. — 8
Hacham, s. Merestone (Colsuan, Walter), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tonestele, inl. s. Torp (Roger de Poitou), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tisteltune (Godfrey de Cambrai, Gleu), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Geresbi, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), 2 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Picebech, s. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), 9 c. — 10
Bertone, M (Gilbert de Gand), 26 c. — 27
Frantune, M (Wido de Credun), 4 c. 4 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Suinhope, M (Odo Balist.), 5 c. 4 b. — 6 c. 4 b.
Grimesbi and Sualun, M (Radulf de Mortimer, Richard), 3 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Suerefelt, M (Heppo Balist.), 3 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Fugelestow, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Trinchigeham, B. Neutone (Colsuan), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Breseburg and Barnetorp, 3 M (Robt. de Statford, Geoffrey), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Staintone, M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. 1 b. — 2 c. 2 b.
Alchebarge, B. Walecote (St. Peter de Burg, Ivo), 3 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chirchebi, M (Bp. Durham), 4 b. — 1 c. 5 b.
Wintrintone, 2 M (Seward, pst.), 2 b. — 1 c. 3 b.
Elesham, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernui), 1 c. 2 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Haintone, M (Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 6 b.
Rase, B. inl. Lindude (Alured of Lincoln), 2 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Nortchelesei, M (Cnt. Alan), 6 b. — 2 c.
Messingeham, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Gosebertechirche, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 3 c. 2 b.
Tatenai, M (Ivo Taillebois, Hermer), 5 b. — 2 c.
Lobingeham, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Dreistorp, M (Eudo F. Spirewic, Ivo), 2 b. — 1 c. 5 b.
Rodowelle, M (Durand Malet), 2 c. — 3 c. $3\frac{3}{8}$ b.
Ringesdune, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 3 c. 4 b. — 4 c. $7\frac{2}{3}$ b.
Hadinctone, B. Aburne (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 4 b. — 2 c.
Burtone, s. Scantune (Peter de Valongies), 4 b. — 2 c.
Sualun, s. and inl. Cucualt (Abp. York, William), 4 b. — 2 c.
Limberge, M (Norman de Adreci, Herbert), 4 b. — 2 c.
Hermodestone, M s. in Wadintone (Radulf de Mortemer), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Ormesbi, 2 M (Norman de Adreci, Herbert), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Binnibroc and Erforde, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Torgrembi, M (Norman de Adreci, Gamelin), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Cocrinton, M (Rayner de Brimou), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Torp and Eastorp, s. of Wilingeham *or* Scantone? (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. 4 b.? — 6
Bliburg, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Robert), 4 c. 4 b. — 6
Colesi, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 4 c. 4 b. — 6
Biscopetorp, 3 M (Bp. Durham, 2 men), 4 c. 4 b. — 6
Cretun, M (Godefrey de Cambrai), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.

Faldingeurde, s. Filingeham, Sperlintone, and Lageham (Colsuan), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Tavelesbi, M (Radulf Pagenal), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Wenflet, Hage, Calesbi, Tedlagestorp, Malbertorp, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 18 c. 4 b. — 20
Stepinge, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 10 c. — 11 c. 4 b.
Bernodebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, William), 10 c. 4 b. — 12
Wibertune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 11 c. — 12 c. 4 b.
Avetorp, M (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 1 c. 4 b. — 3 c.
Wintrintune, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 2 c. 4 b. — 4
Forebi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 1 c. — 2 c. 5 b.
Reburne, M (Bp. Lincoln and Canons of St. Mary), 3 b. — 2 c.
Mingeham, s. Chelwingham (Norman de Adreci), 3 b. — 2 c.
Neteltone, M (Ernegis de Burun), 2 b. — 1 c. 7 b.
Staintone, s. Randebi (Rannulf de St. Walaric), 5 c. 2 b. — 7
Stimblebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 3 c. 2 b. — 5
Hazebi, M (Waldin Brito, Godwin), 2 b. — 2 c.
Carletune, M (Sortebrand, man), 4 c. 2 b. ? — 6
Brachelesbi, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 1 b. — 2 c.
Colebi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 1 b. — 2 c.
Haberdingham, s. Luzebi (Gilbert de Gand), 1 b. — 2 c.
Blochesham, s. Branzewelle (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 2 c. 3 b.
Ludeforde, 3 M (William de Perci), 7 c. 4 b. — 9 c. 4 b. ?
Rageneltorp, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 2 c. — 4
Mameltune, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 2 c. — 4
Torgrebi, s. Bilesbi (Odo Balist., Herbert), 2 c. — 4
Suinhope, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 4
Tadewelle, M (Robert Dispensator), 2 c. — 4
Colstevorde, M (thegn of Queen Edith), 2 c. — 4
Cherchebi, M (K. William), 2 c. — 4
Sotebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Radulf), 4 c. — 6
Castre and Humendone, M. and B. (K. William), 4 c. — 6
Canuic and Brachebrige, 2 M (Bp. Geoffrey), 4 c. — 6
Haltun and Stepi, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 1 c. — 3
Ormesbi, s. Widun (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. — 3
Fulnedebi, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 3 c. — 5
Neteltone, M (Durand Malet, 2 men), 3 c. — 5
West Depinge, M (Godfrey de Cambrai), 3 c. — 5
Gunfordebi, B. and s. Grantham (K. William), 7 c. — 9
Fodrebi and Turgrebi, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 7 c. — 9
Toft, M (Wido de Credun), 7 c. — 9
Burg, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 6 c. — 8
Stratone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 6 c. — 8
Duneham, s. Netelham (K. William, Odo Balist.), 6 c. — 8
Righesbi, Halebi, Tatebi, s. Rigesbi (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Partenai, Stepinge, Tric and Burg, s. Guldesmere (Robert Dispensator), 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Netelham, M (K. William), 14 c. — 16
Cherchetune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 10 c. — 12
Reschintone, 2 M (Geoffrey Alselin and Radulf), 10 c. — 12
Nortune, s. Stapleforde (Judith), 5 c. — 7
Greibi, M (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 2 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Holobech and Copelade, s. Gadenai (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 7 c. — 9 c. 2 b.
Rande, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. 5 b. — 5
Haintone, s. Torp (Abp. York, William), 5 b. — 3
Branzewelle, M (Alured of Lincoln), 3 b. — 2 c. 6 b.
Bertone, Bechebi, Wirichebi, Sumertebi, Haburne, s. Bernodebi (Cnt. Hugh, William), 4 c. 4 b. — 7
Beruulfbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 9 c. 4 b. — 12
Saxebi, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 5 c. — 7 c. 4 b.
Fendebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. 4 b. — 6

Chelestorne, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 3 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Besebi, M (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. 4 b. — 4
Torentone, s. Oresbi (William de Perci, Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 4 b. — 4
Caldecote, s. Waragebi (Ornegis de Burun), 1 c. 2 b. — 4
Torgrebi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 3 c. 6 b.
Dresbi, M (Roger de Poitou), 2 b. — 3 c.
Estone, M (Abp. York, Osbern), 1 c. — 3 c. 6 b.
Dodintone, s. Westburg (Geoffrey Alselin), 7 c. — 9 c. 6 b.
Hacberdingham, 6 M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 8 c. 6 b. — 11 c. 5 b.
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Osbern de Arcis, Alured), 1 c. 1 b. — 4
Flichesburg, 4 M (Norman de Adreci), 9 c. — 11 c. 7 b.
Sokes of Gettune (K. William), 35 c. — 38
Archintone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 5 c. — 8
Draitone, M (Cnt. Alan), 5 c. — 8
Alfgare, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 6 c. — 9
Widme, M (Judith, Bernard), 2 c. — 5
Colebi, M (Judith), 2 c. — 5
Cheluingholm, 6 M (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 3 c. — 6 b.
Dunnesbi, s. Reschintone, Geoffrey Alselin and Radulf), 3 c. — 6
Dunnesbi, s. Corninctune (St. Benedict of Ramsey), 3 c. — 6
Talintune, 2 M (Robert de Todeni, William and Roger), 2 c. 4 b. — 5 c. 4 b.
Cheluingholm, M (Norman de Adreci), 7 c. — 10
Lessintone, M (Abp. York, Herbert), 7 c. — 10
Riche, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 7 c. — 10
Barewe, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Tetbald), 1 c. — 4
Terintone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 c. — 4
Besebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 4
Ulestanetorp, 2 M (Robert de Todeni), 1 c. — 4
Wiuelesforde, M (Godfrey de Cambrai), 9 c. — 12
Colebi, s. and B. Washingeburg (K. William), 9 c. (or 8) — 12
Cranewelle, M (Gilbert de Gand, Geoffrey), 9 c. — 12
Hadeclive, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 7
Rase, Osgotebi, Walesbi, Otebi, s. Tavelesbi (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 4 c. — 7
Tiuuorde, s. Widme (Cntss. Judith), 4 c. — 7
Colebi, M (K. William), 4 c. — 7
Wilingeham, 2 M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walo), 2 c. — 5½
Blochesham, M (Roger de Poitou), 6 c. 4 b. — 9 c. 5 b.
Branzewelle, B. s. and inl. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin), 6 c. ? — 9 c. 2 b.
Stepingeham, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 1 c. — 4 c. 2 b.
Aplebi, Risebi, Saleclif, M (Roger de Busli), 16 c. — 19 c. 2 b.
Halintun, Chelesturne, Radresbi, Maltebi, s. Tadewelle (Cnt. Hugh), 6 c. — 9 c. 4 b.
Hundintone, s. Bergebi (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. 4 b. — 9
Merestune, 2 M (Radulf Dapifer and Osbern pst.), 4 c. 4 b. — 8
Limberge, 2 M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. 4 b. — 5
Filingeham, 5 M (Colsuan), 7 c. 4 b. — 11
Opetune, Cheftesbi, and Normanebi, s. Stow (Bp. Lincoln), 6 c. 4 b. — 10
Walecote, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Ivo), 3 c. — 6 c. 5 b.
Eleham, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 5 c. — 9
Weranghe, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 5
Wilgebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), 6 c. — 10
Little Pamptone, M (Judith, Nigel), 6 c. — 10
Gainesburg, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Rainald), 8 c. — 12
Ludeburg, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 8 c. — 12
Epeurde, M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 8 c. — 12
Rodewelle, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 4 c. — 8
Hatune, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 4 c. — 8
Chelebi, 3 M (Bp. Durham, Aluod), 4 c — 8
Hotot, Toruluesbi, Sutune, Druistorp, Billesbi, and Marchesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 16 c. — 20
Sutrebi, Dalbi, Dristorp, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 12 c. — 16
Bredestorp, M (Drogo de Beurere, Ingelram and Ernulf), 3 c. — 7
Ravenedal and Other Ravenedal, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 6

Wiuelesbi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 2 c. — 6
Spilesbi, Iresbi, and Torp, M (Bp. Durham), 2 c. — 6
Rase, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walo), 6 b. — 5 c.
2 Mentinghes, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 11 c. — 15 c. 3⅓ b.
Sokes of Hornecastre (King William), 53 c. 4 b. — 58
Aslachebi, M (Robert de Todeni), 2 c. — 6 c. ½ b.
Tedulfbi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 4 c. 4 b. — 9
Great Pamptone, M (Judith, Nigel), 1 c. 4 b. — 6
Westburg, M (Geoffrey, Alselin, and Radulf), 7 c. 3 b.? — 12
Reschintone, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 6 c. — 12
Sudstoches and Nortstoches, s. Grantham (King William), 6 c. — 12
Aburne, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 6 c. — 12
Stigandebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 8
Ormesbi, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 2 c. — 8
Holm, M (Gilbert de Gand), 18 c. — 24
Toreswe, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 7 c. — 13
Torentune, Bodebi, and Udetone, M (Radulf de Mortemer, Odo), 13 c. 4 b.? — 20
Barewe, M (Drogo de Beurere), 12 c. — 18 c. 4 b.
Alchinton, M (William de Perci, Fulco), 9 c. 4 b. — 16 c.
Lobingeham, Irebi, and Ribi, s. Bernodebi (Cnt. Hugh), 13 c. — 20 c. 2 b.
Roscebi, M (Robert de Statford, Brien), 1 c. 4 b. — 9
Reburne, 3 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 6 c. 4 b. — 14 c. 2 b.
Basingeham, M (King William), 8 c. — 16
Glentewrde, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 10
Carletune, M (Drogo de Beurere), 7 c. — 16
Wadintone, M (Cnt. Hugh), 15 c. — 24
Great Pamptune, s. Grantham (King William, Ivo), 4 b. — 10 c.
Cheuelestune, B. Hache (Cnt. Alan), 6 c. — 16
Hermodestune, s. Wadintone (Cnt. Hugh), 10 c. — 20 c. 4 b.
Tadewelle, M (Cnt. Hugh), 9 c. — 20
Binnibroc, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 12 c. — 24
Sokes of Chirchetune (King William), 55 c. 2 b. — 68
Colebi, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun, Johan.), 4 c. — 17
Westune and Multune, s. Holobech and Copelade (Wido de Credun), 4 b. — 15 c.
Sokes of Grantham (King William), 42 c. 4 b. — 60
Sokes of Castre (King William), 33 c. 7 b. — 58

## TABLE III

## CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PLOUGH-TEAMS IN DEMESNE, AND PLOUGH-TEAMS HELD BY TENANTS

### A. PLOUGH-TEAMS IN DEMESNE ONLY

Merestune, B. Hazebi (Wido de Credun, Osbert), 3 b. —
Nochetune, M (Norman de Adreci), 5 b. —
Straitone and Scallebi, B. inl. Gamelstorp (Ivo Taillebois, man of his), 1 c. —
Rischintone (Drogo de Beurere), 1 c. —
Suamestede, B. Sudwelle (Walter de Aincurt, Odo), ½ c. —
Gamelstorp, M (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. —
Wilgebi, M (Odo Balist., Colegrim), 1 b. —
Calnodesbi, M (Chetelbern), ½ c. —
? Ravenedal, M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 3 b. —
Linberge, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 3 c. —
Nortchime, M (Colsuan), 1 c. —
? Uluesbi, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. —
Caburne, M (William de Perci, Norman), 1 c. —
Hoctune (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. —

Stalinburg, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 1 c. —
Endrebi and Radebi, M (Bp. Durham), ½ c. —
Repinghale, M (Oger Brito), 2 c. —
Billingeburg, M (Abp. York, Walter de Aincurt), ½ c. —
Hagetorne, M (Colsuan), 2 b. —
Herigerbi, M (Wido de Credun, Algar), 1 c. —
Faldingurde, M (Osbern, pst.), 1 c. —
Stigeswalde, M (Waldin Brito), 1 c. —
Itrebi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 2 b. —
Cherchebi, M (Alured of Lincoln, Offran), 2 b. —
Aschebi, M (William Taillebois), 2 b. —
Uluesbi, M (Hugh), 1 c. —
Westbi, M (Colegrim), 5 b. —
Cretone, M (Alured of Lincoln (Radulf), 4 b. —
Alduluebi, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), ½ c. —
Stubetune, M (Norman de Adreci, Gamelin), ½ c. —
Udetone, M (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. —
Blasebi, M (Odo Balist., Hubert), 1 c. —
Gunnebi, M (Rad., F. Hubert), 2 c. —
Wime, M (Abp. York, Walchelin), 2 c. —
Hazebi, M (Odo Balist.), 2 b. —
Neutone, 4 M (Cnt. Alan, Wimund), 1 c. —
Westrecale, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. —
Wizebi and Clachesbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walter), 1 c. —
Pochintone, M (Wido de Credun, Warner, 1 c. —
Lopintorp, M (Algar), 1 c. —
Hermodestorp, M (Heppo Balist., Simund), 1 c. —
Cretune, M (Leuric), 1 c. —
Corby, M (Bricteun), 1 c. —
Cleia, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), ½ c. —
Normanebi and Ounesbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Colsuan), ½ c. —
Stepingeham, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 1 c. —
Stigandebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. —
Roscebi, M (Robert de Statford, Brien), 1½ c. (and 5 b.) —
Messingeham, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. —
Binnibroc and Erforde, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 2 c. —
Haltun and Stepi, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 1 c. —
Torgrebi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. —
Estone, M (Abp. York, Osbern), 1 c. —
Widme, M (Judith, Bernard), 2 c. —
Barewe, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Tetbald), 1 c. —
Chernitone, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 1 c. —
Snetrebi, M (Heppo Balist.), 1 c. —
Turolduebi, M (St. Peter de Burg, Geoffrey), 1 c. —
Hiboldestow, M (Outi), 1 b. —
Sumerdebi, M (Torchil), 1 b. —
Chelebi, M (Abp. York, William), ½ c. —
Chilebi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), ½ b. —
Belesbi, M (Godric, son of Agemund), 2 b. —
Crochestone, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 1 c. —
Cotes, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 1 c. —
Endrebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. —
Risun, M (Agemund), 1 c. —
Cucualt, M (Ivo Taillebois, Gozelin), 1 c. —
Lolestorp, free M (St. Peter de Burg), 1 c. —
Canuic (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. —
Torgrebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. —
Chirchebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. —
Hotot, M (Alured of Lincoln, Dodo), ½ c. —
Cocrinton, M (Colsuan, Mathew), ½ c. —
Suindrebi (Colegrim), 1 c. —
Canuic, M (Norman Crassus), 1 c. —
Torentun (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. —
Stivetone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. —
Clachesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 1 c. —
Aplebi, Risebi, and Saleclif, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 1 c. —
Cucualt, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 1 c. —
Avetorp, M (Alured of Lincoln, Suen), 1 c. —
Wibertone, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. —
Hotot, M (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 2 b. —

Sumerdebi, s. Chisebi (Wido de Credun), 5 b. —
Ounebi, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert and Wadard), 5 b. —
Barchestone, B. Beltone (Colegrim), 4 b. —
Bichere, s. Draitone (Godric), 1 c. —
Terintone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 c. —
Risun, B. Scantone (Gilbert de Gand, Colsuan), 1 c. —
Ounebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Peter), 1 c. —
Poclintone, s. Uluesbi (Colsuan, Conded), 1 c. —
Spanesbi, B. Brune (Oger Brito), 1 c. —
Cheilestorne, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 3 b. —
Ounebi, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert and Wadard), 5 b. —

## B. Ploughs in Demesne in excess of Tenants' Ploughs

Stratone, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 5 c. — 1
Tadewelle, M (Cnt. Hugh), 6 c. — 3
Torp, M (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 2
Calnodesbi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 5 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Leduluetorp, 2 M (Colsuan, Conded and Anchitil), 4 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Welle, 3 M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 3 c. — 1
Haltone, M (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), 4 c. — 2
Stratone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 4 c. — 2
Hiboldestow, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 2
Brantune, M (Bp. Lincoln), 4 c. — 2
Ulluricebi, 2 free M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 4 c. — 2
Westorp, M (Walter de Aincurt, Raynold), 2 c. — 1 b.
Bundebi, M (Rad. de Mortemer, William), 2 c. — 1 b.
Navenebi, M (Durand Malet), 2 c. — 2 b.
Torp, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 2 c. — 2 b.
Steveninge, M (Cnt. Alan, Geoffrey Tornai), 2 c. — 4 b.
Loctone, 2 M (Oger Brito), 2 c. — 4 b.
Aschebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 2 c. — 4 b.
Mundebi, M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 3 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Ingeham, M (Colsuan, Roger and Anschitil), 1 c. 4 b. — 3 b.
Dribi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Ivo), 4 c. — 3
Cameslingeham, M (Colsuan), 4 c. — 3
Normanebi and Santone, 2 M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 1 c. 4 b. — 4 b.
Medeltone, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun), 5 c. — 4
Randebi, M (Rannulf de St. Waleric), 3 c. — 2
Eleham, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 3 c. — 2
Scotone, M (St. Peter de Burg, Richard), 3 c. — 2
Alduluebi, 3 M (Bp. Bayeux), 3 c. — 2
Oustorp, M (Colsuan), 2 c. — 1
Welle, M (Gilbert de Gand, Rauemer), 2 c. — 1
Widern, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 2 c. — 1
Burtone, M (Sortebrand), 2 c. — 1
Neteltone, M (Durand Malet, 2 men), 2 c. — 1
Cheluingholm, 6 M (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 2 c. — 1
Dunnesbi, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin and Radulf), 2 c. — 1
Beltone, M (Walter de Aincurt), 2 c. — 1
Stiuetone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 1
Bulesforde, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 c. — 1
Risun, M (Colsuan), 2 c — 1
Bliburg, M (Ivo Taillebois, Nigel), 2 c. — 1
Stainton, M (William de Perci, Aluf), 2 c. — 1
Clachesbi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 2 c. — 1
Wintrintone, 2 M (Norman de Adreci), 2 c. — 1
Ingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 1
Wime, 2 M (Abp. York, Walchelin), 2 c. — 1
Ellingetone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Walter), 2 c. — 1
Lagesbi, M (William de Perci, Eurard), 2 c. — 1
Golse, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Roger), 2 c. — 1
Bliburg, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 c. — 1

Bliburg, M (Bp. Durham, monks of Durham), 2 c. — 1
Oresbi, M (William de Perci), 2 c.— 1
Achesbi, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 2 c. — 1
Couenham, M (Bp. Durham, St. Karilef), 2 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Osbern de Arcis, Alured), 1 c. — 1 b.
Ternescrou, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 1 c. — 1 b.
Ingeham, 2 M (Goz. F. Lambert, Anschitil), 1 c. — 1 b.
Haberingham, B. in Luzebi (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. — 1 b.
Wicghingesbi, M (William de Perci, Robert), 1 c. — 1 b.
Stratone, B. inl. Randebi (Rannulf of St. Waleric), 1 c. — 1 b.
Neteltone, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Ernegis and Wadard), 2 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Rigesbi, M (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. — 2 b.
Torp (or Catebi), M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. — 2 b.
Haburne, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 1 c. — 2 b.
Catebi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 1 c. — 2 b.
Elesham, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernui), 1 c. — 2 b.
Caldecote, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 c. — 2 b.
Wilgesbi, B. Scrivelesbi (Robert Despenser), 1 c. — 2 b.
Hazebi, M (Wido de Credun, Godwin), 1 c. — 2 b.
Northniche, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 1 c. — 2 b.
Chelebi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 2 b.
Chelebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. — 2 b.
Suavintone, M (Wido de Credun, Warner), 1 c. — 2 b.
Rauendale, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 1 c. — 2 b.
Refan, M (Rannulf de St. Waleric), 1 c. — 2 b.
Casuic, M (Alured of Lincoln, Boso), 1 c. — 2 b.
Burg, M (Archil), 1 c. — 2 b.
Bellingeburg, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 1 c. — 2 b.
Scachertorp, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 2 b.
Ulurícebi, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Radulf), 1 c. — 2 b.
Chelebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 2 b.
Chirchetune, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 3 b.
Iribi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c.— 3 b.
Haintone, 2 M (Roger de Poitou, Albert), 1 c. — 3 b.
Lastone, M (Roger de Poitou, Blancard), 1 c. — 3 b.
Scredinctun, M (Robert de Statford, Gulfered), 1 c. — 3 b.
Widcale, 2 M (William Blund), 1 c. — 3 b.
Tauelesbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Losoard), 1 c. — 3 b.
Sisse, M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c.—3 b.
Lobingeham, M (Norman de Adreci, Bereuuold), 1 c. — 3 b.
Filingeham, 5 M (Colsuan), 4 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Barcuorde, M (Rayner de Brimou), 5 b. — 1 b.
Chetelesbi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Hugh), 3 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Talintune, 2 M (Robert de Todeni, William and Roger), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Cletham, M (Aldene), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Crosbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. 4 b. — 1
Merestune, 2 M (Radulf, Dapifer and Osbern, pst.), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Bodebi and Sumertune, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Ulingeham, 2 M (Th. Abp. York, William), 2 c. 4 b. — 2
Glenteuurde, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Anschitil), 1 c. — 4 b.
Aluingeham, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 1 c. — 4 b.
Walesbi, M (Rayner de Brimou, Baldwin), 1 c. — 4 b.
Limberge, 2 M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. — 4 b.
Magna Pamptone, M (Judith, Nigel), 1 c. — 4 b.
Fugelestow, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 1 c. — 4 b.
Breseburg and Barnetorp, 3 M (Robt. de Statford, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 4 b.
Neutone, 2 M (Colsuan, Radulf), 1 c. — 4 b.
Rigesbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Losoard), 1 c. — 4 b.
Neutone, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Walbert), 1 c. — 4 b.
Sneleslunt, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Rayner), 1 c. — 4 b.
Foztun, M (Cnt. Alan, Heiueus), 1 c. — 4 b.
Bilingeburg, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 1 c. — 4 b.

Uluesbi, M (Norman de Adreci, *Odo*), 1 c. — 4 b.
Englebi, M (William de Perci), 1 c. — 4 b.
Cale, M (Chetelbern), 1 c. — 4 b.
Brachenberg, s. Aluingham (Alured of Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. — 4 b.
Holeben and Copelade, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 1 c. — 4 b.
Risun and Carlenton, M (Colsuan, Mathew), 1 c. — 4 b.
Uluesbi, M (Suen), 1 c. — 4 b.
Bertune, M (Radulf Pagenel, Oger), 1 c. — 4 b.
Bodebi and Sumerdebi, M (Wido de Credun, Godwin), 1 c. — 4 b.
Refan, B. Berlinge (Colsuan), 1 c. — 4 b.
Berlinge, M (Colsuan), 1 c. — 4 b.
Berlinge, M (Colsuan), 1 c. — 4 b.
Bolintone, M (Cnt. Hugh, Colsuan), 1 c. — 4 b.
Tisteltune, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 1 c. — 4 b.
Hoctun, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. — 4 b.
Sisse, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 4 b.
Bichere, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 4 b.
Beningurde, M (Abp. York, Osbern pst.), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Grimesbi and Sualun, M (Radulf de Mortemer, Richard), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Ringesdune, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Udetone, M (Bp. Lincoln, Roger), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Graingeham, M (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Clachesbi, M (Wido de Credun, Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Welletune, M (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Englebi, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Colsuan and Wadard), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Cheftesbi, M (Colsuan, Adelelm), 2 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Clachesbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 4 b. — 1 b.
Chaschintorp, M (Robert de Statford, Hugh), 4 b. — 1 b.
Chelebi, M (*Ivo Taillebois, Nigel*), 4 b. — 1 b.
Picheurde, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Goislan), 1 c. — 5 b.
Brochelesbi, M (Ernegis de Burun, Rannulf), 1 c. — 5 b.
Tanelesbi, 2 M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. — 5 b.
Camelingeham, 2 M and s. (Durand Malet), 1 c. — 5 b.
Screnbi, M (Bp. Durham, Fenchel), 1 c. — 5 b.
Chetelbi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Rayner), 1 c. — 5 b.
Cadinton, M (Rayner de Brimou, Baldwin), 1 c. — 5 b.
Chaschingetorp, M (Wido de Credun, Algar), 1 c. — 5 b.
Cletham, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Roger), 1 c. — 5 b.
Langetone and Torp, M (Bp. Bayeux, man), 1 c. — 5 b.
Blesebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Herman), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 2 b.
Andrebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Lambert), 3 b. — 1 b.
Faldingeurde, M (William Blund), 1 c. — 6 b.
Canuic and Bragebruge, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernuin), 1 c. — 6 b.
Haroldestorp, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 1 c. — 6 b.
Gunnewordebi, M (Colegrim), 1 c. — 6 b.
Stapleforde, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ivo), 1 c. — 6 b.
Scotstorne, M (Norman de Adreci), 1 c. — 6 b.
Besebi and Maltebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Eurold), 4 b. — 2 b.
Dodintone, s. Merestone (Colsuan, Walter), 4 b. — 2 b.
Bercheham, M (Godfrey de Cambrai, 2 men of his), 4 b. — 2 b.
Wadingeham, M (Aldene), 4 b. — 2 b.
Sumerdebi, B. Gainesburg (Geoffrey de Wirce), 4 b. — 2 b.
Crocsbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Odo), 4 b. — 3 b.
Aresbi, M (Siward, pst.), 4 b. — 3 b.
Tesforde, 2 M (Abp. York, Gilbert), 2 c. 1 b. — 2

## C. Plough-teams in Demesne equal to Tenants' Ploughs

Tatenai, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois), 6 c. — 6
Scriuelesbi, M (Robert Dispensator), 6 c. — 6
Flichesburg, 4 M (Norman de Adreci), 4 c. 4 b. — 4 c. 4 b.
Imungeham, 2 M (William de Perci), 4 c. — 4
Cheuremont, M (William de Perci), 4 c. — 4
Cheluinghow, 3 M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 3 c. — 3
Odenebi, M (William de Perci, William), 3 c. — 3
Stalinburg, 2 M (Norman de Adreci), 2 c. — 2
Englebi, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 2 c. — 2
Wellebi, M (Wido de Credun, Rannulf), 2 c. — 2
Ormesbi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Hugh), 2 c. — 2
Staintune, M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 2 c. — 2
Wilgebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger), 2 c. — 2
Aplebi, Risebi, and Saleclif, M (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 2 c. — 2
Grosbi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 2 c. — 2
Chelebi, 3 M (Bp. Durham, Almod), 2 c. — 2
Colebi, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun, John), 2 c. — 2
Scalebi and Stratone, M (Radulf Pagenel), 2 c. — 2
Medricesham, B. Wadintone (Cnt. Hugh), 2 c. — 2
Hamingebi, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 c. — 2
Wilgebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Radulf), 2 c. — 2
Mortune, M (Oger Brito), 2 c. — 2
Torp, M (Bp. Durham, ½; Eudo F. Spirewic, ½), 2 c. — 2
Sudtorp, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. — 2
Offintune, M (Robert de Todeni), 2 c. — 2
Wilingeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. — 2
Tonestale, M (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 2
Scotone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Gozelin), 2 c. — 2
Greneham, Auuartorp, and Bolebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 2
Sperlinctone, M (Colsuan), 2 c. — 2
Stoche, M (Cnt. Alan, Colegrim), 2 c. — 2
Neuberie, M (Cnt. Hugh, Osbern), 2 c. — 2
Wichingebi, M (William de Perci, Osbern), 2 c. — 2
Sassebi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 2 c. — 2
Pantone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 2 c. — 2
Ormesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), 2 c. — 2
Fpgelestow, 2 M (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 2 c. — 2
Frisebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 2
Wilchetone, M (Waldin Ingeniator), 2 c. — 2
Wilgebi, M (Waldin Brito), 2 c. — 2
Pantone, M (Abp. York, Gilbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Bolinburg, M (Colsuan, Brunel), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Bechebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Rannulf), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Torp, 2 M (Hugh F. Baldric, Gilbert), 1 c. 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Duneham, M (Ilbert de Laici, miles eius), 1 c. — 1
Duuedic, M (St. Guthlac, Colegrim), 1 c. — 1
Combreuorde, M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. — 1
Torp, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 1
Holobech and Copelade, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 1
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Durand Malet, Alured), 1 c. — 1
Gunfordebi, M (Bp. Durham, Lambert), 1 c. — 1
Grimesbi, s. Archintone (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 1
Belesbi, M (Waldin Ingeniator, William), 1 c. — 1
Brunetorp, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 1 c. — 1
Chernitone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 1 c. — 1
Bolintone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 1
Colebi, M (Judith), 1 c. — 1
Wilingeham, 2 M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walo), 1 c. — 1
Ormesbi, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 1

Spallinge, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 1
Spilesbi, Iresbi, and Torp, M (Bp. Durham), 1 c. — 1
Cherchebi, M (King William), 1 c. — 1
Tadewelle, M (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. — 1
Mameltune, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 1 c. — 1
Rageneltorp, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Radulf), 1 c. — 1
Cocrinton, M (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. — 1
Torgrembi, M (Norman de Adreci, Gamelin), 1 c. — 1
Ormesbi, 2 M (Norman de Adreci, Herbert), 1 c. — 1
Hermodestone, M, s. in Wadintone (Radulf de Mortemer), 1 c. — 1
Rodowelle, M (Durand Malet), 1 c. — 1
Gosebertechirche, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 1
Tudetorp, M (Wido de Credun, Rannulf), 1 c. — 1
Buchehale, M (St. Guthlac), 1 c. — 1
Stalingeburg, 2 M (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. — 1
Sonetorp, inl. and s. Lessintone (Abp. York, Herbert), 1 c. — 1
Holtham, M (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. — 1
Staintone, M (Drogo de Beurere, Goisfrid), 1 c. — 1
Canuic, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln, William), 1 c. — 1
Dusebi, M (Wido de Credun and Hernald), 1 c. — 1
Dusebi, M (Offram), 1 c. — 1
Scallebi, M (Odo Balist., Alured), 1 c. — 1
Barcourde, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), 1 c. — 1
Wluricebi, M (Abp. York), 1 c. — 1
Beningtone, B. and s. Carletone (William de Warenne, Aldelin), 1 c.[1] — 1
Crocsbi, M. (William Blund), 1 c. — 1
Rocheland, M (Cnt. Hugh, Brisard), 1 c. — 1
Grimesbi, M (William de Perci, Fulco), 1 c. — 1
Ribi, M (Roger de Poitou, Ernuin), 1 c. — 1
Welingeham, 2 M (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 1
Cletham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 1
Draitone, M (Cnt. Alan, Toli), 1 c. — 1
Brune, M (Alured of Lincoln, Dodin), 1 c. — 1
Witham Hd., M (Drogo de Beurere, Colegrim), 1 c. — 1
Sudtone, M (Chetelbern), 1 c. — 1
Bertone, M (Radulf Pagenel), 1 c. — 1
Loletorp, B. inl. and s. Gainesburg (Geoffrey de Wirce), 1 c. — 1
Haconesbi, M (Robert de Statford, Gulfer), 1 c. — 1
Tistertune, M (Judith, Hugh), 1 c. — 1
Stantone and Widingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 1
Reburne, M (Ivo Taillebois, Peter), 1 c. — 1
Burg, M (Eudo F. Spirewic, two men of his), 1 c. — 1
Barchestone, s. Hundintone (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 1
Glandham, 2 M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 1
Casuic, M (Gunfrid de Cioches), 1 c. — 1
Ludesforde, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 1
Delbebi, M (Colsuan, Rainald), 1 c. — 1
Torp, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 1
Fugelestow, M (Cnt. Hugh, Roscelin), 1 c. — 1
Welingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 1
Calchewelle, M (Norman de Adreci, Roger), 1 c. — 1
Berlinge, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 1 c. — 1
Neuhuse, M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 1 c. — 1
Chirchebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 1
Rase, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wimund), 1 c. — 1
Crocestone, M (Roger de Poitou, Anschitil), 1 c. — 1
Haneurde, M (Colsuan, Turold, pst.), 1 c. — 1
Clachesbi and Normanebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Colsuan), 1 c. — 1
Chernitone, M (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 1
Graingeham, M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. — 1
Chirchetone, M (Cnt. Alan, Toli), 1 c. — 1

[1] 10 b. land is *inland.*

Ulingeham, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 1
Jeresbi, M (Colegrim, Rold), 1 c. — 1
Corninctune, M (St. Benedict of Ramsey), 1 c. — 1
Helmeswelle, M (Martin), 1 c. — 1
Hegelinge, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 1
Bernedebi, 3 M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 1 c. — 1
Catebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. — 1
Cucualt, M (Abp. York, William), 1 c. — 1
Hacberdingham, M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 1 c. — 1
Chinetorp, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 1 c. — 1
Holtone, M (Rayner de Brimou, Roger), 5 b. — 5 b.
Alesbi, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 4 b. — 4 b.
Bertone and Billesfelt, M (Colsuan, William), 4 b. — 4 b.
Glenteurde, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 4 b. — 4 b.
Chime, M (Gilbert de Gand, Egbriht), 4 b. — 4 b.
Neteltone, M (Leuena), 4 b. — 4 b.
Westledebi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 4 b. — 4 b.
Cocrintone, 3 M (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), 4 b. — 4 b.
Suauetone, M (Colsuan), 4 b. — 4 b.
Neutone, M (Uluiet), 4 b. — 4 b.
Torentone and Brune, M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 3 b. — 3 b.
Bechelinge, M (Norman de Adreci, Herbert), 2 b. — 2 b.
Cherchebi and Scapuic, M (Norman de Adreci), 2 b. — 2 b.

## D. Plough-teams in Demesne less than Tenants' Ploughs

Herigerbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Godric), 4 b. — 5 b.
Staintone, M (Rayner de Brimou), 4 b. — 5 b.
Ingeham, M (Rayner de Brimou, Colsuan), 4 b. — 5 b.
Wilgebi, M (Robert de Statford, Godwin), 4 b. — 5 b.
Ingeham, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenold), 5 b. — 6 b.
Merestone, M (Colsuan, Walter), 1 c. — 1 c. 1 b.
Rase, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walo), 2 b. — 4 b.
Fullobi, 2 M (Bp. Durham, William), 2 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Wadingeham and Staintone, M (Goz. F. Lambert), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Hagetorne M (Waldin Ingeniator), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Hacham, M (Colsuan, William), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Staintone, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Evedune, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 1 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Reburne, 3 M (Goz. F. Lambert, a man of his), 3 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Gunfordebi Hd., M (Walter de Aincurt, Elwi), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Uluesbi, M (Colsuan, Brunel), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Rochesham, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Aschebi, 2 M (Colsuan), 1 c. 4 b. — 2
Ludeforde, 3 M (William de Perci), 3 c. 4 b. — 4
Crocestone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Neutone, M (Odo Balist.), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Messingeham, M (Ernegis de Burun, Turstin), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Waragebi, M (Ernegis de Burun), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tauelesbi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Godard), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Coringeham, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Branzbi, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Scalebi and Stratone, M (Colsuan, Alured), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Lindude, M (Durand Malet), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Waragebi (Waldin Ingeniator), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Randebi, inl. and s. Stratone (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Haintone, M (Roger de Poitou, Acun), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Crocestone, M (Hugh F. Baldric, Hamelin), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Tedforde, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Walter), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Binnibroc, M (Osbern pst.), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Osbernedebi, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.

Fulnodebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Chisebi, M (Wido de Credun), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Langetone, 2 M (Drogo de Beurere, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Fugeleston, M (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Widcale (Rayner de Brimou), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Machetone, M (Ansgot), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Claipol, M (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 1 c. 4 b.
Sumerdebi, M (Walter de Aincurt, Raynald), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Hiboldestow, M (St. Peter de Burg, Gilbert), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Caburne, M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Filingeham, M (Roger de Poitou, Anschitil), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Wilgebi, M (Wido de Reinbudcurt, Ingelram), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Glantham, M (Ivo Taillebois, Rainfrid), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Hechelinge, M (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Wilchetone, 2 M (Odo Balist.), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Bliburg, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Robert), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Biscopetorp, 3 M (Bp. Durham, 3men), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Frantune, M (Wido de Credon), 2 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Oresbi, M (Norman de Adreci, Geoffrey), 4 b. — 1 c.
Stantone, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 4 b. — 1 c.
Brune, M (Robert de Statford, Geoffrey, 4 b. — 1 c.
Catebi, 2 M (Roger de Poitou), 4 b. — 1 c.
Bolintone, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), 4 b. — 1 c.
Glenteurde, M (Restold), 4 b. — 1 c.
Stoches, M s. Grantham (Drogo de Beurere, Colegrim), 4 b. — 1 c.
Cherchebi, M (Alured of Lincoln), 4 b. — 1 c.
Auetorp (Robert de Todeni, Gunfrid), 4 b. — 1 c.
Sualun, M (Roger de Poitou, Wimund), 4 b. — 1 c.
Aschebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 4 b. — 1 c.
Dentune, M s. Grantham (Robert de Statford, Geoffrey), 4 b. — 1 c.
Chetelbi, M (Ernegis de Burun, Turstin), 3 b. — 1 c.
Witham, M (Radulf Pagenel, Hacun), 2 b. — 1 c.
Aburne, M (William de Perci, Norman), 4 c. — 1 c. 2 b.
Normanebi, M (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 5
Acheseia, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Wazelin), 2 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Rodewelle, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Canuic and Brachebrige, 2 M (Bp. Goisfrid), 1 c. 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Cretun, 2 M (Robert de Statford, Basuin), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Repinghale, M (Alured of Lincoln, Dodin), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Germundtorp, M (Judith, Nigell), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Duneham, M (Radulf Pagenel, knight), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Sualun, M (Cnt. Alan), 4 b. — 1 c. 4 b.
Bolinbroc, M (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 3
Sudwelle, M (Walter de Aincurt), 2 c. — 3
Tite, B. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 3
Croft, M (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf), 2 c. — 3
Herpeswelle, 4 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 c. — 3
Billesfelt, s. Corbi (Bp. Lincoln, Walter), 2 c. — 3
Lacestone, M (Wido de Credun, Alured), 2 c. — 3
Hornecastre, M (K. William), 2 c. — 3
Horbelinge, M (Cnt. Alan, Stefan), 2 c. — 3
Widerne, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), 2 c. — 3
Aresbi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 2 c. — 3
Caburne, M (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 c. — 3
Seurebi, M (Durand Malet), 2 c. — 3
Hagetorne and Haneuuorde, 2 M (Goz. F. Lambert), 2 c. — 3
Offran, B. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. — 3
Lauintone, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Azelin), 2 c. — 3
Saxebi, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Roger) 2 c. — 3
Archintone, M (Ivo Taillebois, Goisfrid), 2 c. — 3
Strowstune, M (Drogo de Beurere, Wizo), 2 c. — 3
Cocrintone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 3

Messingeham, M (St. Peter de Burg, William), 2 c. — 3
Fiscartune, M (St. Peter de Burg), 3 c. — 4
Grentewelle, M (Roger de Busli, Turold), 3 c. — 4
Dentune (or Huuelle), M (Robert de Todeni), 3 c. — 4
Bundebi, 6 M (Hugh F. Baldric), 3 c. — 4
Torintune, M (Robert Dispensator), 3 c. — 4
Toft, M (Wido de Credun), 3 c. — 4
Cheluingholm, M (Norman de Adreci), 3 c. — 4
Nortchime, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 3 c. — 4
Helpericham, M (Robert de Veci), 3 c. — 4
Hamingebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 1 c. — 2
Carlebi, 2 M (Robert de Statford, Goisfrid), 1 c. — 2
Carlebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Erchenuuold), 1 c. — 2
Farforde, M (Cnt. Hugh, Baldric), 1 c. — 2
Goldesbi, M (Colegrim), 1 c. — 2
Walesbi and Otesbi, M (Ivo Taillebois, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 2
Aiglestorp, M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. — 2
Ringesdune, M (Bp. Lincoln, Adam), 1 c. — 2
Beltone, M (Colegrim), 1 c. — 2
Golse, M (Alured of Lincoln, Radulf), 1 c. — 2
Cotes, M (Durand Malet, Richard), 1 c. — 2
Chelebi (or Cotes), M (Drogo de Beurere, Robert), 1 c. — 2
Witeuuelle (Rut.), M (Judith, Herbert), 1 c. — 2
Picheuorde, M (Colsuan, William), 1 c. — 2
Widun, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. — 2
Tunbi, M (Eudo F. Spirewic), 1 c. — 2
Duninctune, M (St. Peter de Burg), 1 c. — 2
Walecote, free M (St. Peter de Burg, Ivo), 1 c. — 2
Bredestorp, M s. in Westbitham (Drogo de Beurere, Ingelran and Ernulf), 1 c. — 2
Chelestorne, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 1 c. — 2
Langetone, B. Butiate (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. — 2
Bastune, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 1 c. — 2
Bardenai, M (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c — 2
Snardesforde, M (Bp. Durham, Colsuan), 1 c. — 2
Stimblebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Goisfrid), 1 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Wiuelestorp, M (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Suerefelt, M (Heppo Balist.), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Hogtone, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Abi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Ceila, M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Suarrebi, M (Wido de Credun, Vitalis), 1 c. — 2 c. 4 b.
Colesi, M (Roger de Poitou, Roger), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Esetorp, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. 4 b. — 3
Haintone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 4 b. — 2 c.
Carlebi, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand, Ivo, Bereuuold), 4 b. — 2 c.
Bacstune, B. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand, Ivo), 4 b. — 2 c.
Timberlunt, B. Cherchebi and Scapeuic (Heppo Balist., Simund), 4 b. — 2 c.
Chime, M (K. William), 4 b. — 2 c.
Adeuuelle, M (St. Peter de Burg), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Griteforde, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Hundintone, s. Bergebi (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Cudetorp, s. Westbitham (Drogo de Beurere, Walter and Ulric), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Suinhope, M (Odo Balist.), 2 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Fleot (K. William), 6 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Stangehow, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 4
Brotulbi, M (Colsuan), 2 c. — 4
Lindude, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 4
Belingei, M (Abp. York, Walchelin and 2 sons of Suen), 2 c. — 4
Ristone and Carletone, M (William de Perci, Osbern), 2 c. — 4
Adelinctune, s. Sechebroc? (Robert Malet, Godric), 2 c. — 4
Osgotebi, M (St. Peter de Burg, Anschitil), 2 c. — 4
Schillintune, free s. in Sc. (Abp. York, Walchelin), 2 c — 4

Akeley, M (Judith), 2 c. — 4
Lessingham, M (Bp. Lincoln, Adam), 2 c. — 4
Aburne, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 2 c. — 4
Talintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 4
Burgelai, M (Gilbert de Gand, Goisfrid), 2 c. — 4
Waragebi, M (Geoffrey Alselin, Radulf Al.), 2 c. — 4
Iribi, M (Durand Malet), 2 c. — 4
Gozeberdecherca, M (Bp. Lincoln, Malger), 1 c. — 3
Butiate, M (Robert Dispensator), 1 c. — 3
Merestone, M (Alured of Lincoln, Walefrid), 1 c. — 3
Dusebi, M (Abp. York, Hugh), 1 c. — 3
Hicham, s. and inl. Dodintune (Baldwin), 1 c. — 3
Horbelinge, M (Colsuan, Matthew), 1 c. — 3
Horbelinge, M (Abp. York, Walter de Aincurt), 1 c. — 3
Ostone, M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 1 c. — 3
Wime, M (Alured of Lincoln, Gleu), 1 c. — 3
Ulestanetorp, M (Robert de Todeni), 1 c. — 3
Scotstorne, Holme, and Subbroc, M (Colsuan), 1 c. — 3
Colebi, M (K. William), 1 c — 3
Castre and Humendone, M and B. (K. William), 1 c. — 3
Lea, 4 M (Cnt. Alan, Robert), 1 c. — 3
Bortone, 2 M (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 3
Bodebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, Roger; Wido de Credun, 3½ b. soke), 1 c. — 3
Aschebi, M (Bp. Bayeux), 1 c. — 3
Donninctune, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 3 c. — 5
Alchebarge, M (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 5
Carletune, M (William de Warenne, Aldelin), 3 c. — 5
Ludeburg, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 3 c. — 5
East Depinge, 5 M (Godfrey de Cambrai, 2 men), 1 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Grenesbi, 3 M (Cnt. Alan, Wimund), 1 c. 4 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Badeburg, M (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 7
Folchingeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 7
Sechebroc, M (Robert Malet), 4 c. — 6
Ellingetone, M (Gilbert de Gand, Egbert), 4 c. — 6
Golse, M (Ernegis de Burun, Ulric), 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Wiuilingeham, s. Tauelesbi (Gosc. F. Lambert, Ivo), 4 b. — 2 c. 4 b.
Spredelintone, M (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 3 c. 2 b.
Linberge, 2 M (Hugh F. Baldric), 2 c. — 4 c. 2 b.
Alesbi, M (Cnt. Alan, Picot), 2 c. — 2 c. 2 b.
Gadenai, M (K. William), 6 b. — 3 c.
Torp, 3 M (Roger de Poitou), 5 b. — 3 c.
Couenham, 3 M (William de Perci), 3 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Grisebi, M (Abp. York, William), 2 c. — 4 c. 4 b.
St. Mary, Stow, M (Bp. Lincoln), 1 c. — 3 c. 4 b.
Waletone and Bodebi, s. in Clasbi (Goz. F. Lambert, Rayner), 4 b. — 3 c.
Agetorne, 2 M (Abp. York, William), 1 c. — 3 c. 5 b.
Carletune, M (Sortebrand, man of his), 6 b. — 3 c. 4 b.
Bintham ?, B. Bergestorp (St. Peter de Burg, Sasualo), 4 b. — 3 c. 2 b.
Hacberdingham, *or* Mundebi, 6 M (Cnt. Alan, Eudo), 3 c. — 5 c. 6 b.
Scantone, M (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 7
Scotere, 2 M (St. Peter de Burg), 4 c. — 7
Wintringeham, M (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 4 c. — 7
Branztune, M (Walter de Aincurt), 5 c. — 8
Wichingedene, M (Judith, Hugh), 5 c. — 8
Herdertorp, M (Robert Dispensator), 3 c. — 6
Hecham, 3 M (Cnt. Hugh, monks of St. Saviour), 3 c. — 6
Beningurde, 2 M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), 3 c. — 6
Nortune, inl. and s. Stow - St. Mary (Bp. Lincoln, man of his), 3 c. — 6
Buruelle, M (Ansgot), 3 c. — 6
Duninctune, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 3 c. — 6
Wiuelesforde, M (Godfrey de Cambrai), 3 c. — 6
Brune, M (Oger Brito), 2 c. — 5
Chenebi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Goislan), 2 c. — 5
Exeuelle, M (Cnt. Hugh, Gozelin), 2 c. — 5

Bitham, M (Drogo de Beurere), 2 c.—5
Toreswe, 2 M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 5
Carletune Hd., M (Drogo de Beurere), 2 c. — 5
Holobech and Copolade, s. Gadenai (Cnt. Alan, Landric), 2 c. — 5
Lessintone, M (Abp. York, Herbert), 2 c. — 5
Corbi, M (Bp. Linc., Walter), 2 c. — 5
Witenai, M (Hen. de Ferieres, Saswalo), 2 c. — 5
Stainfelde, M (Wm. de Perci), 1 c. — 4
Scallebi and Stratone, M (Gos. F. Lambert, Baldric), 1 c. — 2 c. 3 b.
Caditon, 2 M (Bp. Durham, Turstin), 1 c. — 4
Medricesham, M (Sortebrand), 1 c. — 4
Stratone, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 4
Dodingtone, M (St. Peter of Westminster), 1 c. — 4
Adelingetone, 2 M (Berengar de Todeni), 1 c. — 4
Luctone, M (K. William), 6 b. — 4 c.
Normanebi, M (Drogo de Beurere, Gozelin), 1 c. — 4 c. 2 b.
Staintone, s. Randebi (Rannulf or St. Waleric), 1 c. — 4 c. 2 b.
Cherchebi and Scapewic, M (Heppo Balist.), 2 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Gerneham, M (Radulf Pagenel), 3 c. 4 b. — 7
Evedune, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln, Osmund, 11 b.), 1 c. 4 b. — 5
Gettune, M (K. William), 1 c. 4 b. — 5
Ferebi, M (Gilbert Tison, Anschitil), 1 c. — 4 c. 4 b.
Estrecale, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 4 c. 4 b.
Blochesham, M (Roger de Poitou), 1 c. 4 b. — 5
Roxebi, M (Radulf Pagenel, Herbert), 2 c. 2 b. — 6
Beltone, 2 M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 1 c. — 4 c. 6 b.
Grantham, M (Cnt. Hugh), 4 c. — 8
Barewe, M (Drogo de Beurere), 4 c. — 8
Binnibroc, M (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 4 c. — 8
Luzebi, M (Gilbert de Gand, William), 5 c. — 9
Beltesford, M (Ivo Taillebois), 5 c. — 9
Edeham, M (Gilbert de Gand), 5 c. — 9
Haconesbi and Stentwith, M (Heppo Balist.), 2 c. — 6
Medricesham, s. Branztone (Walter de Aincurt, Wintrehard), 2 c. — 6
Lavintone, M (Abp. York, Rannulf), 2 c. — 6
Clachesbi and Normanesbi, 4 M (Ivo Taillebois, Hugh), 2 c. — 6
Gainesburg, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Rainald), 2 c. — 6
Epeurde, M (Geoffrey de Wirce), 2 c. — 6
Basingeham, M (K. William), 2 c. — 6
Repinghale, M (Wido de Credun, Widald), 1 c. — 5
Aresbi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 5
Tofte, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), 1 c. — 5
Stow, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), 1 c. — 5
Langetof, M (St. Guthlac of Croyland), 1 c. — 5
Brangewelle, B. s. and inl. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin, 2 men), 1 c. — 5
Little Pamptone, M (Judith, Nigel), 1 c. — 5
Sudstoches and Nortstoches, s. Grantham (K. William), 1 c. — 5
Scamelesbi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 5
Nochetune, M (Norman de Adreci), 5 c. — 9 c. 2 b.
Adredebi, M (Goz. F. Lambert, Baldric), 1 c. — 5 c. 4 b.
Bernodebi, M (Cnt. Hugh, William), 3 c. — 7 c. 4 b.
Exentune, M (Judith), 3 c. — 8
Bodebi, M (K. William), 2 c. — 7
Bergebi, M (Robert Malet), 5 c. — 10
Rase, M (Radulf Pagenel), 4 c. — 9
Uluesbi, 2 M (Ernegis de Burun), 4 c. — 9
Wichale, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 1 c. — 6
Walecote, M (St. Peter de Burg, ½ c.; Gilbert de Gand, ½ c.), 1 c. — 6
Sibolci, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 6
Gunfordebi, B. and s. Grantham (King William), 1 c. — 6
Fodrebi and Turgrebi, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. — 6
East Depinge, 3 M (Godfrey de Cambrai, 2 men), 2 c. — 7
Stapleforde, M (Judith, Osbern), 2 c. — 7
Dunesbi, M (Bp. Lincoln, Radulf), 2 c. — 7

Offintone, M (Alured of Lincoln), 2 c. — 7
Toresbi and Alwoldebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), 2 c. — 7 c. 3 b.
Hag and Brandune, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Derinc), 4 b. — 6 c.
Waltham, M (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 9 c. 4 b.
Alchinton, M (William de Perci, Fulco), 2 c. — 7 c. 4 b.
Crule, M (Geoffrey de Wirce, Abbot of St. Gemano), 1 c. — 7
Welletone, M (Bp. Lincoln, 6 canons), 5 c. — 11
Scheueldebi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), 3 c. — 9
Overtune and Stratone, M (Judith), 3 c. — 9
Aschebi, M (Radulf Pagenel), 2 c. — 8
Hechintune, B. inl. and s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), 2 c. — 8
Franetone, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 8
Reschintone, 2 M (Geoffrey Alselin and his nephew), 2 c. — 8
Ripeslai, M (Robert de Todeni, Ivo), 2 c. — 8 c. 4 b.
Burtun, M (Wido de Credun), 5 c. — 11 c. 4 b.
Wadintune, M (Cnt. Hugh), 4 c. — 11
Horcheston, S. and inl. Bertone (Gilbert de Gand), 1 c. 4 b. — 8 c. 4 b.
Catenai and Usun (to Castre; King William), 2 c. — 9
Hacam, free M (Bp. Lincoln, Hugh), 2 c. — 9
2 Mentinges, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), 2 c. — 9
Suavetone, M (Colsuan), 3 c. — 10
Westbitham, M (Drogo de Beurere), 3 c. — 10
Tite, M (K. William), 1 c. — 8
Schirebec, B. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), 1 c. — 8
Cranewelle, M (Gilbert de Gand, Geoffrey), 1 c. — 8
Broxholme, s. and inl. Englebi (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), 1 c. — 8 c. 4 b.
Netelham, M (K. Will.), 3 c. — 11
Wellingoure, M (K. William, pst., 2 c. 2 b.), 2 c. — 8
Haltun and Stepi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 9
Hache, M (Cnt. Alan), 4 c. — 12
Aplebi, Risebi, and Saleclif, M (Roger de Busli), 4 c. — 12
Beningtun, M (Cnt. Alan, Hervey, 1 c. 3 b.), 5 c. — 13
Spallinge, M (Ivo Taillebois), 4 c. — 13
Hale, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf), 3 c. — 12
Foztune, B. Beningtune (Cnt. Alan), 2 c. — 11
Lobingeham, Irebi, and Ribi, s. Bernodebi (Cnt. Hugh, &c.), 2 c. — 11
Wellebrune, M (Robert Malet), 3 c. — 12 c. 2 b.
Sutrebi, Dalbi, Dristorp, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), 1 c. — 11
Holm, M (Gilbert de Gand), 4 c. — 14
Leuesbi, Bredelou, and Scarhou, 3 M (Bp. Bayeux), 3 c. — 13 c. 4 b.
Eslaforde, M (Bp. Lincoln), 3 c. — 14
Branztune, M (Walter de Aincurt), 2 c. — 13
Bertone, M (Radulf Pagenel), 2 c. — 13
Sidestham, M (Wido de Reinbudcourt, Ingelram), 1 c. — 12
Cherchebi and Resuesbi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), 1 c. — 12
Bertone, M (Gilbert de Gand), 7 c. — 19
Ludes, M (Bp. Lincoln), 3 c. — 15
Herlavestune, B. and s. Grantham (King William), 3 carucates in aula of G. — 16
Butruic, M (Wido de Credun), 2 c. — 15
Asuuardebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf, 3½ c.), 4 c. — 18
Chirchetone, M (K. Will.), 4 c. — 18
Sokes of Castre (K. Will.), 2 c. — 31 c. 7 b.
Sokes of Chirchetone (King William), 1 c. — 54 c. 2 b.
Sokes of Hornecastre (King William), 1½ c. inl. — 53 c. 4 b.

## E. Plough-teams held by Tenants only

Rasa (Durand, Malet), — 1 b.
*Apeleia, s. Bolintone (William de Perci), — 1 b.*
Cletham, B. inl. Bulesforde (Goz. F. Lambert), — 1 b.
Reburne, M (Ivo Taillebois), — 1 b.
Suinhope, B. inl. Crocsbi (Norman de Adreci), — 1 b.
Rodowelle, s. Neteltone (Bp. Bayeux), — 1 b.
Caburne, s. Cucualt (Alured of Lincoln; Gleu), — 1 b.

Cletham, s. Mameltune (St. Peter de Burg), — 1 b.
Cuningesbi, s. Hacberdingeham (Drogo de Beurere), — 1 b.
Marchebi, s. Aschebi? (Goz. F. Lambert), — 1 b.
Burgrede, s. Stratone (Bp. Bayeux, Ilbert), — 1 b.
Salebi, B. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), — 1 b.
Mundebi, B. Wilgebi (Gilbert de Gand), — 1 b.
Cocrinton, s. Cadinton (Rayner de Brimou), — 1 b.
Andrebi, s. Aschebi (Goz. F. Lambert), — 1 b.
Leuesbi, s. Wiuelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), — 1 b.
Meringhe, s. Scrivelesbi (Robert Dispensator), — 1 b.
Grimesbi, B. Wiuelesbi (Drogo de Beurere), — 1 b.
Alesbi, B. s. in Cotes (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), — 1 b.
Hedebi, B. inl. Walecote (Norman de Adreci), — 1 b.
Herdetorp, B. Cale (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 1 b.
Screubi, s. Westrecale (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 1 b.
Tric, s. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 1 b.
Itrebi, B. Wiueslesbi (Drogo de Beurere), — 1 b.
Bechebi, B. Torp (Hugh F. Baldric, Gilbert), — 1 b.
Chinetorp, B. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), — 1 b.
Lobingeham, s. Cotes (Drogo de Beurere), — 1 b.
Sualun, B. inl. Hechelinge (Alured of Lincoln, Bernard), — 1 b.
Haberdingham s. in Luzebi (Gilbert de Gand), — 1 b.
Colebi, s. Haltone (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), — 1 b.
Crochinton, s. Caditon (Bp. Durham), — 1 b.
Bechelinge, s. Blesebi (Goz. F. Lambert), — 1 b.
Stalinberg, inl. Linberge (Abp. York), — 1 b.
Osgotebi, M (Siward, pst.), — 1 b.
Toreswe, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), — 1 b.
Buletham, M (Robert de Statford), — 1 b.
Brachelesbi, M (Bp. Durham, Nigel), — 1 b.
Lobingeham, M (Ivo Taillebois, Odo), — 1 b.
Cotes, M (Goz. F. Lambert), — 1 b.
Hodebi, s. Walecote (St. Peter de Burg, Ivo), — 2 b
Escumetorp, B. Messingeham (St. Peter de Burg, William), — 2 b.
Burg, s. Gunnebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 2 b.
Wenflet, B. inl. Burg (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 2 b.
Herdetorp, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 2 b.
Cuningesbi, inl. Tedintone (Cnt. Hugh), — 2 b.
Wemflet, B. Croft (Gilbert de Gand, Radulf), — 2 b.
Strubi, s. Chinetorp (Rayner de Brimou), — 2 b.
Echintune, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), — 2 b.
Picheuorde, s. in Picheuorde M (Colsuan), — 2 b.
Lopeham, s. and B. Lea (Cnt. Alan), — 2 b.
Tedlagestorp, s. Hotot (Alured of Lincoln), — 2 b.
Bercham, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 2 b.
Bintham, s. Cretun (Godfrey de Cambrai), — 2 b.
Nongetune, computatur cum ecclesia de Grantham (Bp. Osmund, St. Ulfran), — 2 b.
Strubi, s. Haintone (Roger de Poitou, Acun), — 2 b.
Langetone, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), — 2 b.
Summercotes (Roger de Poitou), — 2 b.
Walecote, B. Colebi (Ernegis de Burun, John), — 2 b.
Roxebi, B. Aplebi, Risebi and Saleclif (Gilbert de Gand, Robert), — 2 b.
Bechelinge, s. Wichingebi (William de Perci, Robert), — 2 b.
Lobingeham, s. Aburne William de Perci, Norman), — 2 b.
Brochelesbi, s. Neuhuse (Alured of Lincoln), — 2 b.
Tedlagestorp, s. Calnodesbi (Chetelbern), — 2 b.
Geresbi, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), — 2 b.
Mundebi, B. Endrebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 2 b.
Herdetorp, B. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 2 b.
Stith, s. Holobech Copelade (Widode Credun), — 2 b.
Scotstorne, Holme and Sudbroc? (Colsuan), — 2 b.

Terintone, s. Haintone (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), — 2½ b.
Terintone, s. Stigeswalt? (Alured of Lincoln, Gozelin), — 2½ b.
Haneurde, s. Snerteforde (Roger de Poitou, Turold), — 2 b.
Cotes, s. Sudcotes (Bp. Bayeux), — 2 b.
Tisteltone, s. Coleby (Judith, Hugh), — 2 b.
Rase, B. inl. Lindude (Alured of Lincoln), — 2 b.
Wintritone, B. Roxebi (Radulf Pagenel), — 2 b.
Tric, s. Calnodesbi (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 2 b.
Aycle, s. Navenebi (Durand Malet), — 2 b.
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Opetorp, s. Edeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 3 b.
Dunbelbi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 3 c.
Hazebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 3 c.
Spallinge, B. Croyland (St. Guthlac), — 3 c.
Apeleia, s. Berlinge (William de Perci), — 3 c.
Apeleia, s. Stainfelde (William de Perci), — 3 c.
Burgrede and Turlai, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), — 3 c.
Beltot, s. Beltone (Geoffrey de Wirce), — 3 c.
Wispinctune, s. and B. Stratone and Cherchebi (Bp. Durham), — 3 c.
Wispinctune, s. Stratone and Chirchebi (Eudo F. Spirewic), — 3 c.
Holtone, s. Tatenai (Ivo Taillebois), — 3 c.
Golse, s. Barewe (Drogo de Beurere), — 3 c.
Hauuardebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 3 c.
Rosbi, s. Carltorp (Robert de Veci), — 3 c.
Wiuelesforde, s. Sechebroc (Robert Malet), — 3 c.
Cadebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 3 c.
Aslachebi and Spingeham s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 3 c.
Dunnesbi, s. Corninctune (St. Benedict of Ramsey), — 3 c.
Fulnedebi, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), — 3 c.
Totintone, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 3 c.
Stichenai, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 3 c.
Schillintune, s. Grantham (King William), — 3 c.
Hondintone, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand, Fulbert), — 3 c.
Frisetorp, s. Ingeham and Felingeham (Colsuan), — 3 c.
Estrebi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), — 3 c.

Asgerebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 3 c.
Horsintone, s. Hamingebi (Hugh F. Baldric), — 3 c.
Sisse, s. Haintune (Roger de Poitou, Albert), — 3 c.
Osgotebi, s. Bardenai, (Gilbert de Gand), — 3 c.
Crosbi, s. Binnibroc (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), — 3 c.
Neutone, s. Alduluebi (Bp. Bayeux), — 3 c.
Brigeslai, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 3 c.
Sudcotes, M (Bp. Bayeux), — 3 c.
Westdepinge, M (Godfrey de Cambrai), — 3 c.
Brotulbi and Torp, s. Scanton (Gilbert de Gand), — 3 c. 2 b.
Lund and Other Lund, 2 M (Geoffrey de Wirce), — 3 c. 4 b.
Fendebi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 3 c. 4 b.
Loctone, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 3 c. 4 b.
Radebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 4 c.
Turulfbi, s. and B. inl. Akeley (Judith), — 4 c.
Nongtone, s. Granthám (King William), — 4 c.
Waletone and Bodebi, s. Hunbia (Ivo Taillebois, Wimund), — 4 c.
Picheuuorde, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 4 c.
Scaltorp, s. Scotone (St. Peter de Burg), — 4 c.
Oustorp and Leresbi, s. Torp (Gilbert de Gand), — 4 c.
Walecote, s. Branztune (Walter de Aincurt), — 4 c.
Herdetorp, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), — 4 c.
Neutone, s. Basebi (Cnt. Alan), — 4 c.
Endretorp, s. Clachesbi (Hugh F. Baldric, Wido), — 4 c.
Brigeslai, Wade, Ravendale, s. Aschebi (Bp. Bayeux), — 4 c.
Refaim, inl. Fiscartune (St. Peter de Burg), — 4 c.
Hadecline, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 4 c.
Hatune, s. Waragebi (Ernegis de Burun), — 4 c.
Tiuuorde, s. Widme (Cntss. Judith), — 4 c.
Rase, Osgotebi, Walesbi, Otebi, s. Tauelesbi (Roger de Poitou, Roger), — 4 c.
Stanuuald, s. Bergebi (Robert Malet), — 4 c.
Harebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 4 c.
Hundelbi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 4 c.
Gunresbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 4 c.
Rosbi, 3 M (Robert de Statford, Edelo), — 4 c.
Sotebi, M (Bp. Bayeux, Radulf), — 4 c.
Asebi, M (Colsuan, William), — 4 c.
Schinende, M (Robert de Statford, Colegrim), — 4 c. 1 b.
Roscebi, (Robert de Statford, Brien), — 4 c. 3 b.
Welle, s. Eslaforde (Bp. Lincoln), — 4 c. 4 b.
Tedulfbi, s. Haltone (Cnt: Hugh, William F. Nigel), — 4 b. 4 b.
Torp and Eastorp, s. Wilingeham? (Gilbert de Gand), — 4 c. 4 b.
Bertone, Bechebi, Wirichebi, Sumertebi and Haburne, s. Bernodebi (Cnt. Hugh, William), — 4 c. 4 b.
Humbi, s. Sumerdebi (Walter de Aincurt), — 5 c.
Rosbi and Other Rosbi, s. Wilgebi and Chirchebi (Bp. Durham, Almod), — 5 c.
Couenebi, inl. St. Mary Stow (Bp. Lincoln), — 5 c.
Screubi, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), — 5 c.
Glentham, s. St. Mary Stow (Bp. Lincoln), — 5 c.
Goldesbi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 5 c.
Caletorp, s. Brune (Oger Brito), — 5 c.
Cherchebi and Scapuic, s. Branztune (Walter de Aincurt), — 5 c.
Bichere, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 5 c.
Nortune, s. Stapleforde (Judith), — 5 c.
Partene, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), — 5 c.
Endrebi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 5 c.
Sumertebi, s. Brune (Wm. de Perci), — 5 c.
Draitone, M (Cnt. Alan), — 5 c.
Rasa, M (Bp. Bayeux, Wadard), — 5 c.
Breseburc and Barnetone, s. Griteforde (Robert de Todeni, Berengar), — 5 c. 4 b.
Besebi, s. Clachesbi (Gilbert de Gand, Rademer), — 5 c. 4 b.

Toft, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 5 c. 4 b.
Ounebi, s. Stow (Bp. Lincoln), — 5 c. 4 b.
Scheldinchope, B. Dodintone (Baldwin), — 6 c.
Walecote, inl. Belingei (Abp. York, Walchelin), — 6 c.
Hungretune, inl. Dentune (Robert de Todeni), — 6 c.
Melingesbi, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 6 c.
Totintun, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 6 c.
Halintun, Chelesturne, Radresbi, Maltebi, s. Tadewelle (Cnt. Hugh), — 6 c.
Wilgebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 6 c.
Reschintone, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 6 c.
Cheuelestune, B. Hache (Cnt. Alan), — 6 c.
Burg, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), — 6 c.
Duneham, s. Netelham (King William), — 6 c.
Alfgare, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 6 c.
Cropesbi and Cunesbi, s. Haltune (Cnt. Hugh, William F. Nigel), — 6 c.
Asedebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 6 c.
Pochinton, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 6 c.
Colchesbi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), — 6 c.
Suinhamstede, s. Witham (Radulf Pagenel), — 6 c.
Haidune, s. Osbernedebi (Wido de Credun), — 6 c.
Westrecale, s. Bolinbroc (Ivo Taillebois), — 6 c.
Chirchebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 6 c.
Grimesbi, Cleia, Itrebi, and Teruescou, s. Levesbi, Bredelou, and Scarhou (Bp. Bayeux), — 6 c.
Widerne, Abi, Hage, Calesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), — 6 c. 4 b.
Opetune, Cheftesbi, and Normanebi, s. Stow (Bp. Lincoln), — 6 c. 4 b.
Stobetun, s. Westburg (Geoffrey Alselin and Radulf), — 7 c.
Dodintone, s. Westburg (Geoffrey Alselin), — 7 c.
Riche, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 7 c.
Belesbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 7 c.
Hamingebi, s. Beltesford (Ivo Taillebois), — 7 c.
Brune and Other Brune, s. Epeurde (Geoffrey de Wirce), — 7 c.
Timberlunt, s. Branztune (Walter de Aincurt), — 7 c. 4 b.
Torp, s. Dodingtone (St. Peter of Westminster), — 7 c. 4 b.
Ferebi, s. Bertone (Gilbert de Gand), — 8 c.
Esbernebi, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 8 c.
Wadingurde, s. in Stratone and Cherchebi (Bp. Durham, Eudo F. Spirewic), — 8 c.
Scottorne, Holme, and Sudbroc, s. Fiscartune (St. Peter de Burg), — 8 c.
Rosbi, s. Reschintone (Radulf and Geoffrey Alselin), — 8 c.
Picebech, s. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), — 9 c.
Dunestune, s. Nochestune (Norman de Adreci), — 9 c.
Bernulfbi, s. Waltham (Cnt. Alan), — 9 c. 4 b.
Cherchetune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 10 c.
Stepinge, s. Bardenai (Gilbert de Gand), — 10 c.
Hermodestune, s. Wadintone (Cnt. Hugh), — 10 c.
Helpericham and Burton, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 10 c.
Wibertune, s. Draitone (Cnt. Alan), — 11 c.
Holebech, s. Gadenai (King William), — 11 c.
Dichi, s. Reschintone (Geoffrey Alselin), — 12 c.
Sunderby, s. Akeley (Judith), — 13 c.
Scredintune, s. Folchingeham (Gilbert de Gand), — 14 c.
Hotot, Toruluesbi, Sutune, Druistorp, Billesbi, and Marchesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), — 16 c.
Lecheburne, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), — 16 c.
Fortintone, Aschebi, Bretoft, and Langene, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), — 18 c.
Humbrestone, s. Tatenai (Ivo Taillebois, Hermer), — 18 c.
Wenflet, Haghe, Calesbi, Tedlagestorp, and Malbertorp, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), — 18 c. 4 b.
Westune and Multune, s. Spallinge (Ivo Taillebois), — 20 c.
Suabi, Elgelo, Toresbi, Clactorp, and Totele, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), — 31 c.

Sokes of Gettune (King William), — 35 c.
Langetune, Hacberdingham, Salmundebi, Tedforde, Brincle, Winzebi, and Clachesbi, s. Grantham (Cnt. Hugh), — 39 c.
Sokes of Grantham (King William), — 42 c. 4 b.

F. No Ploughs mentioned in Demesne, but Inland given as part of Holding

Wizebi, s. and inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 2 c. inl. — 2 pl. of tenants.
Hadinctune, s. and inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 9 b. inl. — 3½ pl. ten.
Colebi, s. and B. Washingeburg (King William), 1 c. inl. — 9 (or 8) pl. ten.
North hicam, s. and B. inl. Dodintone (Baldwin), 1 c. inl.—3½ pl. ten.
Lodeby, B. inl. Hundebi, 6 b.? s. Clachesbi, 1 b. (Ivo Taillebois), 6 b. inl. — 1 pl. ten.
Tonestele, inl. and s. Torp (Roger de Poitou, Ivo), 4 b. inl. — 4 oxen, ten.
Ounesbi, s. Wilgebi (Wido de Reinbudcurt, Ingelram), 2 b. inl. — 6½ pl. ten.
Osgotebi and Tauelesbi, s. Clachesbi and Normanesbi (Ivo Taillebois, Hugh), 2 b. inl. — 6 oxen, ten.
Barcuurde and Sutrei, inl. s. Haintone (Roger de Poitou, Albert), 2 b. inl. — 2 pl. ten.

Abbreviations in Appendix IX

c. = carucate, *caruca*.
b. = bovate.
s. = soke.
M. = manor.
B. = berewick.
inl. = inland.

A figure not followed by c. or b. denotes c. (e.g. p. 517).

# APPENDIX X

## BY-LAWS

I do not intend to discuss the question of township by-laws at any length, as I have already had occasion to treat of this subject in The Growth of the Manor. It seems clear to me that we cannot disregard the late but detailed evidence of the working of champion farming in modern times and in the later Middle Ages, and that we must connect it with the copious material supplied by early English documents as to the widely spread practice of open-field cultivation, and with similar data from foreign sources, especially from Germany and Scandinavia. What I want to do now is to adduce some interesting particulars concerning open-field husbandry and its organization, drawn from different periods. This has to a certain extent been done in Nasse's famous pamphlet on the English Village Community (Ueber die mittelalterliche Feldgemeinschaft in England), but the subject may be followed up a great deal further. In fact, there can be no doubt that a diligent study of Court Rolls and other local records will provide a continuous series of valuable illustrations. One might

almost begin at the present time, as the lot-meadows of Yarnton and Kidlington still show the apportionment of strips in shifting combinations to the members of ancient unions of neighbours.[1] The practices are substantially the same as those which obtained in the well-known case of Aston and Cote (Giles, History of Bampton; Gomme, Village Community, 162; Villainage in England, 392); Maitland's criticism, in 'Survivals of Archaic Communities' (Law Quart. Rev. ix. 216), seems rather rationalistic, and hardly does justice to this case.

I will, however, chiefly draw my illustrations from documents describing the arrangements previous to the enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. W. Marshall, in his books on the Rural Economy of England, has been often appealed to, and he gives indeed most valuable information about open-field practices. Those examples are of especial interest which contain references to ancient terms and institutions, and therefore help to connect modern customs with their early antecedents. In Marshall's description of the Vale of Pickering, Yorks, we find, e. g., the following interesting remarks. He states, to begin with, that manorial courts are still of practical importance even in places where copyhold and free-rent tenures have all but disappeared, because they provide for the cleansing of rivulets and common sewers, the repair of roads, the sufficiency of ring fences, the estimation of damages by impounded cattle, the stocking of commons, and the removal of nuisances. These matters require frequently the interposition of a jury, who in places where they are still empanelled are considered not only as judges of the general welfare of the manor, but are frequently called in as arbiters of private differences.[2] Coming to the agrarian aspect of the country, he says: 'In my own remembrance more than half the Vale lay open. . . . In the beginning of the present century [eighteenth], the immediate township of Pickering remained in its ancient uninclosed state. Having been thought too large to be laid out conveniently as one township, it had been judiciously split into two divisions by a natural line, a considerable brook which runs through it. On each side of the brook lay a suite of common fields, three in number, for the unvarying round of wheat, &c.,

[1] Mrs. B. Stapleton, Three Oxfordshire Parishes, Oxf. Hist. Soc. XXIV, 307–12.

[2] Rural Economy of Yorkshire, second edition, 1796, vol. i. p. 28.

beans, &c., fallow. These common fields were respectively divided into oxgangs, evenly scattered over every field, so that each occupier might have an equal or similar share of good and bad, near and distant land; the houses being in this, as in every other common-field township, placed in the town. Each field consisted of twenty-two oxgangs, each of which on one side of the township contained twenty-four acres, on the other twelve acres. Consequently the six fields contained 2,376 acres. Each division had likewise its common meadow. Other portions of the township were laid out in stinted pastures, wholly appendant to the common-field lands, each oxgang of which having a right to a limited number of gaits for cows and working oxen. The remainder of the township, containing many thousand acres, was common. . . . Within memory it seems an attempt was made to stint them, but the regulation lasted only one year. Before and since that time they have been, in the strictest sense of the word, unstinted commons for all kinds of commonable stock, excepting sheep and working oxen, which last were, by the *by-laws of the township*, confined to the stinted pastures and the upland commons, and the former to the upland commons only.'[1]

Another interesting and rather peculiar case is described in Lincolnshire. 'Lord Exeter has property on the Lincoln side of Stamford that seems held by some tenure of ancient custom among the farmers, resembling the *rundale* of Ireland. The tenants divide and plough up the commons, and then lay them down to become common again, and shift the open-fields from hand to hand in such a manner that no man has the same land two years together; which has made such confusion that were it not for ancient surveys, it would now be impossible to ascertain the property (cf. my Gloucestershire). In regard to commons a similar custom prevails in Devonshire and Cornwall. And with respect to common fields the same practice under the name of *run-rig* formerly was common in the Highlands of Scotland.'[2]

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. A. Ballard for having been able to use three very interesting Court Rolls of the manor of Great Tew, Oxon, dated 20th October, 1756, 22nd October, 1759, and 23rd October, 1761. For a discussion on them I will refer

[1] Rural Economy of Yorkshire, pp. 47–50.
[2] Marshall, Review of the Reports of the Board of Agriculture from the Eastern Department of England, 1811, p. 102.

the reader to a paper to be published in a forthcoming issue of the Economic Quarterly Review. Though late, these rolls present exceptionally full and precise information about the management of an open-field township. The orders (by-laws) were made by *juries* elected from among the homage. Modern practices in the way of complicated rotations of crops and of the cultivation of sainfoin do not detract from the exceedingly archaic methods of champion-farming described in these documents. One of the most remarkable traits revealed by them is the survival of the hide-system in the arrangement of the fields, a fact exactly parallel to the oxgangs of Pickering.

From a book little known, The History and Antiquities of Gainsborough (com. Lincoln), by Adam Stark, London, 1817 (pp. 160–3), I should like to quote some clauses of a curious set of by-laws, ordered by a body called the Forraynes, that is, by the tenants of the foreign or rural portion of Gainsborough, kept clearly apart from the borough (or Portman) section of the township. These by-laws were entered in a Court Leet held on May Day in 1601, and are headed *Paynes* [*penalties*] *made by the Forraynes.*

2. 'We lay in payne that the constables make Leygate and the fences, Moorgate and the fences, and the bridges to them belonging, before Lady-day in Lent, and so keep them, in payne of every default—ii (*s.*)

3. If any man keep more sheep upon his stint, to put them away before our Lady-day in Lent, upon payne of every five sheep —6 (*d.*)

4. That every man gripp his lands in the corne fields so oft as need shall require, in payne—o*s.* 4*d.*

5. That every man mowe his thistles in his fallow-field so oft as need requireth, in payne of every land—4*d.*

6. That noe man keep or teather any horse in the ox-pasture, or in the Pitt-Hills, but for every *ox-gang* one, and that he keep nor teather any mares that have foles, in payne—4*d.*

7. That every man make his fence in the South Sands [*corr.* lands] and North Sands, at such tyme as men sowe, and having warning given by the furman, and soe keepe them untill harvest be done, in payne—12*d.*

9. That none gleane corne untill the furlough be led away, and none to gleane but the poore, and that none of Morton shall gleane but in the North Sands, upon payne—4*d.*

10. That noe man put any milkes on the North Marsh, or in Humble Carre, but every man of his owne, in payne—12*d.*

11. That every man having any *headland* in the fields shall plowe them no farther than usually they have been plowed upon—5*d.*

12. We lay in payne that none of Morton keepe or put any swyne, geese, or other beastes upon any grounds belonging to Gainsburgh, upon payne—10*d.*

13. We lay in payne that noe man or his servant shall keepe their horses, or oxen, in the Belks [balks], Pitt-Hills, or cornfields in the night, in payne—20*d.*

14. That the persons are to let their lands called Reddings; Stannowe, two closes beyond the Belks, and one in North Sands, lie open after the crops are taken off, in payne—39*s.*

15. It is layd in payne that the yearly furman shall make and sufficiently maintain, yearly and every year continually, a bridge, passable both for horse and beasts, at all useful and fitting tymes, into Humble Carre untill it be layed in, in payne—20*s.*

16. Wee doe lay in payne that Sir Willoughby Hickman, Bart., shall betwixt this and our Lady-day next, make a sufficient fence betwixt Leafields and the lordship of Gainsburgh, and for not doing the same we doe amerce him 39 sh., and that the said summe shall be by the Burgrave taken out of the estreats of the aforesaid Sir Willoughby Hickman, Bart., and by him payed to the overseers of the poore, and by them to be distributed according to their discretion—39*s.*'

If we turn to earlier Court Rolls, we find curious differences in the enrolment of agrarian business in different manors. In some cases there are a good many indications as to a treatment of these concerns corresponding to what we have seen in full application in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; in other cases no notice whatever is taken of by-laws, open-field practices, nor even of agrarian trespasses. Is there any reason to think that these contrasts correspond to a deep-rooted opposition between the husbandry of one class of manors and that of another? I do not think any person who has studied Court Rolls will maintain that. Sometimes the contrasts mentioned may be observed in places which lie close by each other and are situated in exactly similar economic conditions. The explanation must be evidently sought in the fact that manorial officers enrolled agrarian entries in some cases and contented themselves with enrolling conveyancing and police business in other cases. And the earlier the rolls taken

up, the thinner is found the stream of agrarian entries, although there is indeed no reason to suppose that the manors and townships of the thirteenth century were less active in regulating rural affairs than the villages of the eighteenth. And then comes a time —the first half of the thirteenth century and earlier—when Court Rolls themselves cease, and we do not hear either of agrarian by-laws, or of manorial conveyancing, or of the police jurisdiction of Court-leets. And yet we know that all these matters did not begin in the later years of King Henry III. It is, I think, a valuable lesson in historical perspective. We must not jump to the conclusion that an object is small because it looks small in the distance. It would be imprudent to assume that it ceases to exist when it disappears from our horizon. Indirect evidence may have to go a long way in similar cases.

So much as a general estimate of Court Rolls evidence. And now let us look at some characteristic examples of it. Even when agrarian by-laws are not enrolled as such they may be referred to for the sake of the fines (*poenae*) inflicted under them. Or else penal clauses may be inserted in a casual way, although in other respects the agrarian arrangements may be settled by word of mouth at the moots, or left to the orders of a peasant jury. In the soke of Grantham, Lincs., e.g., we often find entries like the following:

'Impositum est quod nullus inhabitantium permittat porcos suos ad largum fore ac cursicitare in le garthes siue clausura vicinorum post discessum siue[1] ortum solis sub pena pro qualibet vice sic visus[2] 12 d. Et dicunt quod nullus effugat cattalla sua laxata per separales campos a festo Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi usque ad exitum Authumni sub pena qualibet vice 6 d., et quod omnes antique pene in prioribus visis facte remaneant usque ad proximum visum, etc.' (Record Office, Court Roll 155/44, m. 1; 11–16 Eliz. 1568–1574.)

There is at the Record Office an interesting set of rolls of the manors of the Abbey of Ramsey; they range from the reign of Henry III to that of Henry VIII. Here are some extracts from copies made for me by Miss K. S. Martin. I venture to call attention by means of italics to some of the more important points.

[1] 'Usque ortum solis' is probably meant.
[2] As ordered by the view, i. e. Court-leet.

*Ramsey Abbey Court Roll* 179/44 (18–20 *Ric. II*).

*memb.* 3 *dorso* (*Barton*). Custodes camporum presentant . . . quod J. S. habuit bidentes, equos et bestias octo temporibus diversis imparcatas pro trangressionibus factis in blado vicinorum suorum.

*Ramsey Abbey Court Roll* 179/50(7 *Henry IV*).

m. 1 *d.* (*Houghton*). J. H. fregit *bilegem* pastur(ando?) bestias in bladis *communitatis.*

(Ordinacio). *Ordinatum est per dominum et totum homagium* quod nullus pasturat nec communicat cum bidentibus suis in prato in Houghton per unum annum integrum sub pena cuiuslibet de xii d.

m. 2 (*Slepe*). . . . fregit *bilegem factam per communitatem ville* quod nullus intret in stipulam frumenti.

m. 3 (*Barton*). Item quod T. W., R. L., etc. cariauerunt cum carectis suis bladum extra campum communitatis contra *bilegem inter dominum et eos factam.* Ideo in misericordia. Et quod rector ecclesie de Barton conculcauit stipulam communitatis cum carectis suis contra ordinationem predictam.

(*Weston*). Quod J. B. fregit bilegem factam per dominum et communitatem uillae attachiando equos suos super le Leyes, videlicet vi d. domino et vi d. (communitati?).

*Ramsey Abbey Court Roll* 179/59 (7 *Henry VI*).

m. 1 (*Upwode*). Visus franciplegii cum curia tenta ibidem die Lune in festo Sancti Luce Euangeliste anno regni regis Henrici sexti septimo et anno Johannis Tytchemersshe abbatis Rameseye decimo.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Peny | Iohannes Tinles | Iohannes Purcoy | Iurati. |
| Ricardus Heryng | Iohannes Hurre | Ricardus Skynner | |
| Iohannes Hendson | Iohannes Fox | Iohannes Avbes | |
| Iohannes Bukworth | Willelmus Abbys | Iohannes Culpon | |

. . . *Ponitur in pena* quod omnia fossata infra villam mundentur citra festum Inuencionis sancte Crucis sub pena cuiuslibet defectus, xii d.

Et quod Lestal dyche mundetur citra festum Natalis Domini sub pena cuiuslibet defectus, xii d.

Et quod omnia animalia forincica euacuentur extra dominium infra xv dies proximos sequentes sub pena xld. . . .

Iohannes Hicson *etatis lxxxiv annorum iuratus ad dicendum ueritatem* interrogatus fuit super sacramentum suum *cui parcella bosci in Roucegrove uocata le Rowesway uel Rowes pertinet*, et dicit quod nescit, sed dicit quod quidem Ambrosius quondam ballivus istius manerii dedit duas uel tres carectas bosci de predicta parcella diuersis tenentibus domini Abbatis et inde ab aliquo non fuit culpatus.

*Balliuus presentat* quod Iohannes Freestone uenit in manerium vi et armis cum uno pykefork, et in Willelmum balliuum domini in ostio aule insultum fecit et ipsum balliuum percussisse uoluit, in contemptum domini (xl s.).

Et quod Iohannes del Wolde transgressus est grauiter in herbagio domini in Grenedale balk et puteis cum uacca (xl d.) . . .

Haywardus presentat quod Iohannes Bygge cum porcis, Iohannes Fox cum equis, Willelmus Dobyn cum porcis transgressi sunt *in pisis*. Ideo etc. (iii d., iii d., ii d.).

Willelmus Edward iunior transgressus est cum iumentis super Hymade Knoll. Ideo etc. (ii d.).

Item Iohannes Loueday transgressus est in ordeo cum bouiculis super Hynthill (iii d.) . . .

m. 2 *d.* (*Wardeboys*). . . . *Iurati dicunt* . . . quod Iohannes Elys fregit bilegem pascendo bidentes in stipula frumenti (xx d.).

Et quod Thomas Fraunce cum bidentibus, Galfridus Hunne cum bidentibus, Willelmus Hyche cum vaccis uille transgressi sunt in stipula frumenti (iii d., iii d., iid.). . . .

*Pene. Ponitur in pena* quod sepes ab Hervy Lege usque Bury wode reparetur citra festum Natalis Domini sub pena cuiuslibet ii s.

Et quod nullus ligabit in Blacland Hadens neque Milneway citra Pentecosten sub pena ii s. . . .

*Electio bedelli.* Willelmus Baronger, Iohannes Baronger iunior, Iohannes Bennesson et Iohannes Scut *electi sunt ad officium bedelli per totum homagium* de quibus *predictus Iohannes Scut electus est per Senescallum et iuratus est.*

*Wodwardus presentat* quod I. B., iun., R. B., W. H., I. N., R. S., R. C., T. E., R. H., succiderunt et asportauerunt uirgas etc. (eight fines of ii d.) . . .

*Balliuus presentat* quod W. O. transgressus est noctanter in pisis cum iumentis. . . . Et quod W. O. ligauit suem cum porcellis in les rakynges ordei. Ideo etc. (iii d., ii d.).

m. 2*d.* (*Halywell*). Ponitur in pena quod nullus laborarius[1] capiet plus in die citra Annunciacionem id. ob., pena xld.

Et quod nullus thakker capiet plus in die quam iid. citra idem festum ibidem eadem pena . . .

m. 3 *d.* (*Hemmyngford*). Ponitur in pena quod nullus carpentarius capiat ultra duos denarios per diem citra Annunciacionem beate Marie sub pena xld., et post dictum festum non ultra iiid., sub pena xld.

Et quod hii qui laborant et sunt laborarii seruient tenentibus equaliter sub pena xiid.

Et quod nullus procurabit seruientem alterius a seruicio suo sub pena iis. . . .

Iurati dicunt quod Iohannes Sutton senior falcauit et asportauit les communes balkes inter blada (iid.) . . .

m. 6 (*Westone*). Iurati dicunt . . . quod W. Ch. fregit bilegem in Westbrok cum bidentibus. Ideo ipse incurrat penam (vid.) . . .

Et quod uxor W. M. fregit bilegem colligendo siliquas pisei. Ideo ipsa incurrat penam (ii d.) . . .

m. 7 *d.* (*Wystowe*). Ponitur in pena quod nullus depascat in prato de Rauele citra festum Natalis beate Marie sub pena xiid.

Et quod nullus depascat in stipula frumenti citra idem festum sub eadem pena.

Iohannes Plombe et Iohannes Owly iunior electi sunt ad officium *prepositi autumpnalis* et iurati sunt.

Ponitur in pena quod nullus depascat in prato a Wolfhey brige usque Parson broc citra festum Natiuitatis beate Marie, sub pena xx d. domino et xxd. ecclesie. . . .

Et quod nullus depascat in stipula citra festum predictum sub pena vid. domino et vid. ecclesie.

Et quod nullus pullanus ponatur in campum cum iumentis sub eadem pena vid. domino et vid. ecclesie predicta.

Et quod nullus ponat canabum neque linum in aqua a Bury Pyghtill usque Gosholme sub pena predicta.

Et quod omnes qui tenent gardina versus le Brook euacuent talices et dammynges a le broke citra festum sancti Martini sub pena cuiuslibet deficientis vis. viii d.

[1] These entries do not concern agrarian by-laws, but I insert them as interesting in themselves, showing the complexity of the jurisdiction of the Court-leet.

Ricardus Randolf, Ricardus Baker, Ricardus Rede et Stephanus at Gate electi sunt prepositi autumpnalis iurati. . . .

m. 8 *d.* (*Chateris*). Iurati dicunt . . . quod Iohannes Pegge de Somersham falcauit iniuste infra ladam de Crowlode, ubi illi de Somersham nunquam falcauerunt. Ideo etc. (xl d).

I give one more set of extracts from the Court Rolls of the Derbyshire manors of the Duchy of Lancaster, which seems interesting on account of the sharp division of the manorial court into a free and a bond section.

*Duchy of Lancaster Court Rolls* 45/525 (4–6 *Ric. II*).

*Inquisitio liberorum* presentat quod Thomas de Wolshawe nihil tenens (nihil hic quia in agistamento yemali) occupat communam pasture cum lxxx bidentibus. Et quod idem Thomas superonerat pasturam cum xxiv aueriis de catallis forensicis sine licentia domini. Ideo in misericordia . . .

*Inquisitio natiuorum* presentat quod . . . item R. W. superonerat communam pasture cum xx bidentibus.

*Duchy of Lancaster Court Rolls* 48/567 (1–4 *Henry VI*).

m. 3. Inquisitio liberorum iurata presentat quod . . . J. W. de C. superonerat communam pasture cum lxxx bidentibus . . . et quod R. S. fecit transgressionem in le Fryth cum c bidentibus. Ideo ipsi in misericordia.

m. 4 *d.* *Inquisitio bondorum* iurata presentat quod N. de N. fodebat turbas et petes in communi ubi non habet communam, ideo etc. Et quod idem N. occupat communam cum aueriis suis ubi non habet communam etc. Et quod villata de C. occupat communam ibidem in le Fryth cum aueriis et bidentibus suis ubi non habent communam. Et quod eadem villata fodebat turbas et bruera ibidem sine licentia firmarii. Ideo ipsi in misericordia. Et quod I. V. capellanus superonerat communam tenencium cum D bidentibus ubi non habet communam. Et quod uicarius ecclesie de Bradburn occupat communam similiter cum cc bidentibus. Ideo ipsi in misericordia.

m. 6 *d.* Inquisitio liberorum iurata presentat quod I. S. de S. includit i parcellam terre vocatam Frischelyleye ad nocumentum tenencium. Ideo ipse in misericordia. Et quod I. C. de eadem includit i parcellam terre vocatam le More ad nocumentum tenencium Regis. Ideo in misericordia.

*Duchy of Lancaster Court Rolls* 57/622 (2–3 *Eliz.*).

m. 3 *d.* (*Bonteshall*). Inquisitio . . . iurata dicit et presentat super sacramentum suum quod . . . non fecerunt rupturas suas in le Kyrke medoo, Hartstall, et le Howgh iuxta *ordinacionem curie et consensum aliorum vicinorum.*

*Duchy of Lancaster C. R.* 57/626 (8–9 *Eliz.*).

(*Wirkesworth de boundagio*). Et insuper ponunt penam quod omnes homines facient sepes suas circa triticum campum ante festum sancti Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum sub pena xii d.

Some extant rolls of Wirkesworth *Socage* illustrate the same course of agriculture, e. g.:—

*Duchy of Lanc. C. R.* 49/589 (2–3 *Henry VIII*).

m. 1 *d.* Quod H. B. et R. B. forisfecerunt penam de xii d. eo quod non fecerunt rupturam prout iniunctum. . . .

Et pena posita est A. B., [et] abbati de B., quod amoueant oues suas quia superonerant communem pasturam, et amoueantur citra proximam magnam curiam sub pena forisfaciendi prout patet (xiii s. iv d., xl s.).

m. 5 (*Melburne*). Et quod I. C., W. K., R. H. iun., W. C., H. K., et R. T. posuerunt animalia sua super terras seminatas antequam grana fuerunt inde asportata contra ordinacionem curie (six fines of iv d. each).

*Duchy of Lanc. C. R.* 50/620 (4–6 *Philip and Mary*).

(*Brassington*). (Iurati) ulterius dicunt super sacramentum suum quod R. W. etc. non fecerunt rupturas et les gappes in pasturis suis secundum le *beyre lawe* et ordinacionem inter eos factas. Ideo ipsi sunt et quilibet eorum separatim est in misericordia prout patet super eorum capitibus.[1]

m. 5 (*Matloc*). (Iurati) . . . dicunt . . . quod H. A. etc. non annulauerunt porcos suos secundum ordinacionem curie, ideo ipsi sunt in misericordia.

[1] Eleven men were here fined vi d. each. On the original rolls each man's fine was written over his name; the fines are bracketed at the end of each sentence throughout the above extracts.

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## ERRATUM

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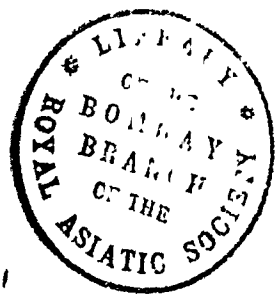

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